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THE

# NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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## July, 1886.

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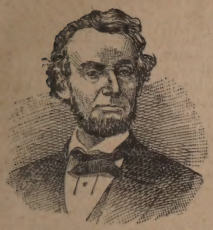

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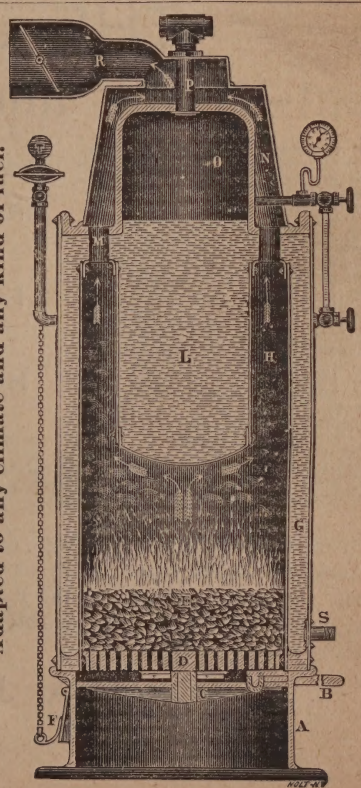


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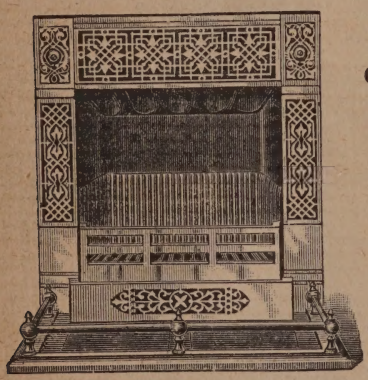

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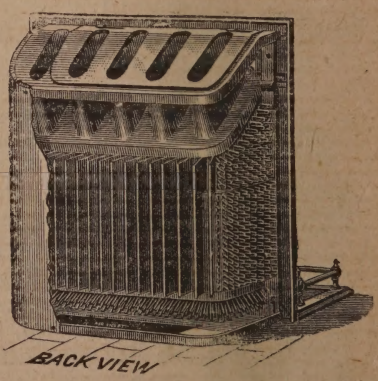


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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCLVI.

JULY, 1886.

# MOHAMMEDAN MARRIAGES.

THE institution of marriage, whether with one or more wives, is at the base of human society. Upon it rests social stability and order and domestic felicity and virtue. Under its wing are the "little ones" gathered, upon whom depends so much of present comfort for parents and future safety for State and people. Perhaps the greatest anomaly connected with human advancement is the fact that Christian nations have formed their institutions upon models of the Old Testament, with its patriarchs and tribal system, and its Jewish kings and their Oriental households, and yet have so eliminated the primal feature of ancient Judean life as to have ignored Abraham and Solomon in their practice of plurality of wives. Only the Mormon, that thrifty branch of a dead stump, preserves this practice and peculiarity. Like the Chinese artist, he faithfully copies the ugly flaw of the vase, along with its elegant shape and proportion.

Whether, or when, our "twin relic," which now flutters as if wounded in a vital part, shall be abolished from the domain of America, is a problem almost as insoluble as that which now, owing to the presence of the Ottoman in Europe, vexes the nations over the conditions of Turkish civilization.

Why is it that polygamy, as practiced in the Orient, and especially in Turkey, and which, as most argue, saps the foundation

of social vigor and home content, remains to this day? What is there in its secluded and strange methods, copied from the customs of those whom we daily commend for their faith, devotion and wisdom, which has given it strength to defy the Federal government for thirty years and more? To respond to these queries involves an examination of the force of sensual allurements and religious enthusiasm. Nowhere can the many curious and peculiar features of the system be better studied than in Mussulman countries. Polygamy is the chief one of these features. It has never been thoroughly investigated, save in India and other Eastern countries, by the Western jurist, although it constitutes the basis of manifold social relations.

What, then, is a Mohammedan marriage? It is well known that in the Orient polygamy is legally and religiously sanctioned. It is regulated by an elaborate code.

Before entering upon the subject, let us understand the points which make such a code a necessity. Without such a code the followers of Islam could not be extricated from the innumerable difficulties in which they are involved by reason of polygamy.

In order to make this statement clear, it must be premised that the Mohammedan, like the Christian religion, has its schisms. The principal and best defined divisions are those of the Sheeahs and the Soonnees. Both of these sects recognize the same fundamental principles and laws of Islam. They worship in the same mosques, and perform the same ceremonies. Still there is a difference in their marriage code, to say nothing of the hatred existing between them.

The Soonnees are Turks and Arabs. Of these, there are great numbers in India, China, Central Asia, and the African continent. The Sheeahs are Persians. In A.D. 1499, they proclaimed the Sheeah faith to be the national religion of the country. Quite a number professing this creed are to be found in India. Sheeah means a troop, or sect. It is the distinct appellation of the followers of Aly, or of all those who maintain that he was the legitimate Khalif or successor of Mohammed.

Marriage with Mussulmans is merely a civil transaction. It has attached to it no religious ceremony especially obligatory. Contracts of marriage cannot be made, except by those authorized by the code, which enacts six prohibitions. These are: consanguinity, fosterage, affinity, completion of number, imprecation, and

infidelity. Another and peculiar marriage is that of slaves, either by contract or by right of property.

It is customary among the Mohammedan people to betroth their children in their infancy. The right to contract belongs to the father, the paternal grandfather, the master, the executor, or the judge. Contracts made by either of these are binding on the children, even if the marriage has not been effected up to the time they attain their majority. In case the grandfather and the father contract with two different persons, the choice of the grandfather prevails. But if, by the time the child attain its majority, no contract has been entered into by any of the persons intrusted with the power to do so, then their authority on the subject is at an end. The consent of an adult is thereupon necessary for her or his marriage, unless insanity exists. As to the slaves, a master may contract his female slave in marriage. Whether young or mature, sane or insane, she has no option in the matter. The same rule prevails in the case of a male slave.

Let us now consider the formalities with regard to the marriage of free men and women, and limit the statement to mature marriages, or those not contracted for those in infancy.

As soon as the boy attains the marriageable age, his father and mother cast about to find him a wife. The mother visits her acquaintances. She makes quiet quest into their harems—for it should be said that the Turkish houses have rooms exclusively reserved for the women, and over whose portals there is the rule forbidding entrance to men.

The mother may not allow the object of her search to transpire among her friends and neighbors; but still she is indefatigable and subtle in her search of a suitable bride for her son. At length, and after much maternal anxiety, she finds what seems to be the actual of her ideal.

She reports the fact to her husband. She details to him the particular graces of her choice. Then, if the family to which the elect belongs suit the husband, and the "bill of particulars" is satisfactory, if the accomplishments of the girl are approved, the "managing" mother arranges a party to the Turkish bath; for the bath is an institution in Oriental realms and almost a part of the devotion of the faithful. There the future bride is to be the principal object of attention. There her future mother-in-law is to ascertain whether or not the girl has any constitutional defects.

Sir Thomas More, before composing his "Utopia," must have studied this custom of the Orient; for he wrote that it seemed strange to the Utopians that in other countries great caution was displayed in buying a horse or other animal, so as to ascertain whether it were sound and healthy, and yet, when it came to a solemn contract for good or ill and for life, no such painstaking was exercised. The Utopians thought such remissness most culpable.

The day is appointed for the bath. Great preparations are made. It is tacitly understood, though not expressed, what the bath party means. The cooks of both parties are kept busy for several days. They prepare dainty dishes—"dulcet syrups tinct with cinnamon,"—and sweetmeats of every description and flavor. The Turkish women, not unlike the "children of the azure sheen," are very fond of confectionery. The greatest attention is paid, also, in procuring the rarest and most elegant suits for the bath. A competitive but friendly excitement arises between the families; for the Turks are as particular about their bathing clothes as the fashionable belle at Sckevingen or Newport. Each person is to be furnished with a suit of the rarest quality.

The bride, or the nominee for that function, is arrayed in her most elegant dress. She is gallanted in her best bravery of silk and satin, *férédjé* and parasol, to the bath. She is accompanied by her mother and all the women of her house. The servants and slaves are summoned for this service; and the more numerous these are the more the display of luxury is enhanced. As soon as the parties meet, there is a series of endless compliments. In this, the Turkish people excel. Coffee and sherbet are served around to the company, which is seated on the divans. Amidst clouds of smoke from narghileh, pipe and cigarette, and with gossip and laughter which "make old wrinkles come," the future mother-in-law adroitly seats herself by the nominee. She persuades her to talk. Unconscious of the object, the girl undergoes a skillful cross-examination. Her intellectual and moral character is thoroughly scrutinized. Her life, with its tastes and qualities, is winnowed. When the smoking terminates there is the disrobing in order to go into the interior of the bath. Then follows the robing for the bath. The bath being intensely hot, the robing is not cumbrous or extensive. It consists simply of a big towel around the waist covering the person down to the knees, and a

second towel which is thrown over the shoulders like a sash. This last towel is taken off as soon as the interior of the bath is entered, as the heat and perspiration consequent make it intolerable. Gibbon says, that Zenobia, when led in triumph by Aurelian, almost fainted under the intolerable burden of jewelry. Not so with our candidate for the bridal office. Her decorations are reserved for her triumphal procession and entry into her new household.

The hair is unloosened and hangs over the shoulders. Each lady is taken care of by one or two servants; but the future mother-in-law never quits the nominee. She makes thorough investigation until the bath is over. If, like the sisters of the Gorgons, the Grææ who had but one eye and one tooth among the entire sisterhood with which to go out and make their calls, our nominee should be found wanting in these or any other prerequisites to healthy and beautiful womanhood, is it not reasonable to believe that the future mother-in-law would discover the flaw and announce the fact to her lord and husband ?

The place and mode of bathing are quite different from those of the European or American. The bath is a large square room. It is paved with marble or stones. It is air-tight. In it there are fountains attached to the walls. They furnish cold and hot water. Under those fountains there are small basins about fifteen inches wide and ten inches deep. These are fixed at about half a yard above the floor. The basins are filled with water, the degree of whose heat is regulated at will. The bather seats herself on the floor by the basin and the servant washes her, soaping and lathering her head and then her body, pouring the water from the basin over the head and rinsing off the snowy suds. If in a festive mood, the younger females play the Naïad, and, not infrequently, throw water about, over themselves and others, with a hilarity belonging to youth in its sportive morning. Sometimes these nymphs thus dally with the elements for hours. Sometimes the more lethargic lie in soak or undergo the process of maceration, but not often on these betrothal occasions.

After this, dry clothes are brought. Neither are these "voluminous and vast," for they consist of two towels, with a third one to crown the head, like a turban. Before leaving the interior of the bath, all the party, including the damsel, dye their nails and the palms of the hands with henna. Then they hie in a group to the cooling room. Then the banquet begins. Rugs are spread

upon the floor. A stool is placed in the middle of the room. On this is placed a large salver. The company seat themselves, cross-legged, on the rugs and around the stool and salver. The former is covered with a gorgeous table-cloth. A long strip of finest linen, bordered and broidered with golden or silken figures, one yard wide and nine yards long, is passed around to the guests. What for? To be used as a napkin, in common. It gives unity to the sentiment and the festivity. Then the servants bring in the delicacies. Each dish is placed in the middle of the salver. The "leading lady," with dainty finger and thumb, takes up the acceptable tidbit, and accomplishes the first responsible bite. Then the others follow; plunging their henna-tinted fingers into the single dish. Bite after bite follows, with lively and gleeful procession. This interesting process—if one could only see it—would reproduce one of the pictures of Spenser in his "Faërie Queen." It is that enchanted vision where Sir Callidore, in going through the Bower of Bliss, is saluted by bevies of beauteous damosels, who pluck luscious clusters of grapes from the overhanging vines, and press the nectar into golden goblets with fairy fingers. "So fair a wine press makes the wine more sweet." With a little changing of Spenser's fancy, may it not be said: "So fair a group of banqueters makes the banquet more tasteful." There is no enchanted viand before the happy company. No drink is allowed to stimulate or drown the senses. The only drink is pure water and lemonade! The mother-in-law has no chance to get at the incautious truth, on the maxim—*in vino veritas.*

The artist, when called upon to paint the grief of Iphigenia over the death of Agamemnon, dropped the curtain. We do not follow this gruesome example; for the subject is not sad. But we have not the artistic skill to create, in the reader's imagination, such imagery of this bath and banquet as to do justice to the scene.

The banquet may last three or four hours. Generally, the bride does not know or seem to know its object. Sometimes even the mother of the bride ignores it; although she may suspect it. After the dinner and the coffee and smoking are finished, the parties separate with earnest promises to renew the entertainment.

The mother of the boy goes home. There she is expected with anxiety by her husband. He waits eagerly to hear her impres-

sions. She gives him such a detailed account of her investigations as only a female and a mother can give. If the report be satisfactory, the next step is to rally for the election of the nominee. A day or two after, the mother of the boy pays a visit to the family of the girl. There she reveals her object. As a matter of course, the mother of "the nominee" is surprised! She dodges "the proposal" by postponing an answer until she consults her husband, who happens to be absent; but she promises to speak to him about it. In returning the visit, the girl's mother bears the answer of her husband. If the proposition be agreeable, the mother manages a meeting of the husbands, in order to arrange the terms of the contract and dower, as well as to fix the time for the marriage.

In case the children have no father or grandfather, the consummation of the contract depends on their guardian. He assumes the same authority in the premises as if he were the father himself.

In the perfection of a marriage contract, and in order to make it valid, care must be taken to avoid the legal prohibitions. They are as follows: A man cannot marry his mother or grandmother, nor his daughter nor their daughters, nor the daughters of his sons and sisters, nor the daughters of these and the daughters of their children, nor his aunts and the sisters of his grandfathers, maternal or paternal. The like classes are prohibited to the women. Consanguinity is attributed where there are valid marriages or the semblance of them. Still, marriage with a natural child is prohibited both to father and mother. Fosterage, which is established by the milk, is another impediment; but it has reference to the quantity of the lacteal fluid, and it must be such as gives increase to the flesh and strength to the bones. According to the "Sheeahs," no effect is attributed to anything less than fifteen acts of suckling, or continued suckling for a day and a night. These fifteen acts must be consecutive from one woman; and if another woman intervenes before the completion of this magic number—like Rip Van Winkle's drink of schnapps, after he swore off—they do not count. The nurse does not become the foster-mother of the child, unless she complete the nursing. She does not obtain the benefactions and gifts which ensue, unless she perfect the work. All these conditions have reference to an infant under two years old.

The milk must be drawn from the breast. Any "deludation," or tainting of the milk, or any artificial nursing, does not incur prohibition in marrying. The nurse should be of the Mussulman faith, chaste and pure. No infidel is allowed, except under great necessity. She must be restrained from drinking wine or eating pork. It is an old traditionary rule that she must not be a fire-worshiper. The children nursed by one woman cannot intermarry. Their fathers and mothers cannot marry any of the children nursed by the same woman who nursed their child. The husband must be of the Mussulman faith; that is to say, a Mussulman can marry a Christian or Jewish woman; but a Muslimah (Mussulman woman) cannot marry with a Christian or Jew. Marriage with fire-worshipers is utterly prohibited. No marriage is permitted with a repudiated woman, unless six months have elapsed since she has been repudiated. A thrice-repudiated woman cannot remarry with her husband, unless she has been intermediately married to another man, and the marriage has been actually consummated. If the man has taken the legal number to wife—*i. e.*, four in number—he cannot contract any new marriage, unless he repudiate one of his wives.

All these impediments being taken into consideration, the contract is signed. The dower is payable, half in advance; the other half remains to be paid to the wife in case of repudiation. This reservation is prudence itself. It enables her to support herself during the time she is forbidden to contract a new marriage.

It is the custom, in most of the places in the Ottoman Empire, that the marriage festivities should last four days. They generally commence on Mondays. Invitations are sent out for the first day, to the high dignitaries of the place; on the second day, to officers of the army and navy, as well as to magistrates; and on the third day, to civil functionaries and to financial folk and tradesmen. The fourth day, the doors are open. All friends and acquaintances may then enter in and tender congratulations. This tender must be made late in the afternoon. The bridegroom is then associated with relatives and friends. The same ceremonial is followed on the part of the bride.

On Monday morning, one or two bands of Turkish music are on hand. A Turkish band is composed of a kind of banjo, some tambourines, and sometimes the clarinet and violin. The men who

play the banjo and tambourine also sing. Games are made and plays performed. Juggling is common. Dancing and gymnastics are not neglected in the fête. As the men and women do not mingle, and as the Turks never dance, professional dancers are engaged. They don a sort of petticoat for the purpose. Sometime gypsy women are hired, who dance after certain methods hardly in vogue in fastidious communities. It is quite proper that only the men are present to enjoy these sensuous diversions. There are buffoons, dwarfs, story-tellers and wrestlers, who contribute to the amusement of the men; for amusement seems to be the sole object of their gathering, in which, however, are not wanting eating and drinking, sherbet and syrups, and then talking loosely after the manner of gregarious men on such assemblages.

Upon occasions of this kind, the wedding parties generally go to some watering-place near the city or town, to spend part of the day. There the wrestlers and other genii perform. Among other amusements, there is a separate party to the bath for both sexes. This takes place on Thursday. The bridegroom goes with his friends, and the bride goes with her friends. It is a singular feature of the wedding, that every amusement at the bridegroom's house is repeated at the bride's house.

On the afternoon of Thursday, the two parties gather under the one roof of the house which is to be the abode of the newly-married couple. The women meet in the *haremlik* and the men in the *selamlik*. Each Turkish house, as has been hinted, is divided into distinct parts, the haremlik and the selamlik. The first is for the women, and the second for the men. Not among the least of the delights upon this occasion, is the display by the bride of her diamonds and other jewelry. The custom is not, as we know, peculiar to the Orient. The presents she receives, her trousseau and toilet, are viewed with the optics of critical and admiring female friends. These are arranged in one or two rooms, so as to display them off in symmetric and lustrous beauty, and so that the guests may felicitate the happy possessors. After having admired the bride herself and the wealth wherewith she is adorned and endowed, and wherewithal she is arrayed—even to the trimmings of her dress and the adornments of her hair—the company themselves begin to share the happiness of the pair.

The writer, being of the ruder sex, has never been admitted

as yet to admire any bride in Turkey, but his own. He is unable to say how the Turkish bride looks or acts in her elegant toilet; but, on veracious hearsay, he undertakes to reproduce something of the graphic and vivacious hilarities and scenes of the "home coming" of the wedded in this Oriental land.

Let the reader, therefore, enter in fancy into the haremlik, where the writer cannot go. The room to which the bride is taken is decorated with flowers hung on the walls and on the ceiling. These are intermingled with silk stuffs of bright and variegated color. The divan is covered with a richly embroidered cloth. In one corner there is a special seat for the bride. It has the appearance of a throne. Why not? Is not the bride to be a queen here—until dethroned? Next to this room is the bridal chamber. It is shown to the visitors. The bed is magnificently made up with embroidered silk hangings and velvet coverlets, that would make the old home-made quilts of our grandmothers in America "crazy." Every convenience to begin comfortable house-keeping appears. On one side of the couch, are the "night gowns" of the bride and the bridegroom. On the divan, is the morning gown of each. On the table, there are two small vases. They contain Oriental perfumes. These are the usual objects in the Oriental bridal chamber. As to the general furnishing of the bedroom, it depends on the pecuniary and social position of families.

There is a third room shown to visitors, where every convenience and comfort which belong to a house are provided. Here are elegant dresses and toilets, mirrors, table services, linen, tables, chairs, etc., down to the most menial kitchen utensil. The Turks do not make much use of stoves; but there are braziers for warmth by charcoal, called *mangals*. They are of metal—silver, bronze or copper. They give their shining beauty to the room.

The crowd is immense in the haremlik on Thursday, when the bride makes her entrance into her new home. So great is the throng, that a mistress of ceremonies is a *desideratum*. She prevents overcrowding, and endeavors to make the guests comfortable. The room in which the bride is to be received is kept free from the mass. The visitors are seated in the surrounding rooms and in their nooks and angles. As there are no men allowed in the haremlik, the women rush in there with absolute freedom. Nearly all of them uncover their faces. Mischief fairly dances in their large black eyes!

Now comes the very acme and the heyday of this unique entertainment! Upon the eventful Thursday and in the forenoon, a long procession of carriages loaded with elegant toilets of Turkish yashmaks and férédjés (*i.e.* dresses) moves toward the house of the bridegroom. In its midst there is one carriage specially honored. It may not compare with the bridal chariot described in the Bible, whose wood was of cedar, its pillars of silver, its bottom of gold, its covering of purple, and the midst thereof paved with love for the daughters of Jerusalem. It may, at least for the poorer class, be only the ordinary araba or wagon, gilded outside and furnished within, with yellow silk, or for the richer such as one may see going from Stambool over the bridge to Péra in a coach of French or German manufacture, with an elegant high-stepping team of bays. But, for rich or poor, there is a favored vehicle, in which, as yet in maiden meditation, sits the central figure of the procession! She is dressed in faultless array; her artist has prepared the eye with a pencil, quite worthy of Meissonnier. Her face is shrouded under a thick veil of gold threads, which float down to her waist. As soon as the procession approaches the house, notice is given to the bridegroom. He hurries to the door of the haremlik, to receive the bride; for, be it known, as to this day of days, the bridegroom is made an exception, and is graciously allowed to enter the sacred precincts where the group of women awaits him. He tenders his arm to the bride. He conducts her through the crowd of women to the throne room. He seats her on the throne. He speaks to her some honeyed words, full of Oriental metaphor and loving ardor. Perhaps he recites a verse from Hafiz, about the love of the bulbul and the rose; or, perhaps, he compares his beloved, after Solomon's ornate style, with all the fragrance of the gardens and the glory of the morning. Perhaps, he calls her a bundle of myrrh, a cluster of camphire in the vineyards of En-ghadi, the rose of Sharon, the lily of the valley; or like unto a young hart upon the mountains of spices! Perhaps, he tells her that she is as fair as the moon and clear as the sun; or something, if not so grandiose, more appropriate and gentle for the occasion.

In passing amidst the women, he bows low and hangs his head modestly downward. Nevertheless the women affect surprise and indignation at his intrusion within their precinct. They begin a general howling. They cover their faces with fluttering haste;

for is not this apparition a horrid monster? Regardless of feet or hands, the Turkish women must cover their faces. Then they are indeed secluded. No reck for any other part of the body. As is generally the case on such occasions, if their yashmaks are not handy, they take hold of their skirts and with them hide their blushes. The bridegroom continues his compliments to the bride. She continues to enshroud her face. He retires, bent like an interrogation point; and looking sheepishly down absorbed in æsthetic study of the figures and hues of the rug upon the floor. While retiring, he scatters among the crowd small coin, by the handful—gold, silver or copper, according to his wealth and position. The women still keep their faces under cover; and, from under cover, as from the chorus in a Greek drama, there comes a murmur of approbation for the happy match, and sometimes of disapprobation, if, in the opinion of the chorus, it is a bad match. The bride then takes refreshments, and rests a little. The gold-thread veil covering her face is taken off. She is ready to show herself to the visitors; but only, of course, to the female portion.

To give a description of the attire of the bride, demands a dainty pen and a nicer sense than belongs to the sterner sex. The writer essays to do it with apprehension. First: She wears wide trousers, not unlike a petticoat, tied up at the end on each leg. The fabric is of red, blue, or yellow silk, embroidered with gold. Then there is a robe of silk or velvet, and a long train, glittering with gold embroideries and precious stones and surrounded with gold trimmings and lace. Her boots or shoes are adorned in the same mode. The dressing of her head is remarkable, and her face is painted in the most exaggerated manner, in white and red, and her eyes, her eyebrows, and eyelashes are delicately penciled. These elegancies of the toilet rob something of grace from her naturalness, by defacing her maiden beauty. Upon her cheeks are stuck two jewels, each as large as half a dollar. In the middle of each cheek there is a big diamond. Over the cheek and on the forehead are affixed small gold stars, mounted with precious stones. This completes the costly disfigurement of the face. Over the forehead, a tuft is mounted with an extremely large diamond. If the family be well off, this gem is as big as a walnut. Another diamond, oblong in shape, is fixed on one side of the head. From the crown of the head down to the ear, diamonds are scattered over and through the hair. Kid

gloves cover her hands, over which a large number of rings are worn. A beautiful fan completes the picture of the bride *en toilette.* It is disenchanting to know that the tuft, the oblong diamond, and the wedding dresses are often hired for the ceremony. That is not unreasonable, because it is economical, for these portions of the regalia cannot be used on any other than a wedding occasion, or by any one else than a bride.

The bride being refreshed, the congratulations of the visitors commence! The mistress of ceremonies shows the ladies into the bride's room. In groups of eight or ten, they approach the bride, examine her with the greatest curiosity, and address her a "Mashallah! Mashallah!" which means: "May Allah guard you!" They then retire. All the visitors make this round of ceremonious piety.

Meanwhile, the amusements, on both sides of the house, haremlik and selamlik, continue. After sunset, the bridegroom, who is supposed not to know his bride (never having seen his wife uncovered), is expected to make a call upon her by the inside door which communicates with the harem. This is the effort of his life. It requires exquisite diplomacy and stalwart courage; for has he not to escape from his own hilarious friends and relatives, who are ready to play every prank known to human mischief, and who make every exertion to detain him from the society of his beloved? This is the culminating pleasantry of the occasion. It commences smoothly enough, and the bridegroom takes it with good temper and vivacity; but the more he tries to avoid, deceive, and flee from them, the more teasing and vigilant they become. Finally, in despair, he tries to elude them by sheer force. In some instances he fails in this. He is sometimes thrashed soundly; but no question of assault and battery is ever raised.

When the bridegroom at last reaches his bride, he finds her still with face covered, as when she came into the house. Usage requires that, after he gives her a present, he should uncover her face. They then exchange compliments. From that moment her face is to be veiled to every one else of the other sex, except to him!

This is marriage in its most simple and ordinary ceremony. The husband, as it is his right, may want to marry a second wife, and after the second he may want a third and a fourth one. These are in addition to the odalisques, which he may have *ad libitum.*

Here is where the entanglement and trouble begins in the household.

The first wife has no right to oppose her husband's marrying a second, third, and fourth time. He is not compelled even to ask her opinion about the matter. He is free in the premises, so long as he does not exceed four wives. The only instance where the consent of the wife is required is in case the husband wants to marry a cousin or an aunt of hers. She may oppose and prevent such an alliance. If he insist, in spite of her opposition, he must repudiate the wife and pay her dower. This sometimes is a difficult thing to do.

The dower is obligatory, though it is not necessary that it should be a part of the contract. Its amount is fixed by agreement. As a rule it varies according to the social condition of the woman. Thus, in case no dower has been allowed, as often happens, the judge fixes it under the law; and although the law has fixed some limits to it, still it is left to the discretion of the judge. He may make it sufficient for the kind of living to which the woman has been accustomed.

In making the dower obligatory, the code has in view principally a provision for the repudiated wife. The code means that she shall have a decent support for the period of time she is forbidden to marry. This period is six months. Dower is intended also as a shield against too frequent repudiations. It happens often, that though the husband is desirous of repudiating his wife, he finds it impossible to pay her dower; so he abstains from repudiating her. The law fixes the dower to five hundred *drams* of silver, or sixty-five ounces of silver. This is but a pittance nowadays; but it was fixed by the Prophet. This is the amount which he assessed for his own wives. It must have been adequate for the few necessities required by a woman among the Arab tribes at Mecca and Medina thirteen hundred years ago. Besides, it was fixed at an epoch when silver was scarcer than it is now, and before bonanzas of the white metal had leaped out of the sunless temples of the earth.

Moreover, anything which is capable of being legally acquired may be made in payment of dower, except wine and hogs! One of the odd forms of dower is the teaching of a chapter of the Koran by the husband to the wife. It is a pious, though pecuniary epuivalent! Dower also may be a slave, or a house, or anything

of value. If the husband is not able to furnish them he is liable for their value. The dower may also be agreed upon after the marriage. The wife may exonerate the husband from the dower, or she may commute it for something else. She becomes the proprietor of the dower, and may legally dispose of it; but should the husband divorce her before the marriage is consummated, the half of it reverts to him. Should she forgive him that which belongs to her, the whole would be his. If a slave be assigned as dower, and she should emancipate the slave, and she is divorced before the consummation of the marriage, she is liable for half the value of the slave. In case of dispute with regard to the amount of the dower, the word of the husband is preferred until the contrary is proved; whereas, if he acknowledge the amount stated as the dower, and alleges its delivery, but fails to prove it, credit is given to the word and oath of the woman.

The code provides as to the time to be devoted by the husband to each one of his wives, in case he has more than one. This rule of law has its initiative in the organic law that each man has a right to four wives, and that a man has the absolute disposal of all the hours of the day for himself. The law allows no right to the wife to claim the attention of her husband during the daytime. It creates an obligation upon the husband to divide the rest of his time equally between his wives, or at least he is not bound to make his court, or to be with one wife, more than once in every four days, and this, whether he has one wife or more. If among his wives there is a slave, she has the right only to receive half the time allotted to the free wife. This does not include slaves or odalisques who are not lawfully married.

The temporary marriages being admitted only by the Sheeahs, and these temporary contracts not being under general Mohammedan law, it may suffice to state that such marriages can be legally made for one month or one year. They are allowed by the religious rules of that sect.

The harshness of the marriage contract toward the women of the Mohammedan countries is greatly exaggerated, if not entirely fanciful. Marriage is, as we have said, a civil contract. It is like, and yet not unlike, the contract in England and America. It gives no preference or right to either of the contracting parties over the property of the other party. The wife retains her power of disposing of her estate. She can be sued or sue. In suing,

she has no need of a "next friend," or trustee. She may summon her own husband into court. Nor is he liable for any debts of her contracting. He does not vulgarly, as was once the custom in America, advertise her absence from bed or board to avoid the payment of her debts. True, he must maintain her and pay her dower, as we have stated, in case of separation.

So that, in many respects, if western nations may not learn something of utility and equity from the Mohammedan code in the matter of marriage, they may at least refuse to credit the wild and unfounded statements that the woman of the East is a slave to her husband, and compelled to serve him, as if he had the ring of the Arabian story, upon which the genii were accustomed to wait.

S. S. Cox.

# LETTERS TO PROMINENT PERSONS.

## No. III.—To the Rev. Henry M. Dexter.

Reverend and dear sir:—The influence of the old Andover Theological Seminary has been so commanding upon the theology of this country, its attitude is still so important, and the new departure in its career has been so widely discussed, that the antagonism of one whose learning and whose writings have made him an authority in the Congregational churches cannot fail to be of serious import. That you received your professional education at Andover is of less importance than that your whole subsequent life has been identified with the interests of Congregationalism. Not only the place of your birth but the chosen studies of your later life seem to identify you in a peculiar manner with that system of theology and with that ecclesiastical organization, adopted by our forefathers and modeled more closely than any other upon those whose foundations were established in Judea eighteen hundred years ago. When, therefore, you strenuously and continuously oppose the "New Departure" of Andover, it is not to be set aside as the flippant hostility of a foe, glad to seize upon any pretext for hostility, but as the reluctant opposition of a friend forced to differ from those with whom his strongest wish is to agree.

As I understand your position, it is not whether the creed of Andover Seminary or the creed of the Andover professors be the right creed. It is not even whether it were wise in the founders of the Seminary to impose such a creed upon the professors. It is that the Seminary creed is one thing and the professors' creed is another; that the founders did impose their creed upon the professors and that the professors cannot honestly subscribe to it, while holding their own substantially different creed. Yet

they do subscribe to it. They not only subscribe to it when they become professors but they repeat their oath every five years. Apparently the founders, knowing the restless tendency of the human intellect, meant to bind it hard and fast.

I confess I have not been quite able to see how the professors slipped their hands out of the iron wristlets. In my obscure and distant corner of the Master's vineyard, I have been a constant reader of your religious journal. I have depended upon it for all my knowledge of the great ecclesiastical world, and in large measure for my own ecclesiastical opinions, and I have fully shared your inability to recognize the principles of honor and intelligence which permitted the Andover professors to take the iron-clad oath of our iron-clad ancestors, yet to preach and to teach a doctrine which would have made every joint in their armor rattle.

To say that I have received light from an unexpected quarter, meaning yourself, would not be quite true, because your life and labors have been such that light from you is never unexpected. In your reasoning upon this matter you employ the true scientific method, and in so doing almost make us converts to the Rev. Mark Pattison's theory that knowledge is the ozone of the soul and the only real cure for our superstitions, stupidities and vices. Instead of loose endless and useless argument about opinions you give two important and conclusive facts. From your abounding treasure-house of Puritan lore, you simply bring forward what the Andover founders believed and what were the words of the pledge which they exacted of the professors. This is worth reams of talk. You enable us to judge for ourselves, and in this you have done to the cause of truth the greatest service.

That service is not lessened in the smallest degree by the fact that the light you hold out to us shines on a different path from the one to which you point. We may be surprised that you do not walk in that light, but we are none the less grateful to you for the light.

You give two reasons why the continuance of the Andover professors in the Andover Seminary seems to you inconsistent and inexplicable, and of these two reasons one would shut out substantially all living Congregationalists and the other would let in all living heretics. This is certainly a wider scope than you intend, but a few moments of consideration will show to your keen intelligence that it is not wider than your words necessitate.

In your first reason, treating of future probation, which is the point in dispute, you pertinently remind your readers, or rather, since probably most of them were entirely ignorant of it, you suggest to them that old-school Calvinism knew nothing about the modern doctrine *of probation for men, here or hereafter.* The Andover creed, you tell us, knew nothing about it. Adam, according to this old-school Calvinism, was the Federal Head, the representative of his race. He, and he alone, was placed in a state of probation. He fell. By reason of his fall all his descendants were born sinners. With him probation ceased. All his sons and daughters had their probation in him. They had and have none of their own. God, of his mere good pleasure from all eternity, elected some to everlasting life. They will be saved. Those not elected will not be saved, but "rejection of Christ is neither the cause nor the condition of the condemnation of the non-elect," though acceptance of Christ is necessary to the salvation of the elect.

"What," you justly ask; "what possible unity of spirit can there be between this scheme of belief and one which involves probation following death?"

But, I ask, what possible unity of spirit can there be between this scheme of belief and one which involves probation following Adam? The difference between the Andover professors and their opponents you demonstrate to be a matter of time, not of principle. The Andover founders believed probation to stop with one man at the beginning of the world, and they meant to bar out from their seminary everyone who did not believe the same. You of the anti-future-probationists believe that probation goes on to the end of the world for every man and then stops, and you leap through the Andover creed into the Seminary halls and teach that doctrine. The Andover professors believe that probation not only goes to the end of the world but may go on indefinitely after, and they take the same hand-spring through the creed and stand teaching by your side, and you turn to them with startled conscience and say: "Go away. You do not belong here. You do not agree with the Andover creed. You did not come in by the old Calvinistic gate."

"And you!" why should they not say? "If you can crash in through the creed with your probation for the millions of men since Adam, why have we not a right to follow with that proba-

tion indefinitely extended? The rent is not one inch made worse by our athletics. It is only that we have a little longer tail to our kite.

"There is far less difference between our opinion and yours than between yours and the opinion of the founders. They gave probation to one man and to one man only, and that for a small part of his life. You give it to all men, for all their lives. We push its possibilities beyond this life. We only grant an extension of terms. You make new terms. We have all jumped the old school Calvinism gate so that is past praying for. If we, present Andoverians, have jumped a little higher than Professor Park and Professor Phelps, we cannot pretend that it is because we have more agility than they, and you need not suggest that it is because we have less specific gravity. It is only because the debris of outworn doctrines are slowly burying the old gate that did good service in its day, so that we have a little more 'rising ground' to stand on. Our feat of strength is really no greater than yours, though we mark higher on the scale."

Thus, then, your first reason shows that unless Professor Park and Professor Phelps and their contemporaries believed that there had been no probation since Adam; that those who are lost are lost not because they reject Christ but because God, of his own good pleasure, did elect them to damnation, they had no more right to be professors in Andover Theological Seminary than have the brothers Smyth. The Andover creed must have been just as hard swearing for them as it is for the present professors.

It may be that they are all wrong; but certainly they are all wrong together. You find great difficulty in understanding "how good men like our friends [at Andover] can reconcile it to their conscience once in five years to profess that they believe, and to promise to teach this creed, while in works they deny it;" but Professor Park and Professor Phelps must have had just as tough a wrestle with their consciences. They prevailed; they got into the Seminary; they gave the founders the go-by; they left Adam to work out his own salvation, and they taught their young men to do the same, till every hillside between San Francisco and Eastport bristles with present probation, and now it is really droll to see these heretics of yesterday prodding the heretics of to-day with the same ox-goads wherewithal the heretical founders of day-before-yesterday attempted to prick and stimulate the jaded consciences of yes-

terday. Must it not be assumed that men widely known, largely influential, leaders of religious thought, scholars of life-long study, have a good deal to say for themselves when they pursue a course which seems not the shortest line between two points?

What it is that they have to say for themselves, your second reason amply supplies. You wisely cite the creed imposed upon all Andover professors by the founders of the Seminary, and we see that it requires them to pledge themselves "to open and explain the Scriptures with integrity and faithfulness," and to "inculcate the Christian faith, . . . according to the best light God shall give them." Surely in this lies their complete justification. Nay, more, in this lies their imperative obligation. They pledge themselves to open the Scriptures with integrity, with wholeness—not partially, not with reference to what they have been taught, or to what the founders believed, but according to the best light GOD shall give them. Herein lies true liberty. Herein are our iron-clad ancestors glorified. No freedom of modern thought has advanced one inch beyond this out-post which these old-school Calvinists took and guarded. Nor is it pertinent to say that they builded better than they knew. Haply and happily we all build better than we know when we do the right thing. Consequences belong to the Almighty. In sore strait, limited in knowledge, hampered by narrow circumstances, hard beset by stern nature, our grand and rugged Fathers hammered, as it were, out of the flinty rock, this precious metal of truth, loyalty "to the best light God shall give." All their narrowness, their prejudice, their iron bands, their rigid Calvinism, are to be judged in this softened and hallowed light. The large is not to be limited by the small. The small is to be interpreted by the large.

You, dear sir, seem not quite disposed to follow; perhaps not quite clear to see the way they marked. You would limit the large by the small; but then there is no use in having any large. There is no meaning in the large. You do not admit that the professors are endowed with liberty to teach whatsoever the Scriptures, studied according to the best light God shall give them, may suggest. You quote another sentence from the same pledge, commanding them to teach "in opposition not only to atheists and infidels, but to Jews, Papists, Mohammedans, Arians, Pelagians, Antinomians, Arminians, Socinians, Sabellians, Unitarians and Universalists; and to ALL *heresies and errors, ancient or*

*modern, which may be opposed to the Gospel of Christ, or hazardous to the souls of men.*"

The italics are yours, but I adopt them with concurrent emphasis as the ample explanation of the creed, the absolute justification of the professors. The concluding summary shows the principle on whieh the exclusions were made. The specifications show what doctrines the founders considered to be heresy. The principle which they enunciated holds good to this day. It is as fresh, as vital now, as it was on the day in which the Seminary was founded with prayer and praise. But neither do the professors antagonize the principle which the fathers of Andover formulated, nor do they teach the heretical doctrines named. There is, therefore, now no condemnation for their subscription oath.

The gist of your argument is in your italics and small capitals, but it may be divided into two branches. In so many words you hold that the professor is not to be endowed with unlimited liberty to teach whatsoever the Scriptures studied according to the best light God shall give him, may suggest. You maintain that nothing can discharge him from the prior and greater obligation of hiding, even if extinguishing, the candle of the Lord under the bushel measure of old-school Calvinism. And further than this, you imply that his study of the Scripture has led him into heresy and error.

For the first, I so far differ from you, that I look upon the words you have cited, as furnishing a marvelous example of the way in which the Creator of men seems to overrule their wishes and designs to his own purpose ; to guard those who faithfully seek and serve Him against the mistakes of their own limitations. These Andover founders were the wise and liberal Christians of their day, and God so framed their words that their liberality overlapped their narrower consciousness and came down to this present moment to enfold and protect their intellectual heirs and assigns. They rejected Atheism and Universalism and all the isms included between the two. Yet so loyal were they to the truth that their words permitted, nay enjoined truth to be sought and taught even into the very heart of what they deemed to be wildernesses of error. They abhorred heresy, yet God gave them to decree that the flower of truth should be plucked from the nettle of the most deadly heresy. To interpret them otherwise, is to make the light of God and the word of the founders of none effect. To suppose

otherwise is to suppose that the founders meant to say to the professors "You may think and teach whatever God tells you, so long as it does not conflict with what we tell you." We know them too well to assume for a moment that they set themselves above the Most High. That would be absurd. It is not absurd to assume that they exhorted implicit obedience to the Divine light, naming the things which they believed to darken the Divine light; but naming them with a qualifying clause, which left even them to the redeeming influence of further light. They fervently believed Jews, Papists, Universalists, to be the Servants of Sin. They had a definite end in view, and they took no account of the real and heavenly mission of the Jews; of the splendid and enduring ecclesiastical organization which has indeed enforced error with an iron hand, but which has also conserved truth through deadly perils; of that substantial and benevolent quality in Universalism which may have defied reason and disregarded facts, yet which sought to glorify God, and force, as it were, all men to enjoy Him forever. But God giveth to his beloved sleeping. These noble and faithful men consecrating their property to His service, might have fastened their partial truths upon the future, but that God himself, is it too much to believe, inspired them with principles and words ample to hold the more rounded truths which their own beloved Institution should help to evolve. Instead of binding their professors to give up the study of Scripture if it should lead them into Papacy, they so framed their words, shall we not say taught of God?—as to rule out of Papacy and the other doctrines only that quality and portion which is opposed to the Gospel of Christ and hazardous to the souls of men. What they deemed heresy, is temporary. To modern society Antinomians and Socinians are but words, are but ancient history. The spirit of the rule drawn up by the Andover Fathers is eternal. Before the foundations of Andover were laid, and when of her walls not one stone shall be left upon another, still was it, and still will it be, human duty to teach and to preach according to the best light God shall give, and against all heresies and errors which may be opposed to the gospel of Christ or hazardous to the souls of men.

But even if the founders did not intend this large liberty to open and teach the Scriptures, the professors are not less justified; for with the net spread wide open to Atheists and all heretics, the professors are not caught. Even you do not maintain that they are

in the net. Even you only accuse them of flying toward the net. All that you can say is that if the founders were alive now the professors *would* be caught. They maintain that future probation is not Universalism or any heresy. Where is the tribunal that shall authoritatively decide that it is? If it is not, there is no case against them. Until it is proven authoritatively to be heresy, there is no case against them. Your indictment is not supported with that strength which marks your warfare against false doctrine, real heresy and schism. You claim that the professors should not follow any study of Scripture that leads them "toward Universalism." But you do not assume to say where the larger desire that all men should be redeemed to the love of God must stop in order not to infringe upon, not even to lead toward Universalism. You say that the Andover professor "must in like manner be held to promise not to follow it in the direction of future probation, provided that can fairly be classed with any of these banned faiths." Who is to decide whether it can fairly be classed with the banned faiths or not? You yourself do not venture categorically to ban it, though you do give it a tentative and qualified push in that direction. I certainly do not class it with the banned faiths, unless my own church has utterly misled me as to what the banned faiths are. The banned faiths themselves look askance at it, and only put up cautionary signals. The suspects loudly and everywhere proclaim that it is no heresy, no error, no form of the banned faiths, that it is not opposed to the Gospel of Christ, but is in strictest accordance with it, is indeed deducible from it; that it is not hazardous, but indispensable to the souls of men; absolutely necessary to the harmony of the gospels with the understanding which is given by the inspiration of the Almighty.

And to meet this, your only resort is to bring the dead out of their graves, and present as evidence the horror which they would feel for this doctrine, were they alive! But it is nearly two hundred years since spiritual testimony was ruled out of court, and the bloody assizes of witchcraft closed forever. The written word remains. Until some established and recognized tribunal pronounces them heretics, there is no reason in their oath why the Andover professors should not stand in their lot to the end of the days. And when they are thus condemned, Professor Park and Professor Phelps must stand side by side with them in the same stocks and under the same condemnation.

I am speaking not in the interests of the Andover professors, nor of modern heresies. Not one of the objectionable professors have I ever met. Their faces I do not know. Their voices I have never heard. Their names I cannot wholly recall. Until the reading of your paper I was entirely though passively opposed to their position. All the classes of belief stigmatized by the Andover creed as heresy and error I believe to be heresy and error. Orthodox Congregationalism is the creed to which I was born, and to which, with every new light and every added experience, I the more devoutly, and, I believe, the more intelligently adhere. To my view, probation has neither past nor future, but is an eternal now. Now is the only accepted time. Now is the only day of salvation. Neither the to-morrow of this world, nor the to-morrow of any other world is the time to turn from wickedness, to conform to law, to be reconciled to God. This is the day which the Lord hath made, in which we are to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk softly before Him to whom one day is as a thousand years and a thousand years as one day.

I can hardly hope that my knowledge—but lately derived from you—can change your opinion to whom this knowledge has been long familiar. Yet it may perhaps comfort you concerning your friends, to know that one who has at least the advantage of looking at them from an entirely impartial point of view sees, in the light which your own intelligence affords, that they are true men and no spies; that they are not only opening the Gospel according to the best light which God giveth them, but that they are also walking in the ordinances of the fathers and founders of Andover Seminary, blameless.

I am, with great respect,

ARTHUR RICHMOND.

# CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

For centuries European communication with "far Cathay" was checked by the length and difficulty of the way. Embassies from the Roman emperors and the mediæval popes occasionally reached this distant land. Subsequently, trade concessions were grudgingly granted to certain European nations, and Christian missionaries allowed entrance. Their aggressive teachings, won martyrdom. The missions vanished in blood, and China, with a bang, shut fast her door against Western "barbarians."

Meanwhile, her dealings had been with rude peoples, to whom she was vastly superior. For fifteen centuries she was a teacher; all other nations having real intercourse with her were pupils; and, indeed, during the period of mediæval Europe, China unquestionably was the most civilized country on earth. Under these circumstances was developed an intense national pride—a further source of exclusiveness. It finds expression in all of China's popular names, which represent her as being at the center, while around and far beyond her borders lie the "barbarian" countries—such as "Central Flower," "Central Flowery Land," "Middle Kingdom."

But Europe advanced splendidly, and the present century found the Asiatic possessions of three of its most powerful nations encircling the empire, save on its coast line—Russia, on the north and west; England, on the south-west; and France, on the south. Complications arose, and China felt forced to alter her foreign policy. Diplomatic intercourse with the states of Christendom, and commercial relations upon a treaty basis, were the outcome of the opium war with England (1839–42). China suddenly threw open to the trade of the world five of her most important ports; a migratory spirit has been aroused, and a tide is pouring through the gates of this colossal empire. To other peoples, indeed, China remains practically an unknown land. Some missionaries and a

few explorers are found in the interior; but the money-loving Chinese are streaming over the world, and quietly establishing themselves, and forming colonies after their fashion, in the trade centers of Christendom.

There are 500,000 in the Malay Archipelago, and 1,500,000 in Siam. Singapore is the distributing point, whence vast numbers annually go into the adjacent countries. The immigration, in 1882, was 100,000; in 1883, 150,000; and an increase was expected the following year. Singapore is itself overrun with them, and illustrates their shrewdness in seizing upon trade centers. Situated on the straits of Malacca, at the extremity of the Malay peninsula, the touching point for every east-bound steamship, and back, it has risen to great importance. The Chinese have swarmed into it.

"On my first visit to Singapore, in 1871," writes Baron von Hubner, "the population consisted of 100 white families, 20,000 Malays, and a few thousand Chinese. On my return there, in the beginning of 1884, the population stood 100 white families, 20,000 Malays, and 86,000 Chinese. A new Chinese town had sprung up, with magnificent stores, and beautiful residences and pagodas. I imagined that I was transported to Canton."

Since 1860, 200,000 have entered Chili and Peru—an immense number when one considers the small European population. There are 130,000 in Cuba. They are pressing into the Sandwich Islands. There are 50,000 in Australia, and more than three times this number in the United States—30,000 being in San Francisco, where they constitute one-seventh of the population, and one-fourth of the laboring class; and, spite of prohibitory laws, they steadily increase, in these countries, in numbers and influence, finding a way to us through Mexico and British Columbia.

These are recent facts, and, whatever may be the past history of the Chinese, they demonstrate a present powerful migratory movement.

The cause is not political oppression. China theoretically is a despotism, and its officials are often cruel and corrupt; yet powerful local correctives exist, and, upon the whole, the Chinese are the freest native people of Asia.

Nor does the cause wholly lie in the pressure of super-dense population. There are immense fertile districts in Manchooria sparsely peopled; and though Mongolia is largely desert, yet there remain many broad unoccupied areas, susceptible of cultivation,

and which once supported the warriors of Genghis Khan. Throughout the empire the population to the square mile is but 90; in China proper, 180. There are, doubtless, swarming coast districts where it averages from 300 to 500, where agriculture has been pushed to the extreme limits of possibility, and the struggle for existence is intense.

This migratory movement has its mainspring in the Chinaman's wish to better his condition; and a number of considerations combine to encourage the flow specially toward our shores.

In no civilized country are wages so high and living (relatively) so cheap, as in the United States: in none are wages so low as in China. A workingman in California receives from $3 to $5 per day; in China, from 10 cents to 16 cents. If we consider, then, that on opposite shores of the same ocean are two countries, in one of which wages are at the maximum, in the other at the minimum; that the one has a sparse population, the other a population remarkably dense; that America's climate is congenial, and her government liberal; that competition has reduced the passage as low, in some instances, as $12, and that, under the "contract system," by which a mortgage is given upon his future wages, the poorest Chinaman may emigrate—we have the conditions that naturally stimulate the Chinese toward us.

The magnitude of the possible inflow is appalling. The empire covers a third of Asia, and holds a third of the world's inhabitants. China proper has a homogeneous population of 360,000,000. A migratory movement in such a race toward a given point, is startling in the extreme; and unless we are satisfied, as a recent writer states it, that the greatest possible influx would do us no harm, it is wisdom to meet any danger at the outset.

As far as Chinese immigration is transient merely, it may exist to such a degree as to justify exclusion on this account alone. If the Chinaman comes only to accumulate and transfer, we may be disastrously bled. The scale of wages and living is so low in China, that what we regard as a small sum makes a fortune there; and the impulse of the poor Chinese, whose lot in their own land is often extremely hard, to go abroad where wages are high, and return with the few thousands that bring affluence and ease, is powerful. Vast numbers are acting on this impulse. The Chinese in Australia return annually to China, in gold-dust alone, a quarter

million of dollars. A statement appears that the remittance from California last year was $15,000,000, and that the sum total for twenty-five years has been little short of $200,000,000! Intrinsically, it is the curse of Irish landlordism; since the pith of the matter is the exportation of profits, and it is immaterial whether the drain be through lord or laborer.

As a permanent immigrant, we must exclude coalescence with the whites, as resulting in race deterioration. There is, indeed, little tendency, in any particular, to assimilate with us. Blood union is apparently forbidden by natural laws, seeing that the Slavic and Mongolian mixture of Central Asia, is inferior to either stock. In estimating, therefore, the effects of their inflow, we are to consider them as a race apart, bringing over their women, establishing colonies, and introducing their civilization, as illustrated at "Chinatown" in San Francisco.

The question of exclusion is not to be decided by a howl from the "Sand lot." It should be met dispassionately, with a proper understanding of what the Chinese are, and the economic and moral results reasonably apprehended from their presence.

They are a highly civilized and proud-spirited people—a vast, ancient, stoical, and, in many respects, singularly gifted race, from whom have arisen sages, scholars, and patriots of world-wide renown, with a written language, a literature (so full and interesting that a special term, *sinology*, has been coined to express its study), systems of manners and of morals, national and religious traditions, codes of law, and a political structure of most remarkable stability. Their authentic history begins 800 B.C., half a century anterior to the foundation of Rome, and when Romulus, if the legend be true, was drawing his nourishment from lupine dugs. It is the oldest existing government, and older, by far, than any the world has ever known. Its perpetuity rests upon official intelligence, and a wise system of family rule. China is governed by her educated men, who become eligible for office only after passing rigorous competitive examinations. Capacity in those who govern finds a tractable quality in the governed; for China is the land of filial piety, and inherits the blessing pronounced in the fourth Commandment. The family is the social unit, not the individual. The popular term for the commonweal is "The Hundred Families." "China's vast imperialism is but the expansion of the paternal and filial rela-

tion;" and filial obedience becomes reverence for law and subordination in the citizen.

The Chinese are not wanting in courage, active or passive, but have not shown warlike tendencies. At times, northern hordes have rushed down upon China's vast plain—Genghis Khan, at the head of the Mongols, and, after him, the Manchius, conquered the country, and fastened their dynasties upon it. Those barbaric irruptions, however, that destroyed the civilization of southern Europe, producing a chaos, out of which has been slowly evolved the present political order, wrought no such effect upon the persistent Chinese, who quietly absorbed their conquerors, and have never deviated from their fundamental conception of government. There is no national debt; nor does there exist, excepting the descendants of Confucius, an hereditary nobility.

Their elaborate educational system, it is said, has not produced results commensurate with the effort. The memory is powerfully exercised, but the range of ideas is very narrow. The type of the Chinaman's intellect is commercial and muscular, and the struggle for existence, in a dense population, and extended through many centuries, has developed a shrewdness of methods, and a toughness of physique, and a reduced standard of comfort, that make him an ideal trader and laborer. He thrives in any quarter of the world, and under any condition, from the wash-tub, up. In the highest spheres of intellectual activity he is inferior to the Caucasian, but is exceedingly enterprising and active and patient to toil, "a born merchant of probity," a thorough cultivator, and singularly expert in every kind of handicraft; and wherever he has come fairly in contact with the Caucasian, the latter has given way.

The British merchants of Calcutta are painfully sensible of his presence. Nine-tenths of the trade of Singapore is in Chinese hands. "In 1871," writes Baron von Hubner, "the entire English trade with China, amounting then as now to £42,000,000 sterling, was transacted through English firms. The firm of Russell & Co., besides, owned twenty steamers that kept up the commercial intercourse between the treaty ports. Nowadays, this trade, together with the Russell steamers, has almost entirely passed into the hands of Chinese merchants." Their enterprise is beginning to be felt in the South Seas. The important trade of the Gilbert Islands is controlled by a great Chinese firm; and the

Americans who have been dominating the Sandwich Islands, are beginning to feel "the earth shake under their feet."

In California their success has been phenomenal. An inferior class (generally) of Chinese workmen, under the immense disadvantage of not knowing our language, or knowing it imperfectly, without experience as teamsters or in the use of agricultural machinery, against race prejudice and the powerful opposition of trade-unions—they are now in more than successful competition with Americans in every article of necessity and luxury. Accustomed, in their native rice fields, to stand all day with the feet in water and the head exposed to an almost tropical sun, they have dyked thousands of acres of the tule and tide-water lands—accomplishing a work from whose rough and unhealthful character the ordinary American shrank. They have taken worn-out and abandoned mines, and profitably worked them. In field and vineyard they are unexcelled as laborers. Along the Pacific Railroad they have displaced white section-hands. The Rocky Mountain coal mines and other mines of that region have become, in many instances, Chinese settlements.

In San Francisco they are the only professional embroiderers, and already control a number of industries. Last year, in "Chinatown" alone, nearly 3,000 were employed in the manufacture of all kinds of clothing, boots and shoes, leather, cigars, etc., etc. They use the best modern machinery, and, quick-handed and intelligent, rapidly become adepts. The Hop Kee Shoe Company, on Dupont Street, at certain seasons of the year, employ 300 men. Their goods largely supply the Pacific coast, and now find a market as far east as Salt Lake City. In the manufacture of clothing, shirts, ladies' underwear, etc., 1,245 sewing-machines were used, and with marvelous dexterity and diligence. These industries are constantly increasing. An American manufacturer, as a recent writer points out, employs Chinese workmen at low rates. Other manufacturers are soon compelled to do the same. Presently rich Chinamen appear who buy out the manufacturers, and the entire business becomes "Chinese."

The cause is patent. The American, with stronger physique, and more inventive, if less imitative, power, is, so far forth, a better workman. But a Chinaman can live on a fourth of what is required by the average American, exercising rigid rules of thrift and economy. He can, therefore, easily underbid the American,

and will always so far do so as to control the situation. The man who will do the work for half the sum, is in universal demand. The American must either lower his wage, or leave.

But it would require the same training of centuries, and under populous conditions unknown to us, for the American to come down to the Chinaman's reduced standard of comfort. Even could he at once descend to it, it would be undesirable. Low wages, with temporary local advantage to manufacturers, would ultimately prove an enduring national curse. Their incidental influence upon production is adverse, in making the laborer less efficient, and diminishing the tendency toward improved economic methods.

Their proper and permanent effect, however, is upon distribution, in giving to capital a larger share of the wealth, and widening the gap between poor and rich—an evil already assuming among us threatening aspects.

In judging Chinese immigration, we distinguish between the "water rats" of Canton and Hong Kong—the opium-smoking, hard-looking, criminal scum of seaport cities—and the clean, bright-eyed, well-bred Chinamen from the interior rice and tea farms, raised in homes where parents exact obedience and children yield it. There are, too, doubtless, noble spirits among the Chinese, many whom the best of us could admire and love. But these come not to us.

The main-stream upon California has been vile. Beyond question it is blighting the Pacific coast. The Californians are the most competent judges, and their opinion, excepting some interested manufacturers, is intense and unanimous. The State is said to be approaching retrogression, and even her millionaires are "gravitating" eastward. We have before us the "Report of the Special Committee of the Board of Supervisors of San Francisco, on the Condition of the Chinese quarter," issued last July. The facts to which they testify, after a personal and most painstaking inspection, including affidavits from prominent physicians and law officers, can scarcely be questioned. They affirm:

That in 12 blocks are crowded, in indescribable filth, 30,000 men, and 1,385 women, of the latter 57 being legitimate wives, 567 professional prostitutes, the residue either concubines or women of doubtful character; that, beds being unknown, they sleep in bunks, with two in a bunk, "relays" in daytime, and rolls of bedding for sleeping on floors, women and children being stuck in out-of-

the-way corners; that there are 150 gambling dives, the approaches to which are generally so barricaded as to defy police detection; that, while there is an "opium lay-out" in nearly every sleeping-room, the public resorts are 26, with 319 bunks; that there are 35 dens of white prostitution, generally patronized by Chinese, and 69 of Chinese prostitution, patronized generally by whites; that among the latter especially the rates are extremely low, and that white boys, as young as even 8 or 10, are often enticed into them; that there is no city in the world where so many children are afflicted with secret diseases as San Francisco, and that nine-tenths of it is traceable to the excessively cheap prostitution of "China-town;" that the Chinese prostitutes are regularly bought and sold for terms of years, and that organized bodies of villains exist, as the Ye Tung Society, for the purpose of capturing and restoring to the owner fugitive prostitutes; that gambling, opium-smoking, and prostitution are so intrenched that the police force necessary to suppress them would bankrupt the city; that the course of justice is systematically baffled by the powerful guilds or secret tribunals; that, within these 12 blocks, there are 13 Joss Houses, where hideous idols squat upon the altars; and that for every Chinaman's soul rationally converted, scores of American souls are lost through the increase of vice.

A purer stream of immigration, while lessening these moral evils, would enhance danger on the economic side.

Therefore, Congress, in 1882—as Australia has done—imposed restrictions upon immigration. As these have proven inadequate, effectual measures should be taken, or conflicts will be inevitable. The California feeling is spreading. Those who know China, know her friendship should be cherished; nevertheless, we must be self-protecting. Traditions to the winds, that do not make America first of all for Americans!

An uppermost thought in the political mind of the age is the national importance of homogeneous population. Its absence, even within the circumscribed area of those white varieties of the race, whose language, laws, and religion have a common origin, is to-day vexing England to the core, and stimulating Bismarck in a course toward the Poles that is brutal, yet sagacious. Many think we Americans have had enough of immigration, even of our own color. The riotous tendencies among us largely come from the foreign element. America's digestive powers are strained to assim-

ilate it, and develop within it that organizing principle which is the Anglo-Saxon's glory. The Negro question, too, remains unsolved. The race has a phenomenal fecundity, and should and must remain distinct, or our descendants will be hybrids inferior to the native negro ancestry. Should the race become vagabond and moribund, it would poison the body politic, and drag down those with whom it is allied. Should it advance intellectually, race struggles are foreshadowed. If this Chinese tide be allowed to keep flowing in, it will corrupt still more our ethnological hell-broth, and add another and a notable element of disturbance. The three great families into which mankind is divided—black, yellow, white—(the debasing effects of amalgamation across color lines indicate this) should develop *within themselves*, and toward what apparently are their respective bounds, a half-civilized, civilized, and enlightened condition.

E. W. GILLIAM.

# SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT OWN THE TELEGRAPH?

THE United States Government, since its foundation, has assumed the business of carrying letters and newspapers for the people. It is not necessary to argue the constitutional right, or the business propriety of this proceeding. As telegraphing is a modern form of the same service, it is remarkable that the government has permitted it to fall into the hands of private companies or monopolies. In Europe, telegraphy is almost exclusively under the management of the various governments. The first telegraphic line in the United States was constructed, owned and operated by the government. At the present time the United States erects and operates an extensive military telegraph system. These long extended and but partially used lines stretch from point to point between military posts and stations. In other words, the profitable part of telegraphing has fallen into the hands of private companies, while the most expensive and yet necessary portions of the telegraph system are maintained at very considerable cost by the government. In this way the remote or thinly settled parts of the country are deprived of telegraphic communication, and great stretches of the settled country but indifferently supplied, since it is not profitable for private enterprise to build lines in these localities. To the above may be added the still more serious objection, that under the existing system, the telegraph companies, and in combination with them the news companies, make a private monopoly of news, and are able to control its transmission to the public.

Britain, which has a similar postal organization, allowed telegraphy, when first introduced, to fall into the hands of private companies. Becoming convinced that telegraphy properly belonged to the postal system, an Act of Parliament was passed in 1868, providing that the "plant and trade" of telegraph companies should be negotiated for and paid in three per cent. consols. The

act required the post-office officials, after ascertaining what a twenty-years' purchase of profits would be, to debit the companies certain amounts for the depreciation in their "plant." The report of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for 1871 shows that up to that time the Government purchased the interest of some twenty companies. The estimated profit value was £6,215,000, from which £500,000 was deducted for depreciation of the "plant."

From Mr. Scudamore's report we learn that the principal results sought to be accomplished were: the reduction and simplification of charges for the transmission of messages throughout the British kingdom; the extension of wires from railway stations lying outside the town populations to post offices in the center of such populations; the extension of wires already carried into large cities to many points within them and to the suburbs thereof; the extension of wires into rural populations not having telegraphic communication. It was also designed to make a complete separation of the commercial and the railway telegraph system, to relieve the former. Another important purpose was to secure a perfect freedom in the collection and transmission of news, at a low rate, no matter by whom or by how many agencies it might be collected and transmitted. The evidence had shown, as it probably would in this country, that telegraph companies and news companies, in combination, not only make a monopoly in the trade of news, but by a process called "editing news," actually exercised, or were able to exercise, a censorship as to what news could be sent.

The Act of Parliament of 1868 fixed the rate of one shilling for twenty words, to all distances. In Mr. Scudamore's report for June 3, 1871, he states that after the government had furnished an enormous increase of new telegraph facilities to the public, "the net revenue was much more than the charge for capital invested," or interest charges. It is well to trace the experiment a little further. The British Postmaster-General's report for March 31, 1875, shows that the net earnings of this postal telegraph system for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1871, were £303,456 13*s.* 6*d.*; on March 31, 1872, £159,834 13*s.* 8¼*d.*; March 31, 1873, £103,120 2*s.* 8¾*d.*; March 31, 1874, £90,033 6*s.* 11½*d.*; in 1875, £36,725. That official says in his report that it will be necessary to reduce expenses, increase charges, or consent that the telegraph department shall become a permanent charge.

During the first year of government telegraphy, only nine mill-

ion eight hundred and fifty thousand messages were sent, and in 1875, nineteen million two hundred and fifty-three thousand. As an offset to this falling off in revenue it must be remembered that there had been a great reduction in the telegraphic charges to the public. Mr. Scudamore estimates that this reduction was not less than £300,000 per year. There was also a very heavy business in telegraphing for all the departments of the government, which was not paid for until within a few years, the effect of crediting the telegraph service with this amount being to bring this department nearer a paying basis.

Mr. Bain, writing in 1856, states that at that time, out of 730 post offices, only 260 had telegraph stations. The Postmaster-General's report for 1872 shows 3,444 stations, and in 1874, 3,692 stations. Of the latter more than 500 did not pay office expenses. A considerable portion of the income derived from British postal telegraphy has been expended in extending the lines and increasing their facilities for business, being in this way investments in "plant." Extraordinary expenses were incurred for cable and other connections and experiments. One cause of heavier expenditure connected with its administration was increased salaries to the operators and employees. On the incorporation of telegraphy with the postal system it was deemed an act of justice to raise the wages the operators had received from the telegraph companies and put them on the same footing as employees of the Post-office Department. Upon the whole, the British public have been greatly benefited, and have lost nothing pecuniarily by the change.

For many years efforts have been made in Congress to add a complete system of telegraphy to the Post-office Department. Many bills have been introduced, investigations carried on and reports made looking to this end. If the question is asked why these efforts have failed, it may be replied that the chief stumbling block in the way has been the imaginary vested rights of the great corporations which now control telegraphy in the United States.

Three general plans or modes for securing postal telegraphy have been proposed. First, that the government construct, own and operate a complete telegraphic branch of the Post-office Department. Second, that the government should buy out existing lines of telegraph, and extend them until telegraphic communication was universal. Third, that the post offices be created telegraph offices, and all existing lines leased or hired, under contract,

as the government does in transporting mail matter by railroad, steamboat, stage or horseback.

It is obvious that there would be serious objections to the latter plan. The government would have to construct all the new extensions needed, or hire men to construct them. There could be but little competition in hiring or leasing these lines. Erecting telegraph lines should be a public function, as they can be better built and protected by public authority than private enterprise. One advantage of government telegraphy being to take from private parties all connection with its management, and also to avoid the dangers of monopoly, the government should have the lines completely in its own hands.

There remain the other two propositions—buying out existing lines, or erecting new ones. When the subject has been before House and Senate committees the representatives of existing telegraph companies have assumed that the government had no right to consolidate telegraphy with the postal system until it had taken all existing telegraph property off the hands of the present holders. They also demanded the fictitious price put on the property by them.

All persons engaged in business, not protected by the monopoly of a patent, know and act upon the knowledge that they are exposed to the competition of other persons and the government authorities. If we are to assume that the government has no right to exercise what would be a legitimate public function, it would be necessary, before improving the navigation of a great river between States, to buy up all the express companies and common carriers on its banks. If there are vested rights in business, no man would be able to open a shop without indemnifying all who might be injured by his competition. There is, however, another subject to consider. The government not only carries our letters, but makes it a penal offense for any person or company to carry them. If this exclusive privilege was a part of government postal telegraphy, we would legislate out of existence property now in use. That we could not equitably do without fair indemnification. We might, it is true, create an independent government telegraph system, and leave every person at liberty to compete or carry on the telegraphic business. One great object of government telegraphy is a low uniform rate ; for instance, that a message should be carried to any post office in the country and delivered for five or ten cents

for each ten words. At the latter rate, they could probably be transmitted through the heavily populated and commercial portions of the country, leaving the expense of carrying on telegraphy in more remote or thinly settled districts to become, as in the case of the post office, a public charge. To such a plan the telegraph companies interpose another objection. If the government built lines on money or bonds paying two and a half or three per cent., and only charged such a price for the messages as would pay interest and current expenses, private companies would not realize their present profits, and could not compete at all with the lines supported by government.

In the United States telegraphy by private corporations has continually tended to monopoly. There are only two telegraph companies which do general business to any extent, and, as a widespread institution, practically only one. Fair competition does not exist. When a new company starts it is bought out or *trampled* out. An examination of Report No. 577, 1st Session, 48th Congress, shows that on May 27, 1884, the stock capital of the Western Union was $80,000,000, the bonded debt $6,224,176, and its annual obligations to leased lines in the country equal, if capitalized, to a debt of $8,800,000. Of its stock capital the committee says: "Nearly the whole of it has arisen from stock dividends and from purchases of the lines of other companies, which were paid for by issues of stock." This report also says: "In 1863 its stock capital was only $3,000,000, and even of that amount, small as it seems in comparison with the present stock capital of $80,000,000, it is quite certain that at least five-sixths of it consisted of what is known in stock manipulations as 'water.'" I quote further from the report: "In respect to the issue of stock for purchases of other lines, the prices paid have no relation either to the cost or the earning capacity of the property." From the voluminous testimony taken by the committee, it appears that the Western Union at that time had 348,819 miles of wire; and, in addition, 82,909 miles leased or controlled by it—a total of 431,728 miles. The report estimates "the actual cost at $70 per mile, including wire, posts, construction and the instruments for telegraphing." In this way the committee places the cost of the entire lines *at* $30,220,960, and they further say that of these only 350,000 miles are absolutely necessary on these lines for the business of telegraphing, *the cost being* $24,500,000. The total share debt and rental capital is

$95,024,176, and as the dividends on the stock part are at the rate of 7 per cent., it requires a net profit in order to pay the annual charges of $6,594,911.

The report of the Western Union for the year ending June 30, 1883, shows 40,581,177 messages, with receipts of $19,454,902, which would average about 48 cents per telegram. By the testimony of Mr. Hubbard it is shown that part of this is for service not rendered in this country, and that the amount should have been $15,442,902, or about 38 cents per telegram. The testimony of the president of the company puts it at $16,200,000, or about 40 cents per telegram. The evidence shows that at that time the actual cost of each telegram was a small fraction over 23 cents. The committee were of the opinion that some of the items of expenditure were too great, and that the expense might have been reduced to 19 cents per telegram.

It will thus be seen that if we are to buy the property at the inflated nominal price of ninety-five million dollars (upward of one hundred millions now), that we shall *pay three or four times what it cost when it was new.* If, on the other hand, we buy the property on an estimate of the capitalized value of its profits, the price would be still higher. The average Congressman to whom these propositions are made is not inclined to buy property at a profit valuation, when the vendor has the power to fix his profits at what he pleases, or to buy at par seventy-five millions of watered stock. The most he has proposed to do is to pay existing companies the actual cost on their property, minus tear and wear, or, failing in that, on due notice to build new lines.

The transfer of telegraphy to the postal department of the government involve scertain general principles that are only beginning to be understood. A government postal telegraphy is supposed to mean a low uniform rate, on the principle that each citizen ought to have his telegrams, like his postage, carried at a minimum rate, no matter what the distance. If messages of ten words were delivered at every post office for five or ten cents, the question occurs, is it equitable to tax the short-distance messages with the expense of the long-distance messages? Again, numberless new telegraph offices would be created that would not even pay office expenses. Is it equitable to charge this expenditure to current income? If the tariff of telegraphy is fixed at the lowest rate government could transmit short-line messages for, and the deficiency caused by more

expensive telegrams is charged to the general public, two things occur ; first, the telegraphy of the remote sections becomes a public charge ; and second, the business is conducted so as to destroy all competition. If, on the other hand, the government should fix a uniform rate, say of nineteen cents, on the discovery that this amount, if equalized, would pay for the whole service, and permit free competition, the result would be that private companies would monopolize the lines where telegrams could be carried for nineteen cents at a profit, and the government would get all the rest. In other words, there seems to be no practicable common ground between public and private telegraphy.

That the government should own and control telegraphy in the public interests is undoubtedly true. The post office has been one of the most beneficent departments of the government. The money annually appropriated for it does the people more good than any other public money that is expended. In spite of all that has been written about the expense and extravagance of any business managed by government, it is extremely doubtful if there is another branch of business, public or private, that is more economically administered. Let the proposal be made to turn the post-office business over to private enterprise and competition, and in less than a year after such a thing was done we would see our postal service drift into the hands of some great monopoly, the grossest abuses of this semi-public trust in the hands of the corporations that would control it, and the unprofitable post offices neglected or abandoned. Every word applied to the postal system applies to telegraphy. Government can best extend and protect it. Government alone can make and enforce laws for its complete sanctity. Telegraph offices should be isolated, and none but sworn officers be allowed to hear the "tickers." The most severe penalties should guard its secrets, not only from parties outside of sender and receiver, but from *government officers.* News should be carried at a uniform low rate to all who chose to collect and send it. There should be a perfect equality of telegraphic as of postal privilege.

WILLIAM A. PHILLIPS.

# DEFENSE OF CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA,

*In 1862, 1863 and 1864.*

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## III.

In the meanwhile, General Gillmore's working parties, ever on the increase, were gradually but surely approaching their trenches and mining operations nearer and nearer to Battery Wagner. On the 26th, our rifle pits in front of the work were assailed by an overpowering force and actually taken. And on the 1st of September the fire on Sumter was so intense as to effect its final destruction. The following extract from the Engineer's report, forwarded at that time to the War Department, will give an idea of the condition of the work :

"Toward noon the effect of the fire was to carry away at one fall, four rampart arches on north-east front, with *terre-plein* platforms and guns, thus leaving on this front only one arch and a half, which are adjacent to the east spiral stair. Some of the lower casemate piers of same front have been seriously damaged, rendering unsafe the service of two guns hitherto available in that quarter. On the exterior, the chief injury done is to be noticed at south-east *pan-coupé* and two next upper casemates on east front. From these localities the scarp wall has fallen away completely, and left the arches exposed, as well as the sand filling half down to the floor of the second tier."

The next day six monitors, together with the "Ironsides," opened fire on the fort, using the heaviest projectiles, namely: "8 inch Parrotts, rifle-shells, and 11 and 15 inch smooth-bore shot and shell." Sumter remained silent. It had not one single gun in working order with which to reply. The following is an extract from my report to the War Department :

"The north-east and north-west *terre-pleins* had fallen in, and the western wall had a crack entirely through from parapet to berme. The greater portion of the southern wall was down, the upper east magazine penetrated, and lower east magazine wall cracked ; the eastern wall itself nearly shot away, and large

portions down ; ramparts gone, and nearly every casemate breached. The casemates on the eastern face were still filled with sand, and gave some protection to the garrison from shells. Not a single gun remained in barbette, and but a single smooth-bore 32 pounder in the west face that could be fired as the morning and evening gun."

While Sumter had thus been made a mass of crumbling ruins, the enemy, except at short intervals, spared no effort to also effect the demolition of Wagner. In spite of the ability and determination of the several commanders—Taliaferro, Hagood, Colquitt, Clingman, Graham, Harrison and Keitt—who, in turn, were placed there ; in spite of the almost superhuman energy and pluck of its garrison and working parties to repair, at night, the damage done during the day, it became evident, on the 5th of September, that any further attempt to retain possession of it, would result in the useless loss of the garrisons of both Wagner and Gregg. The enemy's sap had reached the moat of the former work. The heavy Parrott shells used against its parapets had breached them, and knocked away the bomb-proofs. It had become impossible to repair the damages done. Such was the substance of the different reports of Colonel Keitt, the officer then in command, confirmed the same day by Major Harris, the Chief Engineer.

Colonel Rhett and his artillery command of regulars, be it remembered, had already been transferred to the batteries forming the inner defenses, which were now almost entirely completed, and mostly armed with the very guns of Sumter. Major Stephen Elliott, with an infantry force taken from various regiments in and around the city—for Sumter was no longer an artillery post—had been put there to hold the ruins of the fort against any storming parties of the enemy, and to give the morning and evening salute to the Confederate flag, still floating to the breeze. Major Elliott had been selected by me with care for that post of honor and danger. He proved himself worthy of the confidence placed in him ; as did, later on, Captain John Mitchel, who relieved him on the 4th of May, 1864, and lost his life while in command there on the 20th of July, 1864 ; he was succeeded by another brave officer, Captain T. A. Huguenin, who was fortunate enough to escape uninjured and only left the fort at its final evacuation, on the 17th of February, 1865. I take this opportunity to mention another gallant officer, Captain John Johnson, of the C. S. Engineers, who was of much assistance in the defense of those

ruins and remained therein to the last moment they were held by us.

The instructions for the evacuation of Batteries Wagner and Gregg had been prepared by me with much deliberation and thought. They are given in full in "Military Operations of General Beauregard," Vol. II, pp. 133–4.

The withdrawal of the troops began as previously agreed upon, and was conducted in silence, with great coolness and precision. My orders were carried out almost to the letter. Owing to some defect in the fuses, however, the powder magazines of neither Wagner nor Gregg were exploded, although they had been lit, with all due precaution, by able officers. The wounded and sick had been first removed; then the companies were marched by detachments to the boats prepared to receive them, and embarked under the supervision of the naval officers in command. Two companies remained in Battery Wagner, as a rear guard, until all the others were embarked, when they also were withdrawn. Our loss was slight, both in men and materials; and the Federal victory was barren, as admitted by General Gillmore, in his dispatch to Admiral Dahlgren, dated September 7th, 5.10 A.M.; he said:

"The whole island is ours, but the enemy have escaped us."

It cannot be expected that in the limited space at my command for the purposes of this article, I should write a full history of the defense of Charleston, or that I should place before the reader all the particulars connected with that period of the late war between the States. My object has been to record those episodes only which were of superior importance. Nor do I deem it necessary to mention here what may have taken place in that department after my departure from it in April, 1864.

I have dwelt somewhat at length upon the details of the gradual destruction of Fort Sumter, for the reason that, apart from the high interest of the recital, the matchless spirit and discipline displayed by its commander and garrison, reacted upon all the commands in my department, and aroused a feeling of pride and emulation among the troops defending Charleston, which resulted in the greatest heroism. And it is history to say that the defense of Sumter and Wagner are feats of war unsurpassed in ancient or modern times.

I now propose, before closing, to review some few passages of

General Gillmore's book, published just after the war, and, as it appears on its title page, "by authority." Most of its errors have already been refuted in my "Morris Island Report," which is given, *in extenso*, in the second volume of the "Military Operations of General Beauregard." * It only remains, therefore, to comment briefly upon certain misapprehensions and false conclusions of the author.

General Gillmore was considered during the war the first engineer officer in the Federal service. Such is his standing up to this day. He had evidently been sent in command of the "Department of the South," to effect what his predecessor, General Hunter, had failed to do, to wit—the capture of Charleston.

General Gillmore's book is valuable in many respects. It furnishes new and important information to the student of military history. Its tabular statements are generally accurate; the plates, drawings and carefully prepared maps annexed to it, are interesting and instructive. It embraces one hundred and thirty-three pages, exclusive of the plates, of what General Gillmore terms his "Report." The reports of his subordinate commanders, added to the appendix, confirm what he himself alleges.

The description he gives of the city of Charleston, and of the fortifications in and around its harbor, is exact. But the inference to be drawn from the paragraph numbered 19 in the book, is exceptionable. It reads as follows:

> "The strength of the James Island works was tested by a bold but unsuccessful assault by our forces under Brigadier-General Benham, on the 16th of June, 1862." †

I deem it necessary to place the facts of this attack in their proper light, because that is the reason assigned by General Gillmore for not having attacked by way of James Island, in July, 1863, when instead he attempted the Morris Island route.

The truth of the matter is, that the point attacked by Generals Benham and Stevens, near Secessionville, was the strongest one of the whole line, which was then unfinished and was designed to be some five miles in length. The two Federal commanders might have overcome the obstacles in their front, had they proceeded further up the Stono. Even as it was, the fight at Secessionville

* Chap. xxxii, pp. 102, *et seq.*

† General Gillmore's book, p. 11.

was lost, in great measure, by lack of tenacity on the part of Generals Benham and Stevens. Their troops outnumbered ours more than two to one and fought with considerable dash. Some of them, in the impetus of the assault, went even inside one of the salients of the work. It was saved by the skin of our teeth. General Benham's attack was, therefore, hardly a "test" of the possibility or impossibility of carrying the James Island works. The failure, in June, 1862, was no good reason for not making the attempt over again, in July, 1863; 1. Because that point of the attack was the strongest instead of the weakest, of the line, other parts of it, further west, being but feebly guarded and poorly armed; 2. Because the forces under me, in July, 1863, were much less than those under General Pemberton, in June, 1862; 3. Because, in July, 1863, I had only 1,184 infantry on the whole of James Island, whereas in order to guard the defensive lines properly I should have had a force of at least 8,000 men there. Further on General Gillmore says:

"A land attack upon Charleston was not even discussed at any of the interviews to which I was invited and was certainly never contemplated by me." *

His reasons for not having contemplated such a movement are shown in paragraph 27 of his book, where he asserts, in substance, that beyond the capture of Morris Island and the demolition of Fort Sumter, he never intended, with an army of only 11,000 men, and with so many difficulties in his way, to undertake any operations against the land defenses of Charleston, knowing as he did how superior my forces were to his own, and what facilities I had "for concentrating troops by railroad." "The capture of Charleston" was, after all—and General Gillmore admits it—"the ultimate object in view." †

The possession of Morris Island and the demolition of Sumter by the Federal land and naval forces, were mere incidents in the drama. These did not cause the fall of the much hated and much coveted rebel city; and General Gillmore, "though he had overcome difficulties almost unknown in modern sieges," ‡ achieved not "the ultimate object in view."

General Gillmore attempts to place the weight of that failure

* Paragraph 28, p. 12, of his book.
† Paragraph 29, p. 14, of his book.
‡ General Halleck's Report of November 15, 1863.

on the non co-operation of the navy. He argues, in effect, as follows: "I destroyed Sumter and thereby opened the way to Charleston. Why did not the fleet push on and reach the city, as the fleet should and could have done?" In a letter to Admiral Dahlgren, dated September 27, 1863, General Gillmore expresses such views. And in a note to be found at pages 63, 64, 65, 66, of his book, he also says:

"The failure of the fleet to enter immediately after the 23d August, whether unavoidable or otherwise, gave the enemy an opportunity, doubtless much needed, to improve the interior defenses."

Admiral Dahlgren, in what he wrote and said at the time, attributes "the principal cause of the delay in reaching Charleston, that subsequently ensued," to the failure of the second assault on Wagner, July 18th, and "to the slow and laborious occupation by trench and cannon, which had to be resorted to." *

The difficulties General Gillmore speaks of as militating against all idea on his part of making a land attack upon Charleston, and the supposed superiority in numbers upon which he lays so much stress, remind me of the reckless assertion made by Professor Draper, in his "History of the Civil War," that 30,000 Confederates were kept in readiness for the defense of Charleston. And, speaking of the descent on Morris Island, by the Federal forces, he adds this to his former averment:

"At the time, Beauregard had twice as many men and five times as much artillery for the defense of Charleston, as Gillmore had for attack." †

The fact is that, on or about the 10th of July, 1863, the Confederate forces available for the defense of the exterior lines of Charleston, did not exceed 6,500 men, distributed to the best advantage for the protection of James, Sullivan's and Morris Islands, and of the city proper. Whereas, General Gillmore had, at that time, according to his own estimate, 11,000 men, whom he might have easily concentrated against any special point. Suppose that point to have been the James Island lines, the weak Confederate force there stationed, 1,184 infantry, would have had to withstand an overwhelming assault.

Transportation was altogether inadequate; and all effort made to re-enforce any of the above-named localities, would have necessarily uncovered some other point equally liable to attack.

* Official Report of Admiral Dahlgren, January 28, 1864.

† Draper's "History of the Civil War," vol. III, p. 169.

General Gillmore exaggerates "the formidable strength of 'Fort' Wagner," as he persistently calls it, and explains how "its position, trace, armament and interior arrangements," compelled him to change the plan of operations first adopted against it. He says:

"It had an excellent command and a bold relief. . . . It was constructed of compact sand, upon which the heaviest projectiles produced but little effect, and in which damages could be easily and speedily repaired. It was known to contain a secure and capacious bomb-proof shelter for its entire garrison, and to be armed with between fifteen and twenty guns, of various calibers, nearly all bearing upon and completely covering the only approach to it, which was over a shallow and shifting beach, of scarcely half a company front in width in many places, subject to frequent overflow by the tides, and swept by the guns of not only 'Fort' Wagner itself, but of Battery Gregg, Fort Sumter, and several heavily-armed batteries on James Island." *

"Battery" Wagner, as it should be called—for it never was a "fort," had successfully repulsed two assaults by overpowering numbers, and with such bloody results as to deter the enemy from again attempting the same mode of attack. It withstood and baffled the combined efforts of the Federal naval and land forces, during fifty-eight consecutive days. Indisputably General Gillmore's success on Morris Island was tardy, and unquestionably barren of the fruit expected and sought.

Battery Wagner was originally an ordinary field battery, erected, as already stated, by General Pemberton, to prevent a near approach from the south end of Morris Island. It was pierced for eleven guns, only three of which were heavy pieces. These were two 10 inch columbiads, and one 32 pounder rifled, which was of but slight service, for it burst after firing a few rounds and was never replaced. The other guns were 32 pounder carronades and 12 pounder mortars, placed on the "curtain" of the battery, facing the approach from the south. Most of these had been disabled by the terrible fire opened upon them. The remaining ones were field pieces and two 8 and 10 inch mortars, the latter being used as "coehorns" against the enemy's trenches. The work was strengthened and improved, its plan gradually modified; traverses and merlons, and bomb-proofs capable of sheltering some seven hundred and fifty men (not sixteen hundred as General Gillmore says †), were added to it by my orders, partly before the attack, partly after, and while

* Paragraph 105, p. 43, General Gillmore's book.

† Paragraph 166, p. 74, of General Gillmore's book.

the enemy was still making his advance. By the addition of a light parapet which I had caused to be thrown across its "gorge," Wagner had thus become a closed battery, protected from a surprise on the rear. But it never was a "formidable work" and, in fact, it fought the enemy from the 10th of July, 1863, to the 6th of September of the same year, with men, artillery, and with "sand." "Such was the celerity" of the enemy's "flight," says General Gillmore, "that nearly the whole of his force made its escape. Seventy men were intercepted and taken."*

That "flight," as General Gilmore was pleased to term the evacuation of Batteries Wagner and Gregg, and of the whole of Morris Island, was, in every respect, an orderly one. It began at the appointed hour, to wit—9 o'clock P.M.—and lasted until 1.30 A.M. There was no hurry, no confusion. Calm and deliberate written orders were issued, and just as calmly and deliberately obeyed. Forty-six of our men, including nineteen sailors, whose boats had strayed in the darkness out of the line of retreat, were captured by the enemy; not "seventy," as asserted by the Federal commander.

The passage of General Gillmore's book, headed, "Errors in Enemy's Defense," requires some few remarks. He wrote:

"Fort Wagner affords a striking example of the injudicious location of an outwork. Its office was to hold and control possession of all that portion of Morris Island upon which effective breaching batteries against Fort Sumter could be established. We have seen how signally it failed to do so. The instructive and suggestive lesson of Fort Pulaski, which was lost to the ememy because Big Tybee Island, the proper position for a heavily armed outwork, was abandoned to us without an attempt being made to hold it, was not practically applied in defending the approaches to Fort Sumter.

"After the primary error of abandoning Coles's Island, therefore, the great mistake of the enemy . . . consisted in locating Fort Wagner near the north end of Morris Island instead of on the sand hills two miles further south, near Light-house Inlet. He would not have been forced to witness the humiliating spectacle of the destruction of his principal work on an interior line, over the heads of the defenders of an exterior one, had Fort Wagner been even one mile further to the southward. With only one inclosed work for the defense of Morris Island, the proper location for it was near the south end," etc.†

I have already shown by whose order Battery Wagner was built,

* Paragraph 166, p. 74, of General Gillmore's book.

† See paragraphs 254, 255, 256, *et seq*, from page 125 to 133, of General Gillmore's book.

and why General Pemberton had it located near the north end of Morris Island. What had occurred at Fort Pulaski was no guide for him, as the breaching batteries there had been placed at 1,650 yards, whereas Battery Wagner was at a distance of 2,600 yards from Fort Sumter, and the nearest breaching batteries against the latter were subsequently put at 3,475 yards from it.*

The abandonment of Coles's Island was, undoubtedly, a great error. My opinion on the subject has already been expressed. General Gillmore's remarks on that injudicious move are correct. He labors under misapprehension, however, in his criticism of the proper location of the batteries for the defense of Morris Island. A military engineer of inferior order could easily perceive what was necessary for its effectual defense, but would have effected very little, unless supplied with resources in labor, men, materials, and guns. With our restricted means we were compelled to construct such defenses only as were most needed at the time. Had we put a heavy work at the south end, or toward the middle, of the island, or both, we would have had no heavy guns with which to arm either, and no strong garrison to hold it. Moreover, a sufficient force on the island would have been indispensable, to defend it against an enterprising enemy, who would have landed a superior force between that battery and Cummings's Point; a feat easy of accomplishment from the outer harbor, which was generally smooth, and with a magnificent beach several miles long.

The two Confederate works put in position south of Battery Wagner, were only armed with one or two 24 and 32 pounder guns, to keep off the enemy's reconnoitering and landing parties. They were not meant for channel defenses, being entirely too far for any such purpose, and were, in reality, nothing more than "scare-crows." The system of detached batteries referred to by General Gillmore, and which he thought should have been adopted by his adversary, had been used by me on Morris and Sullivan's Islands, as early as the Spring of 1861, to prevent the enemy from relieving or re-enforcing Fort Sumter. I was, therefore, well conversant with the advantages to be procured from them, when judiciously located and well supported, which would not have been the case in this instance.

Further on, General Gillmore says:

* Paragraph 234, p. 116, of General Gillmore's book.

"A wise defense would have kept us off Morris Island entirely, as the simplest and least expensive method of solving the problem." *

If I had had proper means at my disposal when I first arrived at Charleston, or later, I would not have experienced much difficulty in keeping the enemy off Morris Island. But with my small resources in labor, men, guns, etc., I had to do what was most pressing at the time, and to act on the supposition that the possession of James Island by my antagonist would be mortal to Charleston, whereas that of Morris Island *might* give him Fort Sumter, though not necessarily the inner harbor. This the result unquestionably showed,† and on this view I acted.

At page 128 of his book, paragraph 259, General Gillmore makes the following statement:

"The special defense of Fort Wagner was faulty in two particulars, viz.:

"First: It was too passive. All the advantage that might have been derived from vigorous night sorties, against which the fire of the fleet could have taken no effective part with safety to us, was voluntarily relinquished when the system of defense by torpedo mines, placed on and in advance of the glacis, was resorted to.

"Second: Curved fire was not used enough. The armament of the work contained but two mortars (one 8 inch and one 10 inch).

"These, when earnestly served, caused the most serious delay in the progress of our work, and on one occasion suspended it entirely."

This is conclusive evidence of how completely General Gillmore misunderstood the real condition of the defenders of Charleston.

1. Sorties were made by us so long as they were found judicious. They had cost many lives to the Confederates—who had none to spare—without effecting much damage to the enemy, on such a limited front. And when the Federals had arrived nearer to the Battery, there was danger of their rushing "pell-mell" into it along with the men undertaking the sortie. Especially might it be the case when most of the garrison had to be kept under shelter. The torpedoes used by us in front of Wagner were indeed efficacious and offered respite to the men. They were, as I was wont to call them, the "watch dogs" of the battery; for they held the enemy at bay, and gave timely notice of the approach

* End of paragraph 258, p. 127.

† See my "Morris Island Report," in "Military Operations of General Beauregard," vol. II, chap. xxxii.

of any attacking force. The description given of them at page 235 of General Gillmore's book (notes to Major Brooke's Journal), is correct. I am not surprised that the Federal commander should blame me for "resorting" to that means of defense, demoralizing always, but legitimate nevertheless, and perfectly accredited in civilized warfare.

2. "Curved fire" was not more frequently resorted to by us, for the simple reason that it was out of our power to do so. Before the occupation of the south end of Morris Island by the Federals, I had endeavored to obtain all the guns and mortars I could collect from Richmond and Mobile, but had not been successful in my efforts. After the landing of the enemy, I had also asked for "coehorns." None could be procured. Nor could any be made in Richmond, whose foundry was too busy making guns of the heaviest caliber for other points of the Confederacy. I did for the best with the few mortars I had, and distributed them in the different batteries bearing on Morris Island, beyond Battery Wagner. Four of these had been placed in the latter work, but as the enemy progressed with his trenches, could no longer be used as "coehorns," and were removed to some of the flanking batteries on James Island, from Battery Cheves to Secessionville. Others had been transferred there from Fort Sumter, after its demolition, and when its "parade" had been dug up for earth with which to construct "traverses" and "paradoses."

The two mortars and a few of the 12-pounder howitzers in Battery Wagner were used as "coehorns," with very reduced charges and great elevation, but with imperfect results, until the interior of the work became untenable by the incessant bombardment and vertical fire of the enemy.

General Gillmore appears to think that I had only to ask for labor, men, guns, and materials of any kind, when I needed them, and that all would be forthwith furnished me. It might have been the case with General Gillmore's requisitions of the same nature on his government, but not so with mine. This is shown by my correspondence with the War Department and with the chairman of the Military Committee of the Confederate House of Representatives. The fact is, we had to stop for weeks at a time the firing of some of our important guns, for want of powder and of shot, reserving only twenty rounds per gun and mortar for an emergency.

General Gillmore's assertion that he could "have pushed forward his approaches to Fort Wagner without the co-operating fire from the gun-boats,"* is dubious, to say the least of it. A close reading of that Federal account of the attack and the correspondence between Admiral Dahlgren and General Gillmore, as given in the latter's own book, establish that the assistance of the navy was constantly asked for and readily obtained, by the commander of the land forces operating against Charleston.

The defense of Battery Wagner, with the great difficulty of access to it and the paucity of our resources—while those of the enemy were almost unlimited—will bear a favorable comparison with any modern siege on record. But why, may it be asked, did General Gillmore, who blames his adversary for not having used "the curved fire" to check the Federals in their approaches to Wagner, wait until "toward the end of the siege of 'Fort' Wagner" before resorting to it himself, when it is known that to this fire, especially, was due the final abandonment of the battery? The answer is plain: Because General Gillmore was groping his way in the dark, and did so, day after day, for weeks before he eventually discovered the real advantage of the "curved fire." As it was, the last bombardment of Wagner began on the morning of the 5th of September, and lasted forty-two hours, during which were thrown by the Federal land batteries alone 1,663 rifle projectiles and 1,553 mortar shells. The total number of projectiles thrown by the land batteries against Fort Sumter, up to September 7th, was 6,451, and against Battery Wagner, from July 26th to September 7th, 9,875, making in all 16,326. And yet only Wagner was taken. Sumter, though a mass of ruins, remained ours to the last, and Charleston was evacuated by the Confederate troops near the close of the war, namely, on the 17th of February, 1865, and only to furnish additional men to the army in the field.

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

* Paragraph 262, p. 130, of General Gillmore's book.

# THE PEOPLE'S SHARE IN WEALTH.

THE next paramount step in the world's progress—the next revolution of human society, whether peaceful and orderly or violent and chaotic—impends on this question: "What are the natural rights of society in property, and what the natural rights of individuals?" All present agitation against "monopoly" is a part of this question. Anti-land-monopoly, anti-railroad-monopoly, anti-money-monopoly,—all these questions, and all like questions, are merely parts of the one inclusive question: "What is the absolute, underlying law of ownership—all ownership whatsoever?" But this law is not merely one that can be discovered; it is one that has been discovered, and is only waiting to be understood.

There is no theory, no form of government—there has never been one—not basing its reason for existence on its claim of standing for the best common interests of the people governed. So, likewise, there is no theory, no system of political economy—nor has there ever been one—not basing the tenures to property—the laws, the practical ethics of the matter—on the same foundation—the best common interests of the people composing a state, a nation, an epoch. England distinctly asserts, at the present moment, through her most commonplace and conservative authorities, that her whole wealth belongs to her whole people: hence her right to call on every subject to defend it. She merely adds that the methods which she sanctions and enforces for the distribution of wealth are the best she knows for the general welfare.

Now this is the same as saying that the people of the world jointly own the world, and that the people of any country jointly own that country while they utilize and maintain it. Indeed, *the right to live implies the right to own.* Cut off man's right to partake of his surroundings, his world, and he dies. This bottom principle of ownership is stated in our American Declaration of Independence, as we are forced to see, the moment it is completely analyzed. Our fathers declared that "all men are created equal,

and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." But, as human "life" is absolutely dependent on access to its environment, and as there can be no "liberty," except to die, when this access is cut off, "the pursuit of happiness" can be nothing else than that use and enjoyment of things implied in the word "ownership." So, life, liberty, and *property* are the inalienable rights of man, according to the full import of Thomas Jefferson. But when Jefferson declared that "all men are created equal," it was not with the meaning that every man can lift just five hundred pounds—the interpretation put on us by poor old Carlyle in his dyspeptic dotage. All men are equal in the natural right to life and liberty, but no two men are precisely equal in the capacity to improve and enjoy these endowments. The same thing is true of man's natural relation to property—the environment of his generation. All men are equal in the natural right of access to the world's wealth—the original bounty of nature and the additions that have been made to it—but they can improve and enjoy this wealth only in accordance with individual capacity. In the distribution of wealth, therefore, all men are not entitled to an *equal* share in property, but to an *equitable* share; and an *equitable share is an equal share according to ability, industry and economy.*

This formula is all there is of democracy, all there is of economics, all there is of social justice. It is what I have called "the absolute law of ownership." It has been termed "the higher law of property." But it stands here only as ethics. Let us convert it into mathematics.

The pivot on which this transformation turns is fixed in nature. It is a fact, sufficiently definite, sufficiently practical. It is the fact of death. Fortunately, men cannot take this world with them into the next. When they lie down in the grave, their stocks and bonds, their money and mortgages, necessarily go to other persons. The entire wealth of mankind reverts from one generation to another every fifty years, in accordance with the average death-rate.* But now, if the world's wealth, or a nation's wealth, is simply a reversion extending through fifty years, one-fiftieth of that wealth reverts in one year. This one-fiftieth

* "The average death-rate in thirty-three cities of the United States, in the year 1879, was $20\frac{11}{100}$ in one thousand; and, in the year 1880, it was $22\frac{28}{100}$." —*Ownership and Sovereignty.*

is two per cent. of the whole value. Is it not perfectly clear, therefore—a mere "example of arithmetic"—that an annual tax of two per cent. on the value of property, collected by society and expended for the common good of society, would effect complete democracy of ownership—would give, with every year, to every child born into the world, an exactly equal share in all the opportunities and all the advantages of life?

In this tax lies the science of redistribution, and the true rejection of all spurious or half-baked economics, like socialism and communism. By this tax, modern society can accomplish definitively what Moses accomplished approximately, with his "year of jubilee" and the reapportionment of Hebrew wealth. Through this tax, which expresses the exact right of all society in all property, the storm which now threatens civilization can be averted, with the least possible cost and the most possible celerity.

Thus, the death-rate tax solves the problem of common ownership. It would equalize, constantly and forever, not human wealth, but the opportunities to procure it; constantly and forever leaving, after that, every individual to work out his own pecuniary salvation, according to his own will and power.

But, taking yearly from wealth the amount of the death-rate tax, what proportion would be left to be accumulated by individuals, according to ability, industry and economy? Simply all the increase above the common due. Property increases at present, we are told, at the slow annual rate of three per cent. But this increase is so retarded by social maladjustments that it would probably double, at once, under a new order of peace, encouragement and equity. If so, there would be a larger amount of wealth than even now, to be unequally accumulated among individuals. But the sum, on this side, is and should be, an unknown quantity. Whatever it might be, the proprietors would have a clear moral tenure to it—which cannot now be said of their possessions.

But what is to be done with the common fund? How is it to be expended, or redistributed for the common good? Its being a *common* fund implies and settles, at the start, that it is not to be directly and equally lumped out to individuals, that idlers and spendthrifts may squander it. It is not theirs in that way. The first use of it is to pay all government expenses. The next use of it is to procure common advantages for the whole public.

Suppose the property of the United States, to-day, is fifty bil-

lions of dollars. Then the people as a whole are entitled, this year, for their joint use, to just one thousand millions of it. This is the amount of their birthright, death-rate tax. Figuring in round numbers, the expense of government—national, state and municipal, in this country,—is now five hundred millions annually, or about one per cent. of the principal. All government expenses paid, the people, therefore, at this hour, are entitled to the remaining one per cent. of their annuity—five hundred millions of dollars—for redistribution. A year or two ago, THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW published an article by Mr. T. V. Powderly, Grand Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, in which he showed that two millions of men were out of work in the United States, for the reason that they could get nothing to do. As there can never be too much wealth among us, all such men, certainly, ought to be put at work creating it, instead of being forced, by our present barbarous organization of society, into the position of eating what they do not earn, or else lying down to die. But the people's five hundred millions of dollars, due them for this single year if they but knew it, and collectible if they but willed it, would furnish to each of two million men two-hundred-and-fifty-days' work at a dollar a day, or about five months' work at two dollars a day. It would make no difference what kind of work were done, in the distribution, so it paid for itself in the production of new and actual wealth. The investment, in fact, of the people's fund, for the first year, would be a good one, if only to empty the poor-houses, and start every rusting wheel of industry. This very first step in the coming adjustment would abolish "hard times."

But the indirect result of the annual birthright tax would be greater than even the direct result. How many millions of dollars—how many hundreds of millions—now lie in the safety-vaults of New York and Boston, loafing at an interest of two to four per cent., because it is safer for money to loaf than to be out at work? Put an annual tax of two per cent. on these loafing hoards, and see how active they would become, in order to save themselves! They would rush out into the hands of enterprise and labor like the other sort of loafer to a free tap. Never again would work, the sire of wealth, stand, hat in hand, begging a job of his own offspring. The two would be partners. The more one could do for the other, the more each would do for himself. Universal co-operation would be established at one bound.

The absolute law of ownership reduces political economy to an exact science, and at the same time justifies the evolution of history in its phase of property. Such a law is worthy the sword of Mohammed. But it is essentially conservative, and only formulates, for actual practice, the moral basis on which all nations claim to rest their polity and their right to govern. Present wealth is unutterably selfish, vulgar and tyrannical. Poverty is growing savage and brutal, and Macaulay's "Huns and Vandals" are showing their teeth, as he prophesied, not from the outside of civilization now, but from the under side. Let us not shut our eyes. Injustice never becomes utterly unbearable without recoil. In a French revolution property is a bonfire, and the heads of millionaires are used to mop gutters. But the world has had enough of such sorry work, and there is no need of it.

I trust I have shown that for the equitable distribution of a people's joint heritage—which, to be *equitable* can never be *equal*—it is wholly unnecessary to disturb the existing tenures of property. These have grown up as naturally as accretions of coral. They are *right*. But society holds them by the wrong end—has not learned how to use them.

It is true that all ancient states were founded on a coarse, direct order of socialism, and that wealth, or rather land, which was then the substance of wealth, was redistributed with every generation. The greedy optimates of Rome overturned this order, by converting the common lands into hereditary possessions, and the attempted reform of the Gracchi was to re-establish the old ways. Feudalism was ancient socialism, adjusted to military necessity, gradation and protection. Under it, sovereignty implied ownership; but, when democracy arose, the cunning barons kept the property, and the people took the sovereignty.

Private ownership is comparatively a mushroom in history. The old, original precedents are all against it. Still, it is both necessary and just. Possession, with the right of bequest and inheritance, is the stimulant which raises property to its highest value. The common-sense of mankind properly sticks to this point, as vital both to public and private welfare. The material end of ownership is to make the most of wealth.

But, if private ownership of special property can be perfectly reconciled with common and sovereign ownership of all property, what more is to be asked on either side?

Much discussion has been given of late to the private possession of land. It is said that land is the bounty of nature, the gift of God to man, which no one can justly monopolize, but which all should own. The postulate is true, as far as it goes, but is very superficial. What is land, in the economic sense—the sense of its being the bounty of nature? It is not merely the ground. It is a part, also, of every appurtenance to the ground. Every stone in a house is a piece of land; only that piece of land has been modified by labor. Land—the bounty of nature—is the base of every human production. Whether land is hoed over and turned into a garden, or dug up, melted, and made into a locomotive, the bounty of nature is still there, and is common property. The ownership of the garden is precisely like the ownership of the locomotive. There is a public and a private interest in both. The difference is not one of principle, but of degree. The public own the raw material in both, which belongs to the estate of all generations, and is forever inalienable. If the gardener and the mechanic take it to work up, they should pay the public for the use of it. On the other hand, the public should pay them for their labor on it. There is the exact and complete business transaction.

But, if every individual who takes a piece of the common property and improves it, pays to the people a constant rent on its full value, in proportion to the average reversion of all property from one generation to another, then, manifestly, the people get all that is due them, and the individuals have a perfect right to hold and bequeath the property. This rent paid and deducted, the remaining value of the property precisely represents the improvements made upon it by the holders. It stands for nothing else than the true wages of their labor.

It will be of no consequence what monopolies have become established, or what monopolies are now rising—whether in land or anything else—when the people once comprehend the true law of ownership, and the perfect method of enforcing it, through the collection and redistribution of the birthright, death-rate tax. Monopoly! The people of the United States will have annually, at call, a common fund large enough to break, if they wish, by mere competition, any individual or corporate monopoly the earth can produce.

EDWARD GORDON CLARK.

# WORDS.

One may be able to read Sanscrit at sight; to detect a false quantity in Latin verse as surely as the hound scents the hare; to unfold Greek philosophy from its Dorian purity to its Alexandrine complexity; to analyze the earth, and weigh the moon, and measure the stars; but, at the end of it all, his scholarship is to be measured by his skill in the meaning, the use, and the weight of words.

I have quoted elsewhere and I quote here what can hardly be too often quoted, a remark of President Eliot's: "I recognize but one mental acquisition as an essential part of the education of a lady or gentleman—namely, an accurate and refined use of the mother tongue." So few people make this acquisition, that President Eliot's opinion was chiefly noticed only to be assaulted. It was generally considered as an attack on Greek, Latin, and the sciences; and a wise world demanded severely of President Eliot: "What training to the powers of observation and of reasoning—what to the art faculties, to the knowledge of abstract truths—is given by a study of the mother tongue? Does it train the faculties which are trained by mathematics, science, metaphysics and æsthetics, or is the training of these faculties not essential to a good education?" All of which shows that when our early geographies used to say, "It is hard to find in the United States a native adult who cannot read and write with ease," the geographies were amusing themselves. There are many adult natives in the United States who cannot read and write. Most of the persons who commented in print upon President Eliot's remark did not know how to read it. A great mass of what is called criticism is worthless because the critics do not know how to read. Our good magazines are heavy and our poor magazines are light with trash because their subscribers, and sometimes their compilers, do not know how to read. Our literature is meagre, and our libraries overflow because the

public, including the publishers, do not know how to read, and the authors do not know how to write. This is not in itself a bad thing if we do not sit down content with it, and praise ourselves, and think it is, in itself, a good thing. We can well afford, indeed we are in duty bound, to view it cheerfully, as inevitable to an early and necessarily crude state of culture. Even trash is hopeful, so far as it indicates mental activity, intellectual aspiration, a tendency to rise above the brute towards the spirit. No mischief need be done except by calling it literature.

Nor need we bite the dust of our mother-land on the question of culture, dear as that dust is to us. We have proudly proclaimed that education is wider here than in England, but we have admitted that it is less deep. With her hereditary aristocracy and her ancient universities, we have frankly assumed that our scholars are not so scholarly as England's scholars, however our toilers of the sea and of the land may outstrip their English compeers. Perhaps this must be; yet Frederic Harrison, who is a graduate of Oxford, writes as recklessly as Professor Sumner, who is a graduate of Yale; and Rev. William Everett, who laid two countries under contribution to embellish his mind, is an equally solemn warning to both. All three can write boldly and attractively, but they are not cultured into that delicate and certain tact for truth which commands respect and bespeaks conviction; whose errors even do not forfeit confidence, because they spring from imperfect information, and not from vicious methods. All America, admiring but uncultivated, gazed with awe when the Earl of Derby sat down in his Earldom to translate a Greek poem; but a greater epic than Homer's was unfolding before his eyes that saw not. If his hoary universities could but have taught him to discern, he would have made a statelier figure in the history of his own times, and he would have builded better for the future.

It is wonderful that Mr. Gladstone should take heart, in the midst of pressing cares of state to write an article on Genesis for the refutation of scientists; but it is rather as an indication of his marvelous vitality than for any light he throws on Genesis. An American statesman of corresponding rank might treat the theme with even a reprehensible levity. I have known such a one to say, "the genesis of creation? Oh! yes. You believe an atom got out of bed one morning and resolved to be a world!" But with this predetermined and invincible wrongheadedness he hardly

hit wider of the scientific mark than did Mr. Gladstone. No, our American statesman does not know enough to write scientific articles on Genesis, but he has this unquestionable advantage over Mr. Gladstone—he knows enough not to!

On the other hand, Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Goschen use Mr. Gladstone's great political mistake, not with the candor of a culture superior to his, but with the "unhandsome thrift" of the narrow and the unscrupulous. When Mr. Chamberlain accused Mr. Gladstone of having been wrong on the American question twenty years ago, and inferred thence that he was likely to be wrong now, he spoke not in the character of a gentleman or a statesman. A colleague of Mr. Gladstone, and referring to an error long recognized and open to the world, his reference was a taunt and not an argument. With his prompt "hear! hear!" Mr. Gladstone ranked himself at once as a man of candor and culture. It is the scholar, not the charlatan, who recognizes and rectifies his error. It is wisdom that advances even slowly. It may be stolidity as well as courage that stands stock still and fights. Mr. Chamberlain made a point, but it was in words only, not in argument. He cast no light and cleared no path.

When Mr. Goschen drew a parallel between the United States resisting secession, resenting and refusing the advice of Europe, and England resisting home rule in Ireland, resenting and repelling the eager hope and sympathy of America, he did not speak as a man of trained mind. He spoke rather as a man who does not understand, or who does not think that his hearers understand, the meaning and the use of words. To call a cat a dog is not the extinction of species, or the consolidation of classes, or a reduction to first principles, or a guide to wise action. It is simply a misuse of words, and it adds to whatever perplexity exists. To assume that the disruption of a nation all whose sections are equally free, is the same thing as demanding that all sections of a nation shall be equally free, is to discredit the university which cultivates the minds that frame and accept such a proposition. Parliament may cheer, but the judicious grieve.

When Mr. Gladstone eagerly denied having made a statement that he had resolved to reconstruct a certain bill and Mr. Goschen construed this denial into "information that the bill is not to be reconstructed," he spoke like one whose ear is not trained to understand words, or who means to darken counsel by perverting

words. If he confounded the terms honestly, his education is at fault. If he confounded the terms dishonestly, he must have a very low opinion of the education of England's "poor Right Honorable Rhetoricians." So, apparently, has Dominie Gladstone, patiently expounding to Parliamentary school-boys the rudimentary laws of language. "It is said that I announced that the bill was not to be reconstructed. I said nothing of the kind. I announced that I had not promised that it should be reconstructed, and there are gentlemen opposite who see no distinction between promising that the bill shall not be reconstructed and not having promised that it shall be reconstructed." One cannot help being a little meanly and maliciously, though patriotically, glad that there are such gentlemen over the water. There are plenty of them here, but we lay it to our crude civilization. If, however, they crop out as rankly in the England of Oxford and Cambridge as in our own superficial republic, perhaps our educational institutions are not so very inferior, after all!

We admit *a priori* the superior culture of England arising from conditions more favorable to culture; yet we are confronted always with the fact that what should be the inevitable result of culture —a clear and comprehensive view of the situation—does not characterize the public men of England. Even the Grand Old Man has opened but slowly to the sunshine. A mass of English statesmen — will it be that one must say *the* mass? — seem at this moment sincerely to believe that the light is a great darkness hurrying towards them across the Irish Channel with fire and flood, cyclone and thunderbolt and unutterable ruin in its bosom.

And of all the ululations, the ululation of pure science is the loudest. The "poor Right Honorable Rhetoricians" beat their fists against blank walls, but Professor Huxley bangs his head, with frantic persistence, and will not be comforted. He has endured the misery of Ireland for many years, and we have not heard his voice; but the misery of the attempt to remove it stimulates him to vigorous outcry. Starving, struggling, cursing, perishing, England has dragged Ireland chained to her feet and clogging her race for many generations, and Professor Huxley has "kept carefully out of the political field;" but now that one has risen, full of years and honors, to deliver her from the body of this death, Professor Huxley calls two worlds to witness that the

act is one of "cowardly wickedness," base from the root and evil of fruit. Truly the ways of culture are inscrutable.

But the question is not chiefly a relative question. It is absolute. It is not which nation least understands the meaning, the use, and the weight of words, but how can we get understanding. It is not whether we, as a nation, are more or less inaccurate and mentally shambling than another nation; but how we can become accurate, how we can learn to walk with a firm tread to a fixed point.

Well, the first requisite is to be aware that we shamble. The first requisite to this perception is brain. The idiot does not know and cannot learn that his gait is uncertain or that he does not walk at all. The amply endowed may train his muscles till he becomes not only an athlete but an Apollo. A great deal of our bad writing is so bad that nothing can be done with it but let it alone. It does not rise to the height of being false or inartistic. It is a mere mush of words. No criticism of it is possible. It is only to be drenched off the page and the page dried in the sun. The author cannot be healed or helped. The trouble is organic. One might indeed say to him, "Go back. Go to school. Learn the alphabet. Be born again. Die and become a different person. Perhaps the next time your mind will be less flaccid." But it does no good. He likes to live as well as the rest. He likes the mush. It does not seem to him mushy. It seems to him thought and sense and a noble soul.

Even if he were not past hope the critic could not help him, because the critic has put to sea in the same boat. The author fumbles after a thought and the critic fumbles after the author with a purpose as definite and a hand as firm as those of the two-months' old infant fumbling after a sunbeam. "The stories and poems in this number are as usual, exceptionally good," says this critic, of the keen eye and the deft touch. He is American and amiable. But his equally amiable brother of the London Academy rivals him in tact for truth. With Professor Phelps' book, "My Study and Other Essays," before his eyes, and with the most fraternal design of saying pleasant things, he placidly upsets the dish into "My Study and Other Studies," and without the trouble of hiring even a tip-cart, calmly moves all these "Studies" from Andover Hill to "Andrew Seminary." No one is hurt, but is any one bettered? What value lies in observation so little regulated?

What skill can he have in the meaning, the use, and the weight of words who does not even look at the words to see what they are? How can a critic teach writing who does not know how to read?

In speaking then of the high art and the sacred obligation of words, a great crowd of writers and of critics must be abandoned as irreclaimable swamp lands. They may presently acquire sufficient consistency to give root to cryptogams and fungi, and in the fullness of geologic time be transmuted into a peat formation that shall nurture some future meadow on which the wild thyme grows. But the present reaps no harvest and relegates them to the beneficent designs of nature.

More to our purpose, altogether to our purpose, and the only ones to our purpose, are writers who have an end in view, and who move on distinct lines to its accomplishment. Them it is worth while to scrutinize for the common advantage. Of such is Professor Sumner. His theme is chiefly interesting to a political class, but his mode of treatment is a matter which concerns all who would teach or who would learn

> "High thought and amiable words,
> And courtliness, and the desire of fame,
> And love of truth, and all that makes a man."

He represents a class whose lowest ranks are indeed impossible, but from whose upper ranks, the best work and the best results may come. His style is incisive, vigorous, forcible—sometimes picturesque, often abrupt, but not often coarsely so—never weak. It is a style well suited to clear thought, indicative of clear thought, arrogant, but with a certain charm of youthful strength in its arrogance. If its possessor would but lend himself a little while to the study of verbal science; would discipline his exuberant manhood by stooping to conquer the meaning, the use, and the weight of words, political science would be the gainer, whatever might become of protectionism or free trade. I might say that correct use of words is of more national importance than political dogma. I will say that logical thought, on related facts, is the one thing needful to political dogma, and that accuracy of words is at once source and offspring of logical thought.

Here is where Professor Sumner is on a wrong tack. "The word has been objected to," he says scornfully. "The word is of

no consequence. He who, when he goes into a debate, begins to whine and cry as soon the blows get sharp, should learn to keep out." This is fearless and jolly, and spirited. If his major premise were right it would be magnificent. But the word *is* of consequence. The word is of the first consequence. It should be clear, adequate, legitimate. Words are the weapons of mental warfare. To juggle with words, in debate, is to violate the laws of war. To protest against fighting with poisoned wells and yellow fever infection, is not to whine and cry because the blows are sharp; it is to appeal to the higher law of the world, because the blows are foul. To be careless about words is to turn discussion into the blind and useless scrimmage of a mob. If debate is to be an orderly advance, or even a real effort towards a higher plane of thought and a greater wisdom of action, it must be conducted with careful and conscientious use of words. Swords and guns are the claws and teeth of wild beasts, sharpened and strengthened into far greater power by human intelligence, but still brutal power. Words are guns and swords transmuted by human intelligence into infinitely sharper and stronger force, but of mental, not of animal force. Claws and teeth tear what they clutch. Swords and guns tear what they touch, and their touch may be afar. Words take no note of space, but from silence and solitude reach to the ends of the earth. They, therefore, bespeak the elevation of the spirit over the beast, and all tampering with words is retrogression towards the spirit of the beast that goeth downward, as all use and improvement of words is an advance with the spirit of man that goeth upward. The word is the temple of the spirit. If any man defile the temple, he sins against the spirit of truth, for the temple of the Holy Spirit is holy.

Without regard to Professor Sumner's opinions, but simply with regard to his manner of attaining and enforcing them; and because he is, if not the ablest, certainly a racy and entertaining employer of wrong methods—so able and effective, that with right methods, he must become a successful investigator and expounder of truth—let me illustrate my position by some instances of his purely reckless misuse of words.

"There are only three ways," he says, "in which a man can part with his product. 1st. He may exchange his product for the product of others. Then he parts with his property voluntarily, and for an equivalent. Taxes which

are paid for peace, order, and security fall under this head. 2d. He may give his property away. Then he parts with it voluntarily, without an equivalent. Taxes which are voluntarily paid for schools, libraries, parks, etc., fall under this head. 3d. He may be robbed of it. Then he parts with it involuntarily, and without an equivalent. Taxes which are protective fall under this head. The analysis is exhaustive, and there is no other place for them."

Never, surely, was a swifter or an easier fall from grace than this by which a few millions of our respected protectionist fellow-citizens become highway robbers. But a moment's real attention cannot fail to show that the word *voluntary* is engaged in a violent contra-dance with itself. When the music stops, let us ask whether voluntary taxes are taxes which every individual man wishes to pay, or which men, collected into a nation, expressing their will in a regular and appointed way, decide to pay. If the first, then no tax is voluntary, for no tax is imposed or paid of which a great many persons do not disapprove, and which they pay, sometimes with protest, sometimes without notice, always without will. Women who pay taxes do not part with their property voluntarily. Indeed I never saw a woman who thought she received any equivalent for her tax-money. In most cases she looks upon it as dead loss. Enormous taxes were paid during the rebellion, for peace, order, and security, entirely involuntarily by men who did not approve of the war which necessitated taxation. If the second, then all taxes are voluntary. King George is dead, the Fourth of July is established, and no man in this country pays a tax, whether for peace and order, or for parks and schools, or for protectionism, that is not the voluntary act of the people through the legally appointed medium—town tax, by the Selectmen; county tax, by the Board of Commissioners; municipal tax, by the Aldermen; State tax, by the General Court; national tax, by Congress. No tax is, was or ever can be levied against the wish of the majority. Therefore all taxation in this country is voluntary. Therefore our respected protection fellow-citizens who are walking up and down our streets, are not even out on bail. They are out because the indictment is quashed. They are out, because any tax laid upon any individual, under a law passed by a majority, in a nation whose authority is founded on the will of the majority, is a legal tax, and is in no sense robbery. It may be an unwise, even a mischievous tax, but it is not robbery. Whether it is a tax to provide a post office, or to arm a soldier, or to establish a custom

house, it is not robbery. It is no more robbery than it is robbery to tax a man for a jail who believes in moral suasion, or for a high school when he believes in only primary education, or for the army when he was reared a Quaker. The objection to calling such taxation robbery is not that the language is plain, but that it is not true. We do not whine and cry because the blow is hard, but we regret that so much good muscle should be wasted in beating the air. Any man is justified in, "pushing the controversy just as hard as he can," but this is pushing it a great deal harder than he can hold. It is not a question whether protectionism is right or wrong, or wise or foolish. It is not even necessary to masquerade under an affectation of knowing what protectionism is. Let protectionism be represented by $x$, and it remains that people who agree to live under the rule of the majority, are not robbed when the majority decrees $x$. To call protection robbery and protectionists humbugs, does not place a stigma on protection, but it diminishes confidence in the political economist who employs the nomenclature.

A similar confusion beclouds the word *equivalent*. Why are peace and order an equivalent for taxes, and parks and schools not? Taxes are not laid for peace and security in the abstract. They are laid to pay the policemen and soldiers and judges who maintain peace. Schools, libraries, and parks are not created for themselves, but for the order and intelligence which they are believed to secure. Why is not a head master just as much an equivalent as a chief of police? When the political economist says "Mischief is done by taxes which are laid to buy parks and libraries," he propounds an open question, a legitimate object of discussion, but foreign to the purpose of this paper. When he adds that "the tax-layer is not providing public order. He is spending other people's earnings for them. He is deciding that his neighbor shall have less clothes and more library or park," he comes instantly into our province of words. The tax-layer is made tax-layer by the very people who are paying the taxes. He buys parks and libraries, because the people who made him tax-layer believe that parks and libraries and schools help to secure public order. He is spending other people's earnings for them exactly as the architect spends the house-builder's earnings for him. He decides that his neighbor shall have less clothes and library, because his neighbor elected him at the polls to look into that very question

and decide upon it, and paid him for doing it. If he lays a protective tax on sugar, "the legislator who has in his hands this power of taxation" is not committing a "monstrous abuse." He is committing no abuse at all. The tax may be a fatally foolish tax, but he imposes it because there are more people in the country who think it wise than who think it foolish, and of those persons he is not only one, but the one chosen by them to speak for them. This may be a weak form of government, but it is the form with which we are experimenting. We may not succeed in making a spoon, but we have not yet spoiled our horn.

"Pauper labor" is another phrase which darkens counsel. The political economist chooses to mean by it the labor of paupers, and calls it "senseless jingle," as it certainly is if that is what it means; since there is probably not enough of it in all Europe appreciably to affect the problem of labor. But intelligent voters of very moderate general culture always I think mean by it labor so poorly paid as to tend to reduce the industrious laborer to the condition of the pauper; so poorly paid that the laborer cannot gratify a legitimate ambition for independence, but must use each day's wages for each day's needs, so that when illness or age arrives, he has no resources to fall back upon, but must eat the bitter bread of charity. We shall not get one inch ahead on the way of life so long as one party to debate is talking about one thing and the other party about another.

"Commerce, *i. e.*, the ship-building and carrying trade has been crushed out of existence," says the political economist. But ship-building and the carrying-trade are not commerce any more than the American express or the pasteboard-box manufacturer are the fine art of millinery. I know a village where the carrying trade was temporarily crushed out of existence because the horse died; but Boston kept on making bonnets and the suburbs kept on wearing them; and the British ships, *i. e.*, the suburban men who went to town each day on business had to carry the bonnets back and forth with great agony. We can make little headway towards the truth so long as one party is talking about a hand-cart on the sidewalk and the other is talking about the goods that are to be packed within it.

Professor Sumner inspires us with hope of a dawning perception of the importance of words when he objects to the phrase "giving work." But alas! the dawn is quickly overcast, for his own sub-

stituted phraseology is open to the same objection that lies against the protectionists' phrase. "On that notion we live to work; we do not work to live. But we do not want work. We have too much work. We want a living." But we are not content with a living any more than we are content with work. Men and women want a great deal more than a living. If it is a bad man he wants cigars, the first chance at the newspaper, and to have his own way. If he is a good man he wants clear vision, a family horse, and not to sacrifice more bobolinks on toast than his wife wears hummingbirds in her bonnet. If she is a good woman she wants church, opera, high-mindedness, and to have her own way. If she is a bad woman she wants a tailor-suit. All these satisfactions are no more expressed in "a living" than in "work." If Professor Sumner would spare a little time to the study of domestic economy he would find around the college square scores of young creatures who have an assured "living," but who would exclaim with Rebekah of old, "What good shall my life do me unless I have a long red redingote for a boating-costume in the coming summer?" Really Professor Sumner will find that he has to cram almost as much into the word *living* as into the word *work*.

When the political economist goes still further and, on the assumption that the protectionist means work in itself, and not the fruits and satisfactions of work, says that the protectionist argues that "hardship disciplines a man and is good for him; hence that the free traders, who want people to do what is easiest, would corrupt them, and that protectionists, by 'making work,' bring in salutary discipline for the people," it seems impossible not to believe that neglect of the obligation of words has not only dimmed the intellectual, but clouded the moral perceptions. I should like to know the name and post-office address of the protectionists who have used that argument.

"The State," says Professor Sumner, "never is or can be anything but some other people." But the intelligent voter of whatever degree of general culture knows that "the State" is himself and all other people. "The State" is all the people together, compacted into an organization. It is all the people, organized for the very purpose of doing in their collective capacity whatever work can be better done in this way than by individuals. It is all the people, organized on the familiar, the encouraging, the only reassuring Republican principle that all are wiser than one.

What the work is which "the State" can most wisely undertake may be an ever-open question, but what "the State" is, is a closed question, and it is not what Professor Sumner says it is. Not because she wishes her letters carried at "some other people's" expense, does Massachusetts desire the post office to be a national institution. She knows well that she could carry her letters at a handsome profit; that she pays into the national treasury for mail carriage far more than its cost. Her intelligent voters have general culture enough to see that it is better for them and better for the country that they should sacrifice this immediate profit to the carriage of letters in Mississippi and Dakota. They believe that on the whole and in the long-run all the States are better served, the intelligence and happiness of the future better secured, by intrusting the mails to "the State," than to individuals; because individuals, working only for themselves, will not carry the mail except where it can be carried with individual and immediate profit; and in many of our States and Territories, it can be carried only with loss. To call the relegation of large interests to "the State" an attempt to be saved trouble and to be assured profits at the expense of one's fellow citizens is to have a very crude notion of "the State," and a very inadequate notion of the meaning, the use, and the weight of words.

The principles of political science, like the principles of mathematical science, exist entirely independent of our discovery or comprehension of them. We may invent a thousand adaptations to them, but we never invent a principle. The curve of the earth's orbit we did not describe and we cannot maintain; but we are good farmers only in proportion as we plant in accordance with it. The laws of political science are as impersonal as the laws of mathematical science. A nation grows in strength and in grace according as it discovers and applies those laws. But the political scientist no more advances society by calling "the State" a shirk, than the mathematician advances crops by calling a circle the shortest distance between two points.

GAIL HAMILTON.

# IMPORTANT HISTORICAL LETTERS.

CAPTAIN S. H. M. BYERS, now a citizen of Iowa, made a national reputation many years ago by a single song—"Marching through Georgia." He was an officer in General Sherman's army in its famous March to the Sea, of which he will give a graphic narrative in an early number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. Captain Byers was then, and still remains, a trusted friend of the great soldier, who has given him, recently, a remarkable proof of his confidence by permitting him to copy from his private records and correspondence a series of unpublished letters from historical Americans, illustrative of important epochs of the Civil War. These letters will appear in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

In a series of these letters, referring to "Reconstruction Days," Captain Byers has produced a correspondence between General Sherman and General Grant, relating to what is sometimes characterized as "President Johnson's Plot," to transfer the Government of the United States, at the close of the war, from the hands of the men who had saved it into the hands of the men who had fought against it in the South, or refused to fight for it in the North. As this subject, when brought into new prominence by Mr. Chauncey M. Depew, was discussed in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW by Hon. George S. Boutwell, this important correspondence was sent to him with a request to write an introduction to it.

As United States Senator and Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Boutwell enjoyed the entire confidence of General Grant and General Sherman, and, as one of the members who impeached President Johnson, he was familiar with all the secret evidence which justified that grave procedure.

## I.

### INTRODUCTION BY SENATOR BOUTWELL.

The letters which constitute the body of this article, furnished to THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW by a friend of General Sher-

man, possess a general interest which justifies their publication. But there are to be found in the text statements and allusions whose value may not be appreciated by persons not acquainted with the history of the times.

It is worthy of notice that, both in the letters of General Sherman and in the letters of General Grant, there are evidences of mutual and intimate friendship which was not disturbed by the events of the war nor by the embarrassments to which both were subjected during the Administration of President Johnson.

The letters of General Sherman of the 18th of March, 1870, and the 18th of March, 1871, contain statements derived from his knowledge of affairs in the States of the South which have been justified, unfortunately, by the history of that section of the country from that day to the present. In his opening sentence of the second letter he says :

"It is notorious that no Southern man can be punished for murder and violence to a Union family, for the juries acquit them even if they are indicted."

It is evident, also, from these letters that he had no faith in the continuing capacity of the negroes to establish and maintain popular governments in the Southern States, and that the prejudices of the past would resume control. The spirit of General Sherman and the energy of his purposes are shown in his letter of 1871, in which he says :

"Unless Congress can and will give the President power to declare and execute martial law in any State or district where life and property are in peril our Government is simply ridiculous."

Again he says in the same letter :

"The rebels whom we defeated in war will beat us by politics."

The prediction, made by General Sherman in 1871, has been confirmed by the experience of the country.

The letters of General Sherman and General Grant indicate, also, that there were times when they lost confidence in the disposition of the leaders, even of the Republican Party, to maintain efficient and pure Governments in the South ; and General Sherman makes the declaration, in his letter of 1871, that the Republican Party made use of General Grant's personal popularity to their advantage, and he prophesied that they would betray him and cast him off the moment it seemed to their advantage. His devotion

to the army and to the country is shown in the concluding paragraph of the letter to General Auger of 1871, where he says:

"Our duty is to keep the army, as far as we can, well ordered, well disciplined and as well content as possible. On its submission to discipline, its love of order and respect for authority this nation may yet have to depend, for things now tend, as in 1861, toward anarchy."

Happily his apprehension as to a state of anarchy has not been verified.

The first letter of General Grant is dated the 13th day of January, 1867, and it is addressed to General Sherman. The opening sentence of that letter refers to the Mexican mission of General Sherman. Those who are acquainted with the history of the times will recall the fact that General Sherman was sent to Mexico in the autumn of 1866, in company with our Minister to Mexico, Mr. Campbell, who had been recently appointed.

In the month of May, 1865, President Johnson issued a proclamation for the re-organization of the State of North Carolina. That proclamation was followed by others of the same character for the re-organization of each of the several States that had been engaged in the rebellion. By virtue of these proclamations, conventions were assembled, constitutions were formed for the several States, and legislative assemblies chosen. Under the constitutions so instituted the people were called upon to elect representatives to Congress, and the legislatures of the several States elected their respective quota of senators. In the early autumn of 1867, and previous to the meeting of the fortieth Congress, President Johnson, in two public speeches and in several private conversations, had given utterance to the opinion that the senators and representatives so elected in the States that had been in rebellion were legal members of that Congress and entitled to seats therein. The admission of those members, acting, as they would have acted, in conjunction with the Democratic senators and representatives from the loyal States, would have constituted a majority in each branch of Congress. While there is no positive evidence upon the point, there are many circumstances which justify the conclusion that President Johnson contemplated the organization of Congress upon that basis. Had that attempt been made, and successfully made, the Republican members of Congress from the loyal States would have been under the necessity either of accepting the organization and acting in it as a minority party, or they would

have been compelled to abstain from all association with it and accept the position, as far as the policy of the Administration could control affairs, of rebels against a constitutionally organized Government.

It is now an established historical fact that President Johnson made an effort to send General Grant to Mexico upon a mission, for which, probably, there was no sufficient reason in the relations of this Government to that of Mexico.

In an article published in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for December, 1885, I gave the substance, and in some parts the language, of a conversation with General Grant in regard to the effort made by President Johnson to induce him to accept that mission. While the subject was under consideration by the President and Secretary of State, the President issued an order, without the knowledge of General Grant, requiring General Sherman to leave his command at Fort Leavenworth and report at Washington. That command was obeyed, but, before the arrival of General Sherman, the President had received the peremptory refusal of General Grant to enter upon the mission. In the letter of June 13, 1867, General Grant refers to the subject in these words :

"The termination of your mission to Mexico caused, I think, no disappointment, as the whole scheme failed when I refused to go."

This declaration by General Grant is conclusive to the point, that the statement which I made in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of December last, to which I have referred, was justified by the facts.

In further support of the theory, that President Johnson contemplated the transfer of the Government into the hands of the Democratic party, with the coöperation of the Senators and Representatives who had been elected in the South under the proclamations which he had issued, is the remark of General Grant in the letter of the 13th of January, 1867 :

"There was unquestionably a great desire to commit you to the support of the present Administration against Congress, right or wrong, as there has been me."

Again, in a letter of the 18th of September, 1867, General Grant refers to the attempt to send him to Mexico, and says :

"Unless great changes take place between this and the 1st of February, I shall not be able to leave Washington this winter. If I can get off, however,

for a couple of months, I shall take about the trip I refused to take last winter, and of which you had the opportunity of enjoying on that account. If I go, I shall not take Campbell with me."

The anxiety to which General Grant was subjected, in his administration of the office of General of the Army during Johnson's administration, is indicated in this letter to General Sherman. He says:

"I am afraid to say on paper all I fear and apprehend: but I assure you that, were you present, there is no one who I would more fully unburden myself to, than yourself, or whose advice I would value more highly."

Both General Grant and General Sherman were opposed to the methods of administration in the War Department under Secretary Stanton. In these letters there are indications, on the part of both these officers, that Stanton assumed the control of affairs to such an extent, that the administration in the hands of the General of the Army was merely nominal. General Grant refers to this condition of things when he uses these words:

"I am in hopes of getting the command of the army back again where it belongs, and, if I do, there should always, for some years at least, be some one present to exercise it, lest it revert again to the Secretary of War."

One of the most important letters in this connection is that of General Sherman to President Johnson under date of the 31st of January, 1868. The date of the letter is worthy of notice, inasmuch as it corresponds in time to the controversy which arose between President Johnson and four or five members of his Cabinet, on the one side, and General Grant on the other, upon the question of fact whether General Grant made a promise to President Johnson to resign the office of Secretary of War, *ad interim*, during the suspension of Secretary Stanton. From this letter it appears that Johnson had invited General Sherman to come to Washington; but it does not appear in what capacity he expected him to act while there. After some introductory remarks as appears, which are not quoted, General Sherman says:

"To bring me to Washington would put three heads to an army—yourself, General Grant, and myself, and we would be more than human if we were not to differ. In my judgment it would ruin the army and would be fatal to one or two of us."

This statement is important in connection with what is known of the relations between President Johnson and General Grant, in the fact that it points directly to the removal of General Grant and

the substitution of General Sherman to the command of the army. General Sherman resisted this proposition and entered into an argument to show that it would be unwise for him to accept the position proffered. He proceeds to denounce the influence of Washington life, and declares that it had been fatal to Generals Scott and Taylor, and he attributes the defeats of the army of the Potomac to the circumstance that its head-quarters were near to Washington. Further, he says:

"It would have overwhelmed General Grant at Spottsylvania and Petersburg if he had not been fortified by a strong reputation already hardened, and because no one then living coveted the place."

President Johnson could not have completed the reading of this letter without arriving at the conclusion that no advantage to his schemes would be gained by the substitution of General Sherman for General Grant. In the first place, Sherman bestows upon Grant the highest compliments, and then proceeds to say that he had never seen him so much troubled as he had been in Washington where he had "been compelled to read himself a sneak and deceiver, based on reports of four of the Cabinet and apparently with your knowledge."

This language refers to the controversy which was then going on between the President and General Grant upon the allegation by the President that General Grant had promised to resign the office of Secretary of War, *ad interim*, previous to the passage of any resolution by the Senate disproving the suspension of Secretary Stanton. General Grant denied emphatically that any such promise had ever been made. The known opinions of General Grant, the circumstances to which reference has already been made, especially as to the purpose of the President to organize Congress upon the basis of the State Governments that had been set up under his proclamation, justify the conclusion that no such promise could ever have been made by General Grant.

General Grant and General Sherman, in coöperation with Reverdy Johnson, made an effort to induce the President to nominate Governor Cox, of Ohio, to the office of Secretary of War in place of Mr. Stanton. President Johnson, in the interviews that were had with him, indicated distinctly that the appointment would not be made. General Grant must have entertained the opinion that if a vacancy should be created the place would be

filled by a person who would second the views of the President in regard to the questions of reconstruction and to the rights of members elected under his proclamations to seats in the Senate and House of Representatives.

President Johnson, in a letter to General Grant, dated the 31st day of January, 1868, made a statement of his recollection of the interviews that took place between himself and General Grant in reference to the office of Secretary of War. General Grant replied to that letter the 3d day of February, in which he controverted the President on the important question involved. Thereupon the President, on the 5th day of February, 1868, made an appeal in writing to the five members of his Cabinet who were present at the interview between himself and General Grant. Four of these members, Gideon Welles, Hugh McCulloch, Alexander W. Randall, and O. H. Browning, endorsed substantially the statement of the President. Mr. Seward was more diplomatic, but while he reviewed in a long letter the interviews at which he had been present, and made some statements of what took place, and made explanations, sometimes in favor of the President and sometimes in favor of General Grant upon points incidental to the general question, yet he made no definite statement either in support of the President or in support of General Grant. It is to these letters that reference is made by General Sherman in the paragraph quoted.

The letter of General Sherman of the 22d of January, 1868, is a minute statement of the facts which, within his knowledge, touched the controversy between the President and General Grant. It will be observed that as far as his information extended it supports the position taken by General Grant. But the view which confirms the statement of General Grant that he made no promise to the President is supported by the fact that such a promise was wholly inconsistent with the opinions which General Grant was known to entertain concerning the purposes of the President in regard to the reconstruction of the Government. If anything is established by the history of the times, it is the fact that General Grant, during all that period, entertained the opinion that it was the purpose of the President to use the power which he possessed, both directly and through the several departments, to prevent the reconstruction of the Government upon the Congressional basis. Entertaining such opinions, it is beyond the realm of probabilities

that General Grant could at any time have made a promise which would have placed in the hands of the President an additional means of accomplishing his own purposes and defeating the will of Congress and of the people of the country in regard to the reconstruction of the Government.

GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.

II.

GENERAL SHERMAN TO GENERAL ORD.

HEADQR'S ARMY OF THE U. S.,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *March* 18, 1870.

GEN'L E. O. C. ORD, *Comd'g Dept. of California, San Francisco.*

DEAR ORD: . . . The truth is, politics have again gradually but surely drawn the whole country into a situation of as much danger as before the civil war. The army left the South subdued, broken, and humbled. The party then in power, forgetful of the fact, that sooner or later, the people of the South must vote, labored hard to create votes out of negroes and indifferent material, and when at last these States became reconstructed, as was to be expected, the prejudices of the past resumed control, and now the negro government, aided by a weak force of Republican whites, have been swept aside, and the Union people there are hustled, branded, and even killed. Such is the nature of our Government that the nation is powerless to apply a remedy. All crimes must be tried by juries on the spot, who, of course, protect their comrades, and condemn their opponents. So that any Southern citizen may kill or abuse a negro or Union man, with as much safety as one of our frontiersmen may kill an Indian.

The memories of the war are fading fast, and even our own men are dividing out, not upon old issues, but the new probabilities of the strength of parties. General Grant's personal popularity seems to be waning, and the opposition to his administration is such that if they can unite they will surely prevail. . . .

Always your friend,

W. T. SHERMAN.

And again, in the following from General Sherman to General Augur, a year afterward, the same evils in the South are pointed out. To many, certain statements in this letter will seem like prophecy itself.

III.

GENERAL SHERMAN TO GENERAL AUGUR.

HEADQR'S ARMY OF THE U. S.,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *March* 18, 1871.

GEN'L C. C. AUGUR, *Command'g Dept. Omaha, Nebraska.*

DEAR AUGUR: . . . It is notorious that no Southern man can be punished for murder and violence to a Union family, for the juries acquit them

even if they are indicted. As in South Carolina and Meridian, the troops arrive after the event, illustrating the old maxim of locking the stable-door after the horse is stolen. Unless Congress can, and will, give the President power to declare and execute martial law in any State or district when life and property are in peril, our Government is simply ridiculous. In the present state of parties, and the small force of the army, made so by the Republicans themselves, we are simply powerless, and the rebels whom we defeated in war *will beat us by politics.*

Since the Secretary of War took to appointing sutlers, and even to naming post commanders, I feel little interest in public matters. I was in hopes that General Grant would cure some of these defects of administration, but he has so many advisers, and is so pulled and hauled about, that I really pity him. The Republican Party made use of him and his personal popularity for their advantage. And they will betray him, and cast him off the moment it seems to their advantage. Fortunately, however, they have no one to whom they can turn as a party leader. When the Democrats come to organize they will experience the same difficulty.

Our duty is to keep the army, as far as we can, well ordered, well disciplined, and as well content as possible—on its submission to discipline, its love of order, and respect for authority, this nation yet may have to depend, for things now point, as in 1861, toward anarchy. . . .

Truly your friend,

W. T. SHERMAN.

## IV.

### GENERAL GRANT TO GENERAL SHERMAN.

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMIES OF THE U. S.,
*January* 13, 1867.

DEAR GENERAL: Whilst you were absent on your Mexican mission I did not write to you, because I did not know how to address you, except through the Secretary of State, and I have nothing to do with that functionary when it can be avoided. Since your return, although I have been in the office almost daily, I have been so unwell that I do nothing but what I am compelled to do. For the last day or two I have felt much better, and am in hopes that I will have no relapse.

The termination of your mission to Mexico caused, I think, no disappointment, as the whole scheme failed when I refused to go. It may be that when Juarez can be reached, you will be called on again to accompany our minister to his capitol, merely to save appearances, but I doubt even this being asked of you.

My dispatch to you to come to Washington was written by direction of the President. If you do not desire to come to Washington this winter, you need not do so unless you receive further orders, which I will not give without being directed again to give them. You can, however, interpret the orders you have as authorizing a pilgrimage to this Capitol at any time you feel disposed to

make it. There was unquestionably a great desire to commit you to a support of the present Administration, against Congress, right or wrong, as there has been me. In this particular there is but little difference between parties. No matter how close I keep my tongue, each tries to interpret from the little let drop that I am with them. I wish our political troubles were settled on any basis. I want to turn over the command of the army to you for a year or so, and go abroad myself. But to leave now would look like throwing up a command in the face of the enemy.

My family are all very well, and join me in wishing to be kindly remembered to Mrs. Sherman and the children. I did not repeat my visit to Mrs. S. when I was in St. L., because I understood I would not be likely to see her.

If you come to Washington either alone or with some members of your family, we would be glad to entertain you during your stay.

Yours truly,

U. S. GRANT.

To LT.-GEN. W. T. SHERMAN, St. Louis, Mo.

V.

GENERAL GRANT TO GENERAL SHERMAN.

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMIES OF THE U. S.,

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Sept.* 18, 1867.

[*Private.*] MY DEAR GENERAL: I received your very kind letter written from Omaha, which gave assurances of your sympathy for me at the very unpleasant position which I am now called on to occupy. It is truly an unenviable one, and I wish I had never been in it. All the romance of feeling that men in high places are above personal considerations and act only from motives of pure patriotism, and for the general good of the public, has been destroyed. An inside view proves, too truly, very much the reverse. I am afraid to say on paper all I fear and apprehend, but I assure you, that, were you present, there is no one who I would more fully unburden myself to than yourself, or whose advice I would value more highly.

I received a letter from Mrs. Sherman yesterday from New York which indicates that she will not be in Washington this visit. I answered her letter this morning sending the letter to St. Louis.

Unless great changes take place between this and the 1st of February, I shall not be able to leave Washington this winter. If I can get off, however, for a couple of months, I shall take about the trip *I refused to take last winter*, and which you had the opportunity of enjoying on that account. If I go, I shall not take Campbell with me. I will want you to come to Washington in that case to take my place. I am in hopes of getting the command of the army back again where it belongs, and if I do, there should always, for some years at least, be some one present to exercise it lest it revert again to the Sec'y of War.

I hope your commission will prove successful; but my faith is not strong. In the first place, Browning would not appoint a man on it who is not already

impregnated with his own views, and turn everything to confirm them. I do not know any man whose contact with had made me think less of in proportion to his capacity. That is exceedingly limited.

Yours truly,

U. S. GRANT.

To LT.-GEN. W. T. SHERMAN.

VI.

GENERAL SHERMAN TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

LIBRARY ROOM, WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *January* 31, 1868.

TO THE PRESIDENT: . . . To bring me to Washington would put three heads to an army—yourself, General Grant, and myself, and we would be more than human if we were not to differ. In my judgment it would ruin the army, and would be fatal to one or two of us.

Generals Scott and Taylor proved themselves soldiers and patriots in the field, but Washington was fatal to both. This city, and the influences that centered here, defeated every army that had its head-quarters here from 1861 to 1865, and would have overwhelmed General Grant at Spottsylvania and Petersburg had he not been fortified by a strong reputation already hardened, and because no one then living coveted the place. Whereas in the West, we made progress from the start, because there was *no political Capitol near enough* to poison our minds and kindle into life that craving itching for fame which has *killed more good men than bullets.* I have been with General Grant in the midst of death and slaughter, when the howls of people reached him after Shiloh, when messengers were speeding to and from his army to Washington, bearing slanders, to induce his removal before he took Vicksburg; in Chattanooga, when the soldiers were stealing the corn of the starving mules to satisfy their own hunger; at Nashville, when he was ordered to the "forlorn hope" to command the Army of the Potomac, so often defeated; and yet I never saw him more troubled than since he has been in Washington, and compelled to read himself a "sneak and deceiver," based on reports of four of the Cabinet, and apparently with your knowledge. If this political atmosphere can disturb the equanimity of one so guarded, and so prudent as he is, what will be the result with me, so careless, so outspoken as I am? Therefore, with my consent, Washington, never! . . .

With great respect, yours truly,

W. T. SHERMAN.

VII.

GENERAL SHERMAN TO GENERAL GRANT.

LIBRARY ROOM, WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *January* 27, 1868.

GENERAL U. S. GRANT, Washington.

DEAR GENERAL: At your request I will endeavor to recall the events within my observation at and about the time you vacated the office of Secretary of War, *ad interim*, and when Mr. Stanton re-entered.

During the week preceding this event I saw you almost daily, as the Board,

of which I am a member, occupied the room in the building next the office of the Secretary of War.

On Saturday, the 11th of January, you told me that, within the past few days, you had read carefully the act of Congress known as the Tenure of Civil Office Bill; that it was different from what you had supposed; that it was so worded, that in case the resolution reported by Mr. Howard should pass the Senate, Mr. Stanton would be restored, and that if you held on, or did any act as Secretary of War, you would incur a liability of ten thousand dollars and imprisonment for five years, a risk you did not feel inclined to run. We then knew the resolution was being debated in the Senate, and was likely to pass at any time.

I think I asked you if you had not promised to give notice to the President, and also what course you intended to pursue. You said you supposed after the resolution had passed the Senate, Mr. Stanton would pursue towards you the same order of proceedings as he had required of you on taking the office at the time of his suspension, viz.: that he would write you a letter demanding the office, and would give you one or two days to act. But you said you would also go to the President right away and tell him how you felt. At 3 P. M. our Board adjourned, and by appointment with General Pope, I took him (General Pope) to the Executive Mansion to pay his personal and official respects to the President. Mr. Johnson received General Pope very courteously, and, after a few minutes conversation, in which both appeared well pleased, General Pope withdrew, and the President detained me to show me some papers, and at that moment you entered. After a minute I also withdrew, leaving you and the President alone together. This was about 4 P. M. of Saturday, the 11th instant, and I supposed, of course, you had gone to the President at that unusual hour, expressly to tell him your conclusion about the office you then held as Secretary of War *ad interim*.

I knew that both the President and the army would be embarrassed by the restoration to the office of Secretary of War of Mr. Stanton, after the strong feelings generated by past events, and saw no solution, except for the President to submit to the Senate the name of some good successor, likely to be confirmed by the Senate. The name of Governor Cox, of Ohio, rose to my mind as being the very man for the place, a gentleman in the highest sense of the term, of fine address and education, of a perfect war record, who had filled every commission from that of colonel to corps commander, who had lost favor with the Republican Party by reason of his opposition to universal negro suffrage, and whose term of office in Ohio was to expire on the following Monday. I had not seen Governor Cox since the close of the war, and did not know that he would accept if named, but proposed to use my influence to that end. That evening I dined by invitation with Mr. Reverdy Johnson, to whom I mentioned my thoughts. He said it was the very thing, that he would himself call on the President the next morning, Sunday, and, as he had to go to Annapolis that evening, he would drop me a note telling me the result of his interview with the President. On Sunday, I saw several gentlemen and some Senators, to whom I mentioned the circumstance, and all approved; I then called on you at your house, about 3 P. M. of Sunday, the 17th, and you not

only approved, but urged me to push the matter all I could, saying that Governor Cox was perfectly acceptable to you, and to the army generally. When I got to my room, I was disappointed to find no note from Reverdy Johnson.

On Monday morning, the 13th early, I again came to this room, where our Board sits, and you soon came in and asked me what was the result of the matter. I answered that Mr. Reverdy Johnson had not written me as I expected, and that I inferred that his application to the President had met with no success. You then urged me to go at once to the President, and use your name, as not only consenting, but urging, that course. I did go to the President about 11 A.M., and after waiting some time was admitted. I asked the President if Mr. Reverdy Johnson had been there the day before, and if he had named Governor Cox in connection with the office of Secretary of War. The President answered "Yes," and that he had a good opinion of Governor Cox, but made no intimation of a purpose to send his name to the Senate. Satisfied the President had given the matter his thoughts, I did not deem it proper for me further to urge the matter, only stating that I thought General Cox in every way qualified, and that I knew from you personally that his appointment would be most acceptable. At that time it was almost certain that the Senate would pass Mr. Howard's resolution, and I supposed the President was fully prepared for it. I believed that you had in the interview of the previous Saturday given the President your frank statement of your intentions in this connection. I left the President and came straight to you, and told you the result, and that, though the President had not said to me what he would do, he left me to infer he would not send the name of General Cox to the Senate.

Tuesday came, and with it Mr. Stanton. He came into the room where Generals Sheridan, Augur, and I were sitting, and was very friendly in his greeting. He said he wanted to see me when at leisure; and about 10½ A.M. I went into his office through the side door, and found you and him together. I stayed but a moment, and said to Mr. Stanton that I was close by and would come in whenever he called me. I then left you two together. I afterwards was called in by Mr. Stanton, who spoke to me very kindly, but not a word about his tenure of office.

I saw you again that afternoon in your office of General-in-Chief, and you told me that you did not like at all the manner in which Mr. Stanton had resumed the office; that he had sent for you in a rather discourteous mode; that, at the time you had relieved him, he had required you to make your demand in writing, and had taken two or more days to clear out the office before letting you in, and that you thought he would have acted towards you as he had required you to act towards him; that by his course he had compromised you, and you did not like it at all. I think I suggested that we should go together to the President and have a clear understanding about the matter, to which you promptly assented, but, as it was then late in the day, you said you would come to your office at 9½ A.M., and we could go to the President the first thing next morning. That was agreed to, and we met at your office as appointed. You remarked that since you had read a remark in the "Intelli-

gencer" of that morning, you did not feel inclined to go as far as you had intended, as facts were stated therein that could hardly have reached the editor excepting from one or more of the Cabinet. I was then shown by General Badeau the article which, before, I had not seen. I gave it but a casual glance, when you and I went to the President's house together. He received us promptly and kindly. We were all seated. Nobody in the room but the President, yourself, and myself. You first began by telling of certain matters in Georgia and Alabama, which seemed to be the continuation of a former conversation, after which you said substantially: "Mr. President: Whoever gave the facts for the article of the 'Intelligencer' of this morning has made some serious mistakes, etc." The President promptly interrupted; "General Grant, let me interrupt you just there, I have not seen the 'Intelligencer' of this morning, and have no knowledge of the contents of any article therein." General Grant resumed: "Well, the idea is given there that I have not kept faith with you. Now, Mr. President, I remember when you spoke to me on this subject last summer. I did say that, like the case of the Baltimore police commissioners, I did suppose Mr. Stanton could not regain his office except by a process through the courts." To this the President assented, saying he remembered the reference to the case of the Baltimore commissioners, and you, General Grant, resumed. You said that if you changed your opinion you would give the President notice, and put things where they were before your appointment as Secretary of War, *ad interim*. Here a general conversation ensued in which General Grant said he had taken the office simply because it seemed better that he should be there than anybody who would likely be nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate. And the President referred to his past conduct to show how desirous he had always been to manifest friendship and confidence in General Grant, stating that at a former period he had used his power as Commander-in-Chief to secure to General Grant the exercise of certain functions of his office, which, from practice, had been exercised by secretaries of war, etc. After which General Grant resumed and related to the President how Mr. Stanton had got the key of the room usually occupied by the Secretary of War, and gone into possession of the office, sending to him a blunt message to come to him in the "old style," at which he said he was not at all pleased; and he then stated strongly that there had been no understanding with Mr. Stanton on his part, and that he had acted as Secretary of War, *ad interim*, in the interest of the army and not of Mr. Stanton; that Mr. Stanton being in the office did not make him Secretary of War any more than if he were to make his office in his own library room at his own private house. At all which the President expressed himself gratified and pleased.

I took no part in that conversation, but as we rose and walked towards the door, General Grant said: "Mr. President, you should make some order that we of the army are not bound to obey the orders of Mr. Stanton, as Secretary of War," which the President said he would do. After you had finished I merely said in general terms that I did not profess to know the law of the case, but on the score of honor I did not see how any one could hold a Cabinet office without the full confidence of the President.

This is all I can recall as having occurred about that time, and I confess I have been surprised to see the statements of late in the newspapers as emanating from the Cabinet. Surely I thought that your explanation of Wednesday, after that Cabinet Council, was satisfactory to the President on every point touching your action in this matter, only he thought if you had been more positive on Saturday he might have put some one in the office who would have resisted the entry of Mr. Stanton into that particular room ; but I thought that your explanation, that Mr. Stanton being in that particular room did not make him lawful Secretary of War, was conclusive. The real question is, does the Secretary of the Treasury honor his warrants as Secretary of War because he signs his name in that office, or because of the legal effects of the Resolution of the Senate declaring the reasons for his removal insufficient under the terms of Civil Office Bill.

I do think the army should be spared these conflicts in cases purely legal.

Truly your friend,

W. T. SHERMAN, Lieut. Gen.

# JOBS IN CITIES.

THE request that I prepare a brief paper on Jobs in Cities brings before me a field large in extent and prolific in material. A volume would cover only a small part of the subject; for nearly all the very large corporate undertakings in the United States during the past twenty years have had in them more or less of the corrupt political and financial elements which the public have come to sum up in the word "job." What I must do, therefore, is to confine myself chiefly to such jobs as have come under my own personal cognizance in connection with some participation in municipal reforms, and more especially with the New York anti-monopoly organization, of which I have the honor to be chairman.

The main purpose of the anti-monopoly movement is to resist public corruption and corporate aggression. Anti-monopolists have no war with honest corporations. These are simply forms of coöperative enterprise; and in coöperative action lies the solution of the disputes between capital and labor.

The anti-monopoly organization was founded by Peter Cooper, F. B. Thurber, and others. The abuses which specially appealed to these gentlemen were transportation extortions and fictitious capitalization. For instance, there had just been a very bountiful harvest in Kansas. As soon as this fact became apparent to the managers of the leading railways, they raised their rates of freight from a tariff to a tribute, and extorted a million and a half of mere highway spoils from that one harvest in one locality. This was the brigandage of the Middle Ages revived in a new form. At about the same time Commodore Vanderbilt injected forty-seven millions of dollars in "water" into the capital of the New York Central and Hudson River roads. Interest and dividends

on that inflation have since been levied on labor and production, in increased freight charges.

An illustration of the manner in which honest industry is made to pay tribute to financial freebooters arose in the conduct of our elevated railways, which official investigation by the railway commission of the State has shown to have cost eighteen millions of dollars, but the stock of which has been watered nearly a hundred and twenty per cent., that is, to the extent of twenty-one millions over the true cost. The report of the commission demonstrated that the roads could be run at a handsome profit on the basis of a five-cent fare, if their directors had not resorted to this monstrous stock inflation.

Even these instances are a mere bagatelle in contrast with the sum-total of railroad stock-watering, of which they form a part. The railways of the United States, to-day, represent about four thousand millions of dollars in purely fictitious capital.

The original idea upon which public franchises were granted, for railroads, gas companies, and other similar undertakings making use of public highways, was, that they were a sort of partnership between the public and capitalists, the people granting the right of way and the capitalists constructing the works, upon the cost of which they were entitled to receive a fair return for their investment; but when this had been received the public was to come in for its share, in the form of decreased charges for the service rendered. The general railroad law of this State recognizes this principle by specifying that when receipts exceed ten per cent. upon the "capital actually invested," then the Legislature may reduce charges so that they will yield not more than ten per cent. The purpose of stock watering is to evade the laws, and to cheat the public out of its share of profits in great corporate enterprises. It cannot be too clearly remembered that in all enterprises existing by virtue of a public charter, and doing business by using public highways, the public is a partner therein and entitled to its share of profits, without sharing in the possible losses of the undertaking, for the reason that the promoters seek these privileges and receive their share of the profits first, and it is only what is "left over," as it were, that belongs to the public.

The Broadway Surface Railroad job—or the "Broadway steal," as it is popularly termed—is the most conspicuous recent illustration of corporate and municipal corruption. I can speak of it

definitely, as the Anti-Monopoly League was a chief agent in exposing and defeating it.

The league commenced unearthing this job in 1884. On the 30th of August, in that year, the franchise for constructing the road had been granted by the Board of Aldermen to Jacob Sharpe, under exceedingly suspicious circumstances,—the Mayor having vetoed the grant. There had been several large bids for the franchise,—one of a million dollars. When, in spite of all this, and in opposition to the Mayor's veto, the Board of Aldermen held an anomalous meeting at nine o'clock in the morning and made Sharpe a present of the grant, only one conclusion could be reached. No one at all conversant with the way in which corporations obtain legislation had any doubt that the aldermen were controlled by bribery.

On the 17th of September (shortly after the job was consummated), the Anti-Monopoly League held a meeting, calling public attention to the reputed bribery and corruption, and appointed a committee to take further action. On the 17th of February, 1885, another meeting of the league was held, and resolved that a formal demand should be made on the Legislature to appoint a committee of investigation.

One of the members of the league committee spent much time at Albany during the session of 1885, in connection with the "gas fight." While there, he made several attempts to procure the appointment of the investigating committee. But the Legislature of 1885 was a notoriously corrupt body, and was completely under the control of the railroad lobby; consequently, our attempts failed. Nevertheless, they served to keep public attention alive. In December, the Anti-Monopoly Railroad Commissioner, Mr. O'Donnell, offered a resolution, in the Board of Railroad Commissioners, that the commission should use its authority to investigate the Broadway Surface Railroad corruption. *Mr. O'Donnell's resolution was voted down by the other two commissioners.* But still we did not give up. The league made a public announcement that the organization would persist in its purpose with the new Legislature (that of 1886), which was then about to open its sessions. After much effort, the Railroad Committee of the Senate at last ordered an investigation, the consequences of which have led to the exposure and arrest of the corrupt aldermen, and to some little reparation to the public.

One of the "city fathers," at least, has gone to state's-prison, and the charter of the road has been revoked.

I have touched upon this now familiar job first, partly because it presents one of the most delicate and difficult tasks the anti-monopolists have ever undertaken, and partly because it is an excellent specimen, in all its details, of the average bargain between business adventurers and venal politicians to plunder the public. Mixed in it were politicians of high and low degree; men of national reputation; merchants supposed to be of unimpeachable integrity; lawyers in good standing; all these, and with them certain ostensible "reformers" and "reform newspapers." Sharpe had an understanding with a Philadelphia "ring," by which they were to be taken into his scheme, on a specified basis, after he had secured the charter. Sharpe purchased his aldermen, got the charter, and then turned his back on the Philadelphians. Then, those injured parties raised a vigorous hue and cry of "fraud, bribery, and corruption," the object of it being to frighten Sharpe into carrying out the original agreement. A part of the plan was to secure the appointment of a legislative committee of investigation—such a committee as would not investigate too far, but just far enough to make the faithless Mr. Sharpe divide his spoils.

The purpose of the Anti-Monopoly League was also to secure an investigating committee, but one that would be inflexible in exposing the swindle. How to proceed in this direction, without defeating ourselves and furthering the investigating scheme of the Philadelphia syndicate, was the peculiar and risky feature of the work. But, with the aid of the leading New York newspapers, and the special co-operation of Hon. A. C. Comstock of the Senate, a plan of campaign was arranged which proved successful.

Another New York city job of the most outrageous character was the attempt to set on foot "The Cable Road Grab." In this projected conspiracy against the people, the interested parties sought to secure, without payment, the use forever, of some seventy miles of the streets of New York. There was to be absolutely no compensation whatever for all time for the franchise, which had never been estimated as worth less than five millions of dollars for a limited term of years. The detectives employed by the Anti-Monopoly League reported that a railroad ring had been formed among the aldermen themselves, and that they would certainly

put the job through. This report proved to be correct. The board did "put it through" by a nearly unanimous vote. But the league, being thoroughly prepared for this contest, took it up immediately. With our attorney, Augustus A. Levy, it was made my business to appear before the mayor. Carefully considered arguments were presented, urging a veto. The veto followed, Mayor Grace adopting precisely the positions set forth in our pleas. The next step was to procure an injunction against the Board of Aldermen, to prevent them from passing the franchise over the Mayor's veto. On the application of our attorney, the injunction was granted by Judge Lawrence. It was argued before him by a strong array of anti-monopoly counsel and was made permanent.

In the meantime, what was commonly called "the Cantor Bill"—an act to compel the selling of public franchises at public auction to the highest bidder—was pending before the Legislature. The Anti-Monopoly League took a deep interest in this act, as it finished up the branch of work in which we had lately been engaged in such a way as to cover all future cases. As soon as Judge Lawrence granted the injunction, we sent a letter to the members of the Legislature, urging immediate action on the Cantor Bill. The chairman of the league also went to Albany, and pressed the passage of the bill.

The first piece of public jobbery that I had a hand in resisting was thirteen years ago. It was the job, in 1873, to tear down the Tombs, and build a new city prison. The projectors of this job had intended to make the structure another heap of pillage, like "the Tweed Court-house." It would have cost the citizens of New York from five to ten millions of dollars, according to the ultimate audacity of the jobbers. That scheme was defeated by the opposition of five determined men, who procured an injunction, and brought it to public attention in a manner so pronounced that the plotters abandoned their scheme.

There has recently been a struggle against the gas monopolists of our great city. The New York gas companies have invested a little more than eleven millions of dollars, actual capital, in the gas business; but they have added nearly *thirty* millions of fictitious capital to the actual investment. In other words, they have charged so much for gas that their profits would oblige them to declare annual dividends of twenty-four and a quarter per cent. on

their principal; but, by selling eleven millions of their stock—to themselves—for thirty-nine millions, they can *call* the dividends seven per cent. Then, in some years, they have been easily able to afford the purchase of enough legislators, at Albany, to make such practices continuous. The stockholders of the New York Gas Company put $750,000 into their business. They took out of it more than fifteen millions—or nearly ten millions in excess of ten per cent. annual profits—and *then* had more than seven and a half millions of stock in hand, to issue at par! Under this arrangement they recently entered a new "consolidation."

To resist such intolerable impositions, a Gas Consumer's Association was organized. The Anti-Monopoly League was also put into the service. After two seasons of hard work, in the face of misrepresentation, corruption, and personal denunciation, these organizations forced the issue to what seemed a successful conclusion. A state act was passed, providing for the incorporation of new gas companies, under restrictions preventing stock inflation, carefully fixing the quality of gas, and introducing what is known as "the English sliding scale;" which means a decrease of cost to consumers as a company prospers. By another bill a gas commission was created, bringing all gas companies under the people's supervision, and justly regulating those public servants in the public interest. The cost of the commission was made a charge on the companies, the amount having been computed at less than one cent. per thousand feet of the gas sold. Still another bill was passed, limiting the price of gas in New York city. It has been said that the manner of appointing the commissioners under the gas commission bill was not in accordance with the political aims of his Excellency the Governor. Whether this statement is true or not, he vetoed the Gas Commission Bill, and signed the other two. In its practical aspect, this course was the same thing as instituting a law against swindling, and then refusing to empower any one to execute it. The governor's veto has not been kindly received by the people and the press, but has received the marked approval of the gas monopolists. One reason may be that, in his veto, the governor complained of the bill as "investing the commission with power to destroy property amounting to many millions." By the much-abused word "property" he referred, of course, to the fictitious capital, or "water," which the gas companies had added to their real capital. But the commis-

sion could not have destroyed even this false property, except by preventing it from swindling the people beyond the point it had already reached.

Is it not a remarkable sign of the moral obliquity of the times that the Governor of the Empire State, in vetoing the Gas Commission Bill, which would have made legislation for gas consumers effective, treats watered stock as "property" entitled to his special protection?

The "biggest job," as well as the largest project, now under way in any city of the United States, is probably that of The New Aqueduct, which is to be the main source of our New York city water supply.

The New Aqueduct is to be thirty-one miles long. Through ten miles of this area nature has furnished a solid rock bottom, perfectly water-tight, and much better than any artificial bottom that could possibly be constructed. Yet the Board of Aqueduct Commissioners has voted to line the entire aqueduct with brick, bottom and all, including the ten miles already lined with the best of natural stone. Controller Loew opposed this worse than useless expenditure, intended wholly for the benefit of political corruptionists, but the job has been sustained by the majority of the Board. When the matter came up, the Controller offered a resolution that the work be done as any sensible business man would do it for himself; that is, that the aqueduct be lined only where necessary. The resolution was voted down, Mayor Grace alone sustaining the Controller. Judge Spencer, the Tammany member of the Aqueduct Commission, then offered a resolution that the whole structure receive the brick lining. The resolution was passed, the Mayor and the Controller voting against it. In the passage of this little resolution, the people of New York city were put to an unnecessary expense of *a million and a half of dollars*, in order that the contractors and, indirectly, a political ring, might profit by it.

In order, however, that the ring might not be troubled with such "factious opposition" to future jobs of the kind, the ring decided to legislate the inconvenient Mayor and Controller out of the Board of Aqueduct Commissioners, although they were the chief representatives and the only safeguards to the city, for whom the aqueduct is being constructed. The bill was therefore introduced in the Legislature, swiftly passed—"kissed through," as it is termed

by Hon. Timothy J. Campbell, which is the technical name for a corrupt bargain between political managers of both parties—and was signed by Governor Hill, with full knowledge of its effect and bearings, and in the face of a protest signed by many thousands of influential citizens of New York.

The estimated cost of The New Aqueduct is fifteen millions of dollars; but such extras are to be counted upon as political expediency may demand, and what the actual cost will be only the end will show. The "Quaker Dam" is one of these "extras." This structure, as all the experts know, will be entirely useless for the next fifteen or twenty years; but, as it will cost from twelve to fifteen millions of dollars, if built as it ought to be, the contractors and their "partners" are very anxious to have it built at once.

Among the most prominent and influential of these contractors are Messrs. Clark and O'Brien, Mr. O'Brien being chairman of the Democratic State Committee and also the political special manager and henchman of Governor Hill. The opinion now and then escapes the intimate friends of these gentlemen that the "aqueduct job," if "handled for all it is worth," will furnish the financial sinews (or what they briefly term "the party boodle") to make Mr. Hill the next President of the United States.

The work on the aqueduct is supposed to be given out to the lowest bidder. One precarious section of it, under the Harlem River, was allotted some time ago to Messrs. Clark and O'Brien, at an allowance of $50,000 more than the lowest bid, for fear that the lowest bidder might not do the work well. But it was immediately sub-let to this lowest bidder, and the difference pocketed. That $50,000 could easily go into the presidential fund, the city alone being the poorer thereby.

In the single item of "filling in slopes" by one contractor in one month, the Controller recently found an overcharge of $5,000. He declined to pay it, and the issue went before the City Attorney, who sustained the refusal. And now the whole matter of filling in such slopes is to be gone over if possible. In a project that may involve an outlay of forty millions of dollars, there is no telling how many of these millions will go to the spoilsmen.

My brief sketch of Jobs in Cities has this moral: Almost anything can be done to protect public interests and clean out the pigsties of political corruption, if intelligent and determined citizens

will simply get together and see that the work is done. The Anti-Monopoly League has already demonstrated this truth. But, until citizens generally will organize and take an active part in public affairs, they may as well settle down to the expectation that they will be perennially robbed, and then defied and laughed at.

FERDINAND SEEGER.

# NOTES AND COMMENTS.

## I.

### A Mistake of General Beauregard.

The North American Review for May contains a paper on the "Defense of Charleston" by General G. T. Beauregard. The greater part of page 426 is devoted to the attack on the blockading force by the "two Confederate gunboats (iron-clad rams)" called the "Palmetto State" and the "Chicora," on the morning of January 31, 1863. He says:

"The 'Palmetto State,' on board of which for the occasion was Commodore Ingraham himself, steamed out toward the Federal fleet, followed by the 'Chicora,' and fell upon and fired into the steamer 'Mercedita,' before the latter had realized the peril she was in. Disabled and reported to be sinking, the 'Mercedita' immediately surrendered. The 'Palmetto State' left her and went in pursuit of a second and a third Federal steamer, but was soon outdistanced by their superior speed. On the other hand, the 'Chicora' had not remained idle; she had set fire to a schooner-rigged propeller, engaged and crippled the 'Quaker City,' and ran into and fired the 'Keystone State,' which then and there struck her flag. *The other vessels composing the blockading squadron, seeing the fate of their consorts, and fearing the same one for themselves, hurriedly steamed out to sea and entirely disappeared. The entire harbor remained in the full possession of the Confederate rams. Not a Federal sail was visible, even with spy-glasses, for over twenty-four hours. It is, therefore, strictly correct to state that the blockade of the port of Charleston had been raised, for the time being, as was certified to by Commodore Ingraham, by the foreign consuls then in Charleston, and by myself.*"

These assertions require examination and correction.

The blockading force at that date consisted of the "Housatonic," "Mercedita," "Keystone State," "Quaker City," "Augusta," "Flag," "Ottawa," "Unadilla," "Memphis," and "Stettin." Of these the "Flag," "Ottawa," "Unadilla," and "Stettin" did not get into action, owing to their positions at the extremities of the long line. The "Mercedita," "Keystone State," "Quaker City," and "Memphis," were alone engaged until the arrival of the "Housatonic" and "Augusta," after all the damage that was done had been inflicted. The "Mercedita" was surrendered as stated. The "Keystone State" was seriously injured, and was at the mercy of the enemy; to prevent a greater loss of life than had already been suffered, the colors were hauled down. The enemy, though very near, made no attempt to take possession, but, according to the report of Commander Le Roy, continued to fire upon the disabled ship. That officer then ordered the colors to be rehoisted, and to re-

sume fire from the after battery. His loss was one officer and nineteen men killed and twenty wounded. The "Quaker City" was injured, but not disabled. No schooner-rigged propeller was set on fire, because there was no such vessel present.

This brings matters up to that point in General Beauregard's statement, where I have placed what follows in italics.

The "Augusta" and "Housatonic" now for the first moment suspected danger. Firing along the line was so common an occurrence that no apprehension was excited by the guns heard at this time. It was supposed that a number of vessels were attempting to run the blockade at the same time. But suspicion being aroused by the duration of the firing, both these vessels slipped their cables and ran under full steam *towards* the scene of action. The former soon opened fire, and the latter was run between her and her opponent which was then seen to be an iron-clad ram, bearing the Confederate flag, steering directly *towards the mouth of the harbor*, leaving all the vessels above named upon the ground of the conflict. The "Housatonic" was steered as close to the shore as the water would permit; fire was opened as soon as she got within range of the ram, and was continued as long as the latter, all the while retreating, continued in their range. We fired thirty-four shot and shells at her. She returned our fire, and her shells struck near us and beyond us, but none hit us. Never once did she deviate from the course she was steering when we first saw her, except that she gained time sufficiently to bring her stern gun to bear upon us.

Whilst the "Housatonic" was running down from her anchorage, a ram was seen to the westward, steering towards the harbor. She was discovered, in the early light of the morning, by her black smoke. She made no demonstration of coming towards us, or of wishing to attack us. I then believed, and I now believe, that she was inside of the outer shoals. We neither saw nor heard any more of her.

The firing having ceased by the withdrawal of the enemy, the battery was secured at eight o'clock A.M.

The "Keystone State" was sent to Port Royal in tow of the "Memphis;" and the "Augusta" was dispatched to the same place with information for Admiral Du Pont. The "Princess Royal," a captured blockade runner, was also sent to Port Royal about 9.30 A.M.

The "Quaker City" picked up her anchor in the course of the forenoon, and the "Unadilla" resumed her station inside of Rattlesnake Shoal, and remained there during the day. The "Housatonic" picked up her anchor in the course of the afternoon. The blockading vessels went to their usual stations after necessary communication with the senior officer, but most of them were kept under way to insure greater watchfulness, rendered necessary by the number being reduced by four. No vessel ran in or out of the fort that day, nor was any attempt made to do so. As the haze diminished, the two rams were seen lying in Moffitt's Channel, close to the shore, some distance to the northward and eastward of Fort Moultrie. About five o'clock they went back into Charleston harbor, nor were they ever seen outside afterwards.

Commander Le Roy, in his extracts from the log-book of the "Keystone

State," after giving his reasons for rehoisting his colors and to resume firing, says :

"Now the enemy, either injured, or to avoid the squadron approaching, sheered off toward the harbor, exchanging shots with the "Housatonic," which vessel was in chase."

Lieut.-Commander Watmough in his report, after mentioning his taking the "Keystone State" in tow by the "Memphis," adds :

"It was apparent that both the iron-clads avoided a close action with the "Housatonic," and other heavily-armed vessels, and placed themselves prudently with the Swash Channel under their lee, as a safe retreat to port."

I think that the italicized portion of General Beauregard's statement, as quoted herein, may be regarded as incorrect in every particular. His proclamation alluded to therein was contradicted, officially, in the most positive terms by the several officers commanding the blockading vessels, as soon as it came to their notice Their rejoinder is dated February 10, 1863, more than twenty-three years ago. It can be found with all other official documents bearing upon this question, in the "Report of the Secretary of the Navy for 1863," pages 163–180.

A few extracts from Confederate authorities will close this article.

The "Charleston Courier" of the 2d February, 1863, contains a statement, which, from internal evidence, must have been written by some person on board the "Chicora." After describing some alleged actions of that vessel, the writer proceeds to say :

"Discovering that the flag-boat had ceased firing, and was standing in shore, orders were given to follow her. On our return we came across a three-masted bark-rigged vessel which we engaged, firing our guns as we passed. We then kept on our way to the bay, having sustained no damage in the action, nor a single casualty on board. The last ship mentioned above kept firing at us until we got out of range, and we giving them our return compliments." ("Rebellion Record," vol. vi., page 415.)

The "Housatonic" was the only ship agreeing with the above description. There is no appearance of our running away in this account; and we were evidently left in possession of the field.

A book entitled "Recollections of a Naval Officer," written by Captain William Harmar Parker, who, at the time in question, was first lieutenant of the "Palmetto State" (see page 292 of said book), says that the statement accompanying the proclamation of General Beauregard and Commodore Ingraham, viz.: that "the British Consul and the commander of the British war-steamer 'Petrel' had previously gone five miles beyond the usual anchorage of the blockaders, and could see nothing of them with their glasses," was a "foolish statement."

Again, "as we entered the harbor the Federal vessels closed in and resumed the blockade."

And again, "as to the proclamation in regard to the blockade being broken, I looked upon it as *all bosh*. No vessels went out or came in during the day."

And, "I am constrained to say that this was a badly managed affair on our

part, and we did not make the best use of our opportunity." Pages 303 and 304 of said book.

The "Housatonic" opened fire at 7.08 A.M. and at 7.37 A.M. the ram was out of range, having crossed the bar. At 8.30 A.M. the rams anchored in Beach Channel, and at 5 P.M. they returned to Charleston harbor.

As I happened to be senior officer off Charleston at the time in question, I deem it a duty to correct the misrepresentations of General Beauregard in relation to this affair, in justice to the gallant officers and men whom I had the honor to command on that day.

WM. ROGERS TAYLOR,
*Rear Admiral, U. S. N.*

For the information of the non-professional reader, it seems proper to say that the blockading vessels, when getting under way in a hurry, always slipped their cables with a buoy attached to the inner end. In "picking up" their anchors, the buoy was grappled, the end of the cable hauled in and secured, and they were then in the same position as they were before slipping.

## II.

### GOLD AND SILVER MONEY.

IF gold and silver of the same weight were always of the same value, then they could be safely coined by the State at will. But these, like other metals and all articles of trade, have a commercial value, independent of their uses as *money*—the superadded value being measured by the additional demand, the expense of coinage, and their artificial use as *money*, and no more. Governments, therefore, one or all combined, can no more fix—render permanent—the relative or absolute value of gold and silver money, than they can regulate the tides of the ocean. The idea of calling a congress of nations to establish the relative price of gold and silver *moneys* is therefore absurd. The value of the whole mass of gold and silver in the world is determined by the supply and demand, and the action of such a congress of nations by putting more or less silver or gold into the dollar is a *disturbing* factor, by the new and artificial demand, which at last would fluctuate again by the laws of trade, which would cause the melting down of coin whenever it fell in value to a certain degree below bullion. The ratio of silver to gold in France is 15½ of silver to one of gold; in the United States, 16 to one. Suppose the "congress" should attempt "to swing the par" and make the silver here and there the same, they would be as wise as if they should decree that wheat here should be the same in price as in France or England. This being the great producing nation of silver, and France being the seat of the fine arts, where silver is most used commercially, the true status of silver would be probably what it is now—freight, insurance, and profits to the carrier, and interest covering the one-half grain, as a unit of value, which silver holds in France over silver here.

IT would be most desirable for the commerce of the world if gold and silver, *as money*, should remain the same in relative value, but this being impossible, the next best thing is to approximate stability. It is true that a single metal would accomplish this result, but the Constitution and laws have settled the ques-

tion as I think wisely, in behalf of bimetallism. This approximation, then, can only be reached, first, when one metal declines from its normal legal value, cease to coin that metal; next, when that fails, put more gold or silver into the declining dollar, till the equilibrium is established. It now remains to show why this equilibrium of values is desirable. Suppose the gold and silver money of the world to be equal in value when put upon an equilibrium, or legal par; they, combined, represent the whole value of the products or property of mankind—or *capital*. Then, destroy either the gold or silver, and you destroy the one-half of the *capital* of the nations. It is true that such demonetized gold or silver would still have a commercial value, but its purchasing and debt-paying value—the *capital*—is gone. To demonetize silver or gold, then, would be to *double* the *debts* of the *world;* whilst all men living upon capital would be as rich again in the means of living.

All these statements seem to me so plain and logical that I set them down as *axioms*.

We are now ready to answer the question, should silver coinage cease. If it is below the legal normal value—that is, if silver is not equal in value to gold—when estimated at 16 grains of silver to one of gold, then the coinage should cease; and that failing to raise it to par with gold, silver should be added till the two dollars are equal. That result being attained, legislation should rest, till new and distant fluctuations (which are almost sure to come) should demand a new adjustment. It is true that it is the duty of government to favor neither the creditor nor the debtor, not to violate the obligation of contracts; but a higher duty is to conserve a stable and sound currency. And all contracts are or should be made subject to these higher laws of universal good.

Does the coinage of silver just now aid the debtor? No. Else all these axioms are false. Increased coinage of the silver dollar decreases its *money* value, and whilst it may aid men having money to pay more easily their debts, it would injure debtors and laborers—who are chronic debtors—by destroying confidence, and driving all capital from productive industries; for no man will invest in reproductive industries or loan capital, to be repaid in a depreciating currency. Besides, the coinage of gold or silver is *not* a *donation* to the *debtors*, whatever else it may be.

The cry that we want "sufficient money for the demands of trade" is the cry of the inflationist, the demagogue, or the ignoramus.

If we want more money-coin, we must work for or find more gold and silver. Make as much and save as much as the French, and we will have as much gold and silver per capita as the French. Certainly, we cannot get it by act of Congress. For none but God can make a dollar. That experiment has been tried by fool-rulers from the earliest times. So late as in my early life, Kentucky had not "money enough for the wants of trade." She, too, pitied the poor debtor! She issued her "fiat-money" through the commonwealth banks. Did she make a donation to the poor debtors? Not at all. The demagogues borrowed the money, and spent it, and many refused to repay it. The upshot was that the paper dollar ran down to forty cents in the silver dollar—the "hardest times" ever seen in the State now followed in the wake of these money-cranks and knaves—and at last she

was forced to call in the paper and burn it, and restore the silver dollar. I speak not now of the later Confederate fiat-money, for it began with nothing and ended with nothing.

The assertions made in the Senate, that the national executive officers have studiedly violated the laws to aid the bankers and capitalists in the depreciation of silver, remains to be proved. It is certainly not the interest of the government or the people to depreciate its own money. The bimetallists need no such aids to sustain their principles. If such abuses exist they should be suppressed.

France, by stopping the coinage of silver, has been able to keep both metals in active circulation, which action became necessary; though as an importer and manufacturer of silver in her coins and useful and fine arts, that metal is there held to be more valuable in comparison with gold than with us.

Germany and England, in demonetizing silver, have created a money pressure there unparalleled in our times. It may be Bismarck's policy to impoverish the masses in order to accomplish more readily his projected *autocracy* in the German Empire; whilst in England it may hasten the seemingly inevitable republic.

The action of these three leading nations should warn us of the difficulties which threaten us, as they show us the dangers of monometallism as well as the possibilities of undue inflation of silver. And we would do well to look with suspicion upon those adventurers from foreign nations who, having abused our hospitality by attempting the destruction of the Republic, now assume leadership in a financial policy which may prove more disastrous than war.

CASSIUS M. CLAY.

## III.

### ANARCHISM DEFINED BY AN ANARCHIST.

THE very impartial article by Professor Ely on "Socialism in America," which appeared in your June issue, suggests to me that a somewhat less external view of that movement known as anarchism might possibly be interesting.

Anarchism, like Protestantism, has no particular author, but the founder of the I. W. P. A. is Karl Marx, and Marx's work, "Capital," is fairly entitled to be considered the great text-book of anarchistic socialism. According to anarchists, *possession* must be carefully distinguished from *property*. Possession is the power, right, or privilege of using anything which is inseparable from man's life on earth. Property is the right to use or withhold from use—*jus utere vel abutere*, Cicero says—and this right evidently is not natural, but is derived from government, which, moreover, itself sprang from war, and, under all its forms, is designed primarily to maintain by the military power the claim of property owners to withhold from use in order to exact a tribute. Hence Proudhon's apothegm, "Property is robbery." Mr. Ely, therefore, is hardly correct in saying that anarchists quarrel only with existing forms of government. They care little or nothing for the difference between democracy, republicanism, aristocracy, or monarchy. The essential thing is, they say, that under all these systems the rich employ the brave to maintain by force their method of "robbing" the poor and timid. And the important distinction be-

tween different phases of this "robbery" is not political, but economic. The simplest phase is chattel slavery, where the rich, with the aid of their mercenary defenders, own land, tools, and men. This system went down in Europe, and, but for the rebellion, would have gone down in America, by a natural law of decay. It cannot flourish after its extension has been checked, for the reason that, while slavery rapidly develops a new country, it beggars and exhausts an old one. It killed the Roman Empire, and, with the empire, may be said (in Europe) to have killed itself. The system of landlordism and serfdom is better adapted to a rude state of society, with a weak general government. Therefore, it flourished in the Middle Ages as at no other time. It disappeared about the end of the fifteenth century, for various reasons, the chief of which is that the growth of commerce and manufactures rendered other investments more profitable than land, and made it easier and cheaper to hire men as wage workers than to rule over them as over serfs.

Thus came in the modern system of capitalism and wage labor, which, however, according to Marx, is as certainly transitory as its predecessors. Capitalism means partial freedom of contract, wages rising (absolutely) with profits, a high general standard of comfort, diffused education, democracy. But it is also true, of course, that relatively to the profits of capital, wages fall when profits rise. Thus there is opened an increasing gulf between the capitalist and the wage worker. Again, competition among capitalists, continually reducing the price of commodities to the cost of production, necessitates increasingly minute subdivision of labor, destroying that technical skill which made the old-fashioned shoemaker or blacksmith independent; degrading the laborers into portions of the machine they operate; stimulating the competition for employment which prevails among them; increasing the frequency of those periods when they are thrown out of work and reduced from comfort to beggary, and, of course, contributing to increase the revolutionary discontent of educated men, nurtured in hope and enjoyment, who see themselves hopelessly distanced by those whom they can in no way regard as their superiors.

The chasm which threatens to engulf our social system is still further widened by the destruction of small capitalists in the battle of competition, and the growth of great monopolies, advancing *pari passu* with the pauperization of the laboring class. The miseries and dangers thus engendered by the very nature of modern trade and industry, are greatly aggravated by the periodical gorging of the market with goods produced in excess of the demand during seasons of speculation, and the consequent forced migration of capital to other branches by the dreary road along which lie bankruptcy, stagnation, reduced consumption, reduced production, slow liquidation, and that gradual revival of business which closes a financial crisis.

The critical character of these periodical revulsions is greatly aggravated by the fluctuations of that uncertain currency which speculative business has everywhere introduced. It has so far been palliated by the extension of the market into new countries—America, India, Egypt, China, etc. But when this process reaches an end, and one commercial system extends over the world, then, if not sooner, prices will actually foll to the cost of production, and the catastrophe of production for profit will be reached. Anarchy, there-

fore, according to anarchists, is the inevitable end of the present drift and tendency of things. Trimmers may devise means to put it off; Napoleons and Bismarcks may, for a time, stifle it in blood, but the longer it is deferred, the more violent will be the reaction which brings it in at last. That only is wise statesmanship which gives up moribund institutions to die. That only is reform which anticipates in a less painful manner the work of revolution.

C. L. JAMES.

## IV.

### MR. EATON'S NOVEL LAW PROPOSITION.

IN reply to a Senator who had asserted that the office of the Presidency was simply executive, Mr. Dorman B. Eaton, in the June number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, declares with much emphasis that the Constitution confers upon the President "one-third of the law-making authority." This is certainly a novel proposition in constitutional law. If a measure should lack one vote of having a majority in either House of Congress, would Mr. Eaton contend that the President could possibly make it a law? And, in regard to the effect of a veto, the object of which is to *prevent* and not to make legislation, how can one-third of the members of each House ever be required to counteract it? The least number of members able to pass a bill is a majority of those voting. If the President should veto it, two-thirds would become necessary. Clearly, then, the maximum number required to overcome the veto is not one-third but one-sixth.

If Mr. Eaton so largely overstates the powers of the Presidential office, because it is held by Mr. Cleveland, his course is quite in line with many things that have been said and done within two years by those who in politics are making use of the advertising methods which Mr. Barnum has applied with such eminent success in the show business. Having exhausted all the resources of praise upon the person of the President, it appears that it has become necessary to exaggerate the prerogatives of his office. If, on the other hand, Mr. Eaton's assertion is made in the heat of an argument over a great constitutional principle, why does he direct it at anything so petty and irresponsible as a person "representing but in half part a state in a body which has but two-thirds of one-half of the sum of the law-making authority?" Why does he not choose a far more shining mark—a magistrate who, in addition to the powers of the Executive of the nation, wields the legislative power of more than "twenty-five Senators and one hundred and eighteen members of the House" combined? For we believe it was Mr. Cleveland who first discovered and promulgated the doctrine that his high office was "essentially executive." If that office is so great that the legislative powers claimed by Mr. Eaton do not constitute an "essential" function of it, then our Presidency can be nothing less than an elective dictatorship. In regard to removals from office, Mr. Eaton sets forth a record, which, taken with some facts which he does not state, clearly sustains his assertion that the President "has made a more heroic struggle than all his predecessors together," but it is *not* so clear that the struggle has been made entirely against the spoils system.

SAMUEL W. MCCALL.

## V.

### POSTAL TELEGRAPHY IN ENGLAND.

In acknowledgment of the March number of The North American Review containing the article on Postal Telegraphy, by Mr. Cyrus Field, Mr. W. H. Preece, the chief electrician of the British Government Telegraph System, addressed to him the following letter :

Dear Mr. Field : There can be no doubt that the acquisition of the telegraphs by the State has in England proved a very decided and great success. The tariff has been made uniform, *viz.*, 1½d. per word over the whole of the United Kingdom, and the practice of working, charging, handling, and delivering has been simplified, centralized, and based on one fixed plan. All head post-offices have become telegraph offices, and *vice versâ*.

The public itself takes an interest in its property, and every member of it becomes a supervisor of the service, Every Anglo-Saxon in this country can exercise his undoubted right of grumbling with the certain knowledge that his growls will receive attention and consideration. The increase in the work done is shown by the following table :

| | MESSAGES. |
|---|---|
| 1870 | 9,000,000 |
| 1875 | 19,000,000 |
| 1880 | 26,000,000 |
| 1885 | 34,000,000 |

Press messages not counted.

It has been the fashion to say that the post-office made a wretched bargain with the telegraph companies, but twenty-years' purchase of the average net profits has not proved a bad bargain, although the curious system of accounts adopted by our Treasury, where everything is charged against reveuue and no capital account is allowed, prevents any one from knowing what profit has been made.

Of course, there are some drawbacks.

1. There is no satisfying the employees, who, on the principle that much will have more, are always clamoring for more.

2. Those who growl the most are apt to get the most.

3. It is hard to prevent political interference at times.

4. Political chiefs are apt to think more of popular kudos than departmental advantage, or public weal.

5. The absence of pecuniary rewards tends to the perfunctory discharge of duties.

Nevertheless, the service is splendidly performed, scientific and technical advance has been greater than it was before, and greater than ever with you. The evils of competition have been entirely eliminated. No favoritism is shown to any one. With your system favoritism is certain. Reges legerunt plectuntur Achivi. New York, Chicago, St. Louis, are well served, smaller towns suffer, and even in your chief cities the rich and busy are well treated, outsiders go to the wall. There is nothing like that with us. I hope your views will meet with success and prosper. Yours very truly,

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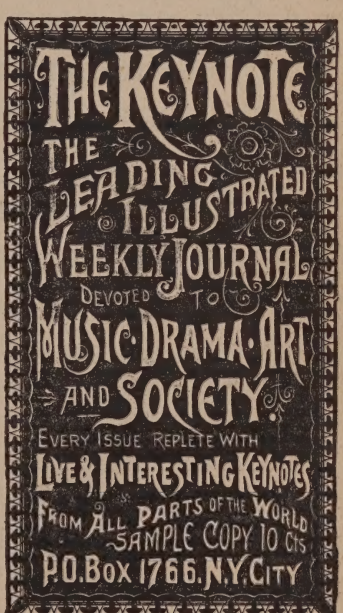

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# THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

## VOLUME 142. JANUARY—JUNE, 1886.

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# LA BELLE FOUNTAINS.

One of the most pleasing natural objects in America is the spring of water, clear as crystal and so large and constant as to merit the title "La Belle Fountain," which gives its name to Bellefonte, Pennsylvania. In all seasons, however turbid may be the waters flowing in the streams elsewhere, that sent out by this fountain is always pure and transparent, and always of about thirty-eight degrees of temperature. The favorite resort of visitors and citizens is to the head of the spring, a short distance above the town, where, peering downward through the depths of the crystals they see an unceasing movement of the sandy bed through which the water rises, filtered free from all impurities. That sight is one full of suggestions to the thoughtful, and it forms a picture for the memory always pleasant to revert to.

Each one who reads this may recall some other picture of a spring among hills which at one time or another afforded not only cooling refreshment, but pleasant thoughts. But every one may not have considered that within the body in which he dwells there is a fountain, in which the stream is not clear as crystal, but scarlet in color, and of a temperature of sixty degrees higher than the water of the spring with which his thirst was cooled. In every moment of life this fountain flows. An irregular flow would be accompanied by discomfort and disease, and a ceasing of the flow would be an end to life. Therefore, this fountain with stream of scarlet is a much more interesting subject for thought than even "La Belle Fountain" of Bellefonte.

This scarlet fountain, the heart, is the starting point of the life. Into it the stream which it sends out returns, after making the entire circuit of the body, on its way adding new material to every particle of tissue over which it passes and taking up and carrying away with it every particle of worn-out tissue, to the lungs where the stream is purified—we might say filtered, by constant contact with a current of incoming and outgoing air. And right here is an especially interesting series of thoughts in reference to this wonderful point of contact between the current diverted from the atmosphere without and that of the life-blood within. One of these is the wonderful extent of the fine network-like air cells over which the blood is outspread, exceeding in area the entire exterior surface of the body. Another is in reference to the striking change in the color of the stream on its entrance into and its exit from the lungs. From a deep bluish-purple it is transformed to a bright scarlet. The quiet in which this everflowing fountain works in its hidden chambers is another of these thoughts.

Wonderful as is the human mechanism, from various causes it occasionally gets out of repair and the current of the life-blood flows irregularly. Through the ages the problem of how to cause the current to flow regularly again and restore lost vitality has been almost as difficult to solve as it would be to answer the question (were it ever to arise) how to cause La Belle Fountain to again send out clear waters should the stream ever begin to come forth foul and turbid. That could only be accomplished after long-continued and great efforts in the bases of the adjacent mountains.

Some twenty years ago a method of treatment to restore the bodily powers which had been for nearly a century a subject of discussion was entered upon and found exceedingly effective. Acting upon Nature's own suggestion, this effort was to give aid to the lungs in their work of transformation of the blood. The method was by inhalation, and the means used were the elements of the atmosphere readjusted. The proportion of the oxygen was largely increased and of the dilutants diminished, and the new mixture was named "Compound Oxygen."

A few examples of what patients have to report of results will be interesting to every one:

Mr. George White, a gentleman of eighty-two years of age, living in Camden, New Jersey, writes, under date of March 10, 1886, a letter which is an example of many showing the benefit received by the aged:

"At seventy-five I was completely broken down, after five years of trying labor and care nursing a sick wife. After her death my condition was such that my friends thought that I would speedily follow her. My powers of locomotion were very greatly impaired, and consultation with several distinguished physicians brought me no hope of relief, as they each and all declared that nothing could be done for me. I then concluded that I would call on you for advice, and you rather discouraged me and advised me to read up and think over the matter before deciding to take your treatment. I decided to try the Compound Oxygen, took it faithfully, and, as a result, was restored to better general health than I had known for years, and I have been able to walk, with the assistance of a cane, wherever I wanted to go. Furthermore, while never, when in good health, weighing much more than 130 pounds, I was very much reduced in flesh when I began your treatment; and *now, although I am almost eighty-two years of age*, I weigh 150 *pounds, which is more than I ever weighed before in my life, and I have almost the vivacity of my youthful days.* I am a marvel to all of my friends, and am well satisfied that *I owe the seven years' extension of my life* to your Compound Oxygen."

For the young it has proved equally a blessing, as will be seen from the very interesting voluntary testimonial of Mr. J. E. Chapin, of No. 414 Quincy street, Brooklyn, New York, dated September 29, 1885:

"About four years ago my son, about ten years old, had suffered a relapse after an attack of gastric difficulty that seriously reduced his strength, so that we were somewhat alarmed for his general health, as there had always been a tendency to take cold "on slight provocation," when an intermittent fever set in that seemed to defy our efforts. We began using 'Compound Oxygen,' and were surprised as well as gratified with the rapid improvement that followed. Within three weeks all signs of the old troubles had left the boy. His appetite improved, he gained flesh, and was *well* again. On several occasions we found that a return to 'Compound Oxygen' checked any new attack of cough or bronchitis, and *kept him up!*

"My wife also has had occasion to try the 'Compound Oxygen' for chills and coughs, to which she has been subject, and *never has failed* to get relief, followed by cure with repeated applications.

"In fact, all of us have found benefit in the use of your inhaler in cases of colds, coughs, night-sweating, debility, etc., though I cannot say we had a case of chronic disease to treat. But we value the 'Home Treatment' highly as a *certain* relief in *all* cases of catarrhal or bronchial trouble or nervousness, and have no hesitation in recommending its use to any who require a healing tonic."

That the dreadful scourge of childhood, diphtheria, can be conquered, is shown by the experience of Mrs. M. J. French, of Ludington, Michigan, who will reply to inquiries.

That disease in the heart itself yields to the treatment is well shown by what Rev. L. H. Morey, of Seneca Falls, N. Y., says, in a letter dated October 12, 1885:

"I think it must be a year or more since I purchased a Compound Oxygen Home Treatment and used it up. I am confident it did me a great deal of good in throat and heart troubles; the fluttering and pain frequently experienced in the heart, have not touched me for months. I did not think of Compound Oxygen for that trouble, but used it for throat catarrh. The distressing heart trouble has certainly left me." In a letter dated October 30, he adds, "With the exception of a cold, contracted since I last wrote you, I am in perfect health. What gratifies me most is my complete deliverance from pain in the region of the heart, and from frequent and distressing fluttering or palpitation of the heart, from which I suffered for years; it used to trouble me so that I could not sleep on my left side; and frequently I would start up in bed, and have to sit up till the sensation had passed; the sensation was usually accompanied by faintness. Now I sleep on either side, and have not for months had a return of either the pain or the fluttering. I used the Compound Oxygen for possible help to lungs, throat, and catarrh, especially the latter. I believe the Compound Oxygen to be a nerve and brain restorer; at least, I work professionally with surprising and unwonted freedom from exhaustion."

Drs. Starkey & Palen, of 1529 Arch street, Philadelphia, are the physicians who have succeeded in this line of practice, and they have enrolled on their books the names of over twenty thousand patients, some of whom have made use of the Treatment at the Philadelphia offices, but the great majority have been reached at their homes by the aid of the express companies. All the States and Territories in the United States, and many foreign countries, are represented in the list of names. Reports of results written by these patients indicate clearly that very many diseases yield to the power of this treatment. Its wide range of power can only be measured by those who will go over the records. Part of these are printed by permission in a brochure of nearly two hundred pages, freely mailed to all applicants. Monographs are also published on various forms of disease which have yielded to its influence, and once each quarter the statements made by patients, with permission to publish, are printed in a little paper named "*Health and Life*." Any part or all of this literature may be had by any one sufficiently interested in the subject to write for it.

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*EDITED BY ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.*

## August, 1886.


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## JULY NUMBER.


**Mohammedan Marriages.** By Minister S. S. Cox.

**Letters to Prominent Persons.** By Arthur Richmond.
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**Should the Government Own the Telegraph?** By William A. Phillips.

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## BUSINESS ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Among the important essays that will appear at an early date in the North American Review are:

**"Female Suffrage."** By Ouida. [In September.]

**"Female Suffrage:"** A Rejoinder to Ouida. By Mrs. Mary A. Livermore.

**"An American Queen."** By Gail Hamilton.

**"Mormon Blood-Atonement."** By Kate Fields.

**"Why am I a Methodist?"** By Rev. Dr. Crooks. [In September.]

**"Socialism in England."** By H. M. Hyndman. [In September.]

**"Some Reconstruction Days."** By Capt. S. H. M. Byers. Containing important unpublished Letters from Gen. Halleck and Sec'y Chase to Gen. Sherman.

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# OTTO VON BISMARCK, MAN AND MINISTER.*

DID you personally meet Bismarck? What do you think of him? These are the questions promptly addressed to every notable person returning from Germany to the cisatlantic Continent. Though the speech be of Germany the thought is always of Bismarck. In the commercial cities, on the Western prairies, South, North, in boreal Dakota, whose capital bears his name, Germany and Bismarck are connected conceptions of the mind, as inseparably associated as the twins of Siam. From that day in September, 1862, when returning from the Prussian Embassy in Paris, he entered the cabinet of Berlin, he has been a factor in the world's affairs, of whom at first the neighboring governments and afterward all nations have been obliged to take account. No living man awakens in such broad scope both national and international interest. Intense personal convictions of duty to king and fatherland, combined with a moral fearlessness which com-

* I disclaim, at the start, sufficient detailed knowledge of the personal and official career of the German Chancelor to do it justice in the following study. While having the honor of his personal acquaintance during a brief but busy period, I can only claim qualification for the task sufficient to avoid any positive injustice to this industrious and brilliant life.

pels admiration, have created a historic figure which is destined to remain long in the popular memory. The world has at last discovered a man, and still stands looking at him in a sort of maze. It would fain touch him to see if he is of human flesh and blood, or whether he be an ogre, in whose arteries flows molten fire, whose hands are of iron, and whose heart is of granite. Is that towering form, surmounted by its magnificent brain, altogether human or altogether super-inhuman? An Italian at the close of the war of liberation might answer one way; a Frenchman at the end of 1871 another way; and the Germans themselves, at this moment, both ways. Can an American, with an ocean between him and his subject, solve the riddle in the right way?

Let us make the attempt. He is not to be judged upon the principles of the American Declaration of Independence, for he is not an American. The scales in which Washington, and Jefferson, and Lincoln are weighed are not for his weighing. He is bred a Prussian. He is a German of many generations of Germans. He is a monarchist by centuries of heredity. He believes by birth and conviction that kings rule by the grace of God. When we measure him it must be with the German standards. His portrait must be fitted to its German frame.

A strong will and personal independence seem to have run in the family blood, for the first recorded member of the family, one Rulo von Bismarck, appears to have so stubbornly contested with the Roman clergy the management of the schools at Stendal, early in the fourteenth century, that he was excommunicated. There is no evidence of his recantation in consequence of it. Excommunication was applied in two succeeding generations of the family. We remember these ancestral incidents when we read a debate in the Diet, in which Bismarck's ministerial policy toward the Roman Church was challenged. He suddenly paused in his hesitating speech and cried out: "Be sure of one thing, gentlemen; *we shall not go to Canossa.*" All Protestant Prussia felt a thrill, as if Luther had re-appeared and nailed another challenge on the gate leading to Rome. His ancestors were among the gentry of the Mark of Brandenburg for several centuries, and not infrequently were found in the public service of their liege lords. Few, however, attained any special distinction. They were generally fond of country life and field sports; and this taste was in-

herited and eagerly indulged by Otto von Bismarck in his younger days.

The great statesman himself was born at the plain family seat of Schönhausen, on the 1st of April, 1815. All Europe was then in a whirl of warlike excitement. Napoleon had returned from Elba the first of the previous month, and the French Army had joined him. Russia, Prussia, and England were hurrying to crush him. Europe was trembling under the march of armed men toward the Belgian border, where in June the field of Waterloo was fought. Prussia and her capital had then hardly recovered from the humiliation of the recent presence and rule of the French invaders. The Tugendbund had been inaugurated by Von Stein in order to recover Germany from its French demoralization, and to associate her best spirits in a patriotic "League of Virtue," which soon became a society for the political deliverance of Germany. In 1813, the masses had risen, and by that magnificent effort, which made an epoch in German history, had expelled her invaders. We may assume, therefore, that the earliest influences which made an impression on the youthful mind of Bismarck were those of a bold and self-sacrificing Prussian patriotism, with sharp hostility to the French, and of the glorious services of a brave army, whose latest deeds were written just after his birth, when Blücher with his corps of 50,000 men and 100 guns arrived at Waterloo, and with "blood and iron" broke the wearied ranks of Napoleon, and won security for the peace of Europe.

With such impressions, and at the early age of six years, he was sent from home to enter the schools of Berlin. He pursued his studies there until 1832, when his course was directed to the University for the study of the law, having first been confirmed on his sixteenth birthday as a Christian believer by the famous theologian Schleiermacher. In this earlier period he was in no way peculiarly distinguished save by his affectionate attachment to home interests, by a good intelligence in his studies, by special attention to history, and by his aptitude in acquiring thoroughly the French and English languages. His teacher certifies to his kind and affectionate ways in the household, and that his conduct was so commendable that he was rarely amenable to censure. His Latin exercises were good, "but not sufficiently polished"—a qualification which professors of rhetoric may equally apply to all his parliamentary speeches. His audiences, however, have never

failed to compehend his meaning. That point he always assures. He was fond of horses and dogs. He swam well, and danced well, and rode well, and fenced well. He was tall, rather slender, carried himself erectly, with an air which did not invite familiarity, but which neither then repelled nor now repels those whose intercourse with him is marked by self-respect and respect for him.

At the age of seventeen he began the career of a student at the University of Göttingen. His desire had been to go to Heidelberg; but his mother, who seems to have had the vigorous and directing mind of the home circle, considered that beer-drinking, which she detested, was too characteristic of Heidelberg and much less so at Göttingen. So to Göttingen he went. But he found there also numerous shrines dedicated to Gambrinus, and he was not slow to follow the well-beaten paths which led to them. The wild liberty of the student life took possession of young Bismarck, who had been until then restrained within the rigorous habitudes of school and domestic life in Berlin. He neglected the lectures, but he fought twenty duels within the first three terms, receiving but a single wound. As the time of examination approached, he gathered himself together, attended two lectures, and for the rest depended on his reading. He succeeded in obtaining his degree. In 1835 he was sworn as an "Examiner," and acted as clerk in the city police. Something of the student wildness continued in him, and many stories are told of his eccentric actions and resolute temper. A year or two later he changed his experience from the judicial to the administrative offices. Then, in 1838, came his military service.

At this time the family financial fortunes were going to the bad, and he was obliged to take the personal control of one of the wasted estates in Pomerania. To this agricultural occupation he devoted himself with energy and partial success. But soon the contrast of this tranquil life of practical labor, at the age of twenty-three, with the late freedom of the university, and the jollity of the military mess-room, became too much for him. He suffered from disgust and melancholy. Then, for a time, his wild frolics with the few companions he could gather to him in his bachelor solitude made the neighborhood ring with the reckless performances of "mad Bismarck." After a time, this wild period of porter-and-champagne night-caps, and the recklessness of an unsatisfied life, ended, and books and travels and some of-

ficial duties followed. In 1845 he came into possession of Schönhausen, after the death of both his parents.

During all this period of wildness and uncertainty touching the question of his life, whether it was to be wasted or utilized—and it is said there was for a time a woman at the bottom of the doubt—one bright star was ever shining in the azure field of his destiny. The affection between himself and his only sister was as bright and beautiful as that between bridegroom and bride. His real nature blossoms in variegated charms as he writes with fullness and frankness to that much-loved sister. In these letters his wit sparkles, and his affection glows. They are charming revelations of a character which requires only a closer companionship to banish all clouds of dissatisfaction from his life, and to give him a steady impulse to that useful and noble career which Providence was preparing for him. "I feel lonely and forsaken," says he, in 1845, at the age of thirty, "and this mild, damp weather makes me melancholy, and longingly prone to love. I cannot help it; in the end I must marry." While waiting for this more intimate companionship which he felt was indispensable to the proper regulation of his life, the restrained intimacies of his soul found an outlet toward this sister whom he addressed as "Dear Maldewine," "Dear little one," "Darling little one," "Most dear Creusa," "My angel," and by many other affectionate titles. Among men, his wit has always something sharp, ironical, biting. But her ear receives other tones, playful, even sentimental. He is ordered to sea-bathing. He describes for her the landscape, and the sea, and his daily life. "I have made great friends with the lake; every day I sail for some hours, fish, and shoot at seals. I only killed one of the last; such a gentle dog's face, with large, handsome eyes; I was really sorry." Certainly this is not a cruel ogre at the age of twenty-nine.

While he was serving in the Uhlan Cavalry, in 1842, his groom, who was the son of a forester on his estate, rode into the lake to give the horse a bath. Missing his footing, the rider was thrown, and disappeared in the water. Bismarck was standing with a group of officers on the bridge, and saw his sinking groom. In an instant his sword and uniform were on the ground, and he leaped into the lake. He found the struggling man, and seized him. But in the blind agony of a drowning man he clung so tightly to his master that Bismarck, helpless, was obliged to dive with his

burden to loosen the hold. It seemed both were lost. But, soon after, bubbles rose to the surface, followed by Bismarck, who in the depths had detached the grip of the man, and now appeared, dragging his groom with him, and swam to the shore. The inanimate form was restored to life, and the following day to duty. For this act he afterward received the Prussian medal for "Rescue from Peril," which was his first decoration; and he proudly wore it when he had no other. Nor has he since abandoned it, for it finds its place still amid the highest orders which European monarchs have since showered upon his breast. His friends are fond of telling his answer to a much decorated diplomatist who, seeing this lonely medal on his young colleague's coat, inquired what decoration it was. Herr von Bismarck, who, at that time, had no title and had earned no courtly decoration, looked him hard in the eye and said: "I am in the habit sometimes of saving a man's life."

His indefinite domestic longing of the spring-time of 1845 became definite in 1847, when he married Johanna, a lady of the Von Putkammer family, who now, in her grandmotherhood, as I saw her, retains the sympathetic charms of noble bearing, and quick intelligence, and generous appreciation, which must, in her youth, have assured him of his happy choice. But the pious parents of the bride were not so well assured of their daughter's election. Said her father, when the fräulein confessed her affection for the Junker Bismarck, "It seemed as if I had been felled with an axe." Both parents had heard the stories of the reckless pranks of the "mad Bismarck," and feared the future of their daughter with such a husband. The father yielded, but the mother still protested till her tearful eyes saw, in her own house, the fond embrace with which the groom clasped her daughter in his arms. She was reconciled to the match, and became after it his devoted friend. They were married in July of that year, after Bismarck had taken for the first time his seat in the Parliament of the United Diets of Prussia. From this time we hear no more of the recklessness of the student, of the mess-room, or of the bachelor's country-seat. He was safely anchored, or more correctly, his sails were now filled with favorable winds, and his bark bore away steadily on the voyage of life, unconsciously bearing with it the fortunes of king and country, of Germany and the Germans, and even of the neighboring prin-

cipalities, kingdoms, and empires. What millions of anxious eyes have since watched the course of that richly freighted vessel; what millions of varied tongues have invoked upon it the blessings or the woes of Heaven! Its voyage is not yet ended, though it has penetrated many lands, and touched many islands of many seas.

Before entering upon the intensely interesting career of Bismarck the Statesman, there remains something more to be said to illustrate the personality of the man himself. We shall find various data during the years following his marriage to aid us in forming a correct judgment.

We have had glimpses of the simple and joyous affectionateness of his nature as displayed to his sister during his bachelor life. We fail to find any distinguished friendships with men. Whether in the gymnasium at Berlin, or in the University of Göttingen, though some acquaintances were more familiar than others, we hear of none of those personal attachments which carry their freight of sweet associations and friendly sympathies across all the wastes of life to the end. No early companion is recorded who found all his subsequent career watched by the friendly eye, advanced by the friendly hand, of Bismarck. Bismarck himself never leaned on such an one for his own advancement. He found, in the society of men, amusement, occupation, good fellowship; apparently nothing more. I do not find that any parting cost him a sigh, still less a tear. There is no Damon and Pythias episode of his career. In his youth and in his maturity he seemed to be sufficient to himself, and quite as ready to give or receive a challenge as to form a friendship. He was self-contained. His own thoughts held him, little influenced by emanations from other brains. His real soul was a hermit among the souls of men. So far as we know, it rarely issued from its cave, except under the attractive influence of sister or wife. To some of these latter conversations we have been admitted, and from them gain clearer views of the secluded part of his nature.

Thus at the age of thirty-six he writes to his wife, four years after their marriage, when he is traveling in the Rhine regions which, fourteen years previously, had been the scene of his idle and wild life.

"The day before yesterday I went to Wiesbaden, and looked with a mixture of sadness and premature wisdom at the scenes of my former follies. If only

it would please God to fill up with clear, strong wine the vessel in which at twenty-one the muddy champagne of youth frothed up to so little purpose! . . . What changes my views of life have undergone in the fourteen years that have elapsed since that time, each in its turn seeming to me the correct one; how much that I then thought great now appears small; how much now seems honorable that I then despised! How much fresh foliage may still grow out of our inner man, giving shade, rustling in the wind, becoming worthless and faded, before another fourteen years have passed—before 1865, if only we live so long. I cannot imagine how a man who thinks at all about himself, and yet refuses to hear anything about God, can endure life without weariness and self-abhorrence. I cannot think how I endured it formerly. If I had to live now as then without God, without you, without children, I don't know why I should not throw off this life like a dirty shirt."

So this seemingly hard soil seems to have kept all these years, safe and alive beneath its worn surface, the seed of duty and religious conviction.

Three years after marriage, and after the birth of two children, he writes to his sister in his old lively style:

"Johanna, at this moment in the arms of Lieutenant Morpheus, will have told you of my present fate; the boy roaring in a major key, the girl in a minor one, two nursery-maids singing, while I, a devoted *pater-familias*, sit by in the midst of wet clothes and feeding-bottles."

Again, to the same sister, he writes from Frankfort:

"I say to myself every day that it is impossible to exist in November without one's wife and children."

In 1862, from Biarritz, he writes to his wife of the beauties of nature in that region, and says:

"It makes me feel quite guilty to see so many beautiful things without you. If you could only be transported here through the air, I would at once set off with you to San Sebastian."

We have two more views of the life which flowed within the seclusion of his breast, and which allies him still more deeply with our common nature. In 1851, in the frank and frequently poetic vein customary with him in addressing his wife, he writes to her late in the evening, when he had

"Come in from a walk in the lovely summer night air, where soft moonlight and whispering poplar leaves have wiped off the dust of public business. On Saturday afternoon I drove to Rudesheim, then took a boat and rowed out into the Rhine, and swam in the moonlight, with only my nose and eyes out of the tepid water, as far as the Mäusethurm at Bingen, where the wicked bishop died. There is something wonderfully dreamy in lying on the water

like that in a warm, still night, slowly carried along by the stream, gazing up at the sky, and moon, and stars above me, and on either side moonlit castle towers and wooded mountain tops, hearing nothing but the gentle splashing of one's own motion: I should like to have such a swim every evening. Then I drank some first-rate wine, and sat a long time smoking with L. on the balcony, with the Rhine beneath us. The starry sky above us and my little Testament brought us to religious topics, and I tried for a long time to shake the tendency of his mind to the moral teaching of Rousseau, with no result but that of silencing him."

Ten years later this "fresh foliage" of religious feeling was still growing out of the inner man, at the mature age of forty-six, and with greater earnestness. To his sister's husband, who was grieving over the loss of a much-loved child, he wrote:

"A harder trial you could scarcely have had; thus to lose so lovable and healthy a child, and with him bury all the hopes which bid fair to be the joy of your old age. Such a sorrow will endure so long as you live. I feel this for you with deep and painful sympathy. We are in God's powerful hand, without help or advice, unless He will help us Himself; and we can do nothing but resign ourselves in humility to His ordinances. He can take away from us all that He gave; leave us entirely solitary, and our grief would only be the more bitter, the more we let it degenerate into rebellious resistance. . . . How all the little cares and annoyances which are inseparable from our daily life disappear in the presence of real sorrow; and I feel like so many reproaches the recollections of all the complaints and vain longings in which I have indulged, forgetting how many blessings God gives us and how many dangers surround without touching us. We must not cling to the world nor make ourselves too much at home in it; twenty or thirty years more at most, and we shall both be beyond the troubles of this life, and our children will have reached our present stand-point, and see with surprise that the life which they began so eagerly is already going down hill. If that were to be the end of it all, it would not be worth the dressing and undressing. . . . But the thought that death is only the passage to another life will avail but little to soothe your grief. . . . At our age we do not make ties which can console us for those which cease to exist. Therefore, let us hold together with all the stronger love till we also are parted by death, as your son is parted from us now. Who knows how soon!"

This was written after he had served in Parliament some years, and had twice filled ambassadorial functions. After he became Prime Minister, he concluded a political review addressed to a friend with these words:

"My feeling of gratitude for the support which God has given us rises into the conviction that He also knows how to turn our errors into our good; I feel this daily, and am at once humiliated and comforted."

"Trust in God, dear one," is the ejaculation with which he comforts the anxieties of his wife, in hours of danger to himself.

There are readers who will find in these disclosures of his inner character only the commonplaces of a religious formality. I find in them, on the contrary, that sincere conviction of divine control and human duty which has been the basis of the greatest and most beneficent characters of all the Christian period of history. Hypocrisy, and superficiality, and blind conformity to the views of others, are traits for which no intelligent critic can find the smallest place in the character of Bismarck. If he is not frank even to audacity, thorough to the core, personally independent even to the acceptance of isolation, he is nothing. There is no hole or corner of his nature where moral cowardice could lurk. It was not upon such considerations that he had in possession the Christian Testament on the night of that long swim by moonlight, past the enchanted tower of Bingen on the Rhine. Not in such base bondage did he denounce to his friend the hollow morality of Rousseau, write in confidential intimacy of his own humility in the presence of his Maker, or invoke for a brother in his grief the spirit of resignation and submission to the divine order. It is no longer the reckless student, or the "mad" lieutenant, who speaks. It is the mature man, who had bruised his feet in traversing the faithless wastes of life, and had only found a fruitful soil in a career controlled by duty, by a sense of responsibility, and by the consequent faith in divine protection. This was most evident in 1866, at the most anxious and critical period of his entire official career, when five shots at close range from the hand of an assassin failed to do more than inflict two slight wounds upon him. After himself seizing the assassin, and holding him during the last three shots, he turned him over to the guard, and proceeded quietly home, where a dinner party awaited him. He saluted the company with an undisturbed countenance, and only some minutes later, upon leaving the saloon for the dining-room, stooped to his wife and kissed her on the forehead, saying, "My child, they have shot at me, but there is no harm done;" and proceeded to the table and said the usual grace. But the next day, his previous anxious doubts touching his decisive plans against Austria were dissipated in the light of this divine protection, which he accepted as Heaven's approval of his purpose.

Nor were his Christian convictions reserved alone for private

expression. In a debate on the emancipation of the Jews, he subjected them openly to the antagonisms of Parliamentary debate, and discussed them as the basis of national policy.

The Prussian law made communion with some one of the Christian churches a qualification for a seat in the Diet.

"We were told yesterday," said he, in 1847, "that Christian supremacy was an idle fiction, an invention of recent State philosophers. I am of opinion that the idea of Christian supremacy is as ancient as the *ci devant* Holy Roman Empire—as ancient as the great family of European States ; that it is in fact the very soil in which these States have taken root ; and that every State which wishes an enduring existence, if it desires to point to any justification for that existence when called in question, must be constituted on a religious basis. . . . I can only recognize as the will of God that which is contained in the Christian Gospels, and I believe I am within my right when I call such a State Christian, whose problem is to realize and verify the doctrine of Christianity. Therefore, gentlemen, let us not diminish the Christianity of the people by showing that it is superfluous to the legislature : let us not deprive the people of the belief that our legislation is derived from the fountain of Christianity; and that the State seeks to promote the realization of Christianity, though that end may not always be attained."

This sketch of the outer and inner man, Otto von Bismarck, is sufficient to reveal him to us as he was in his youth, and in the earlier stages of his great career. A tall man, of commanding presence, reserved with his fellows, rarely intimate beyond the circle of his own family, clear and firm in his religious and political convictions, with courage unquestioned, he rather commanded adherents by their identity of sentiment and opinion, than won them by the persuasive arts of oratory. His frank and unflinching expression of his views, his devoted loyalty to his King, which tolerated nowhere an insult to the Crown, his always resolute bearing, these qualities attracted intuitively to him, as to a born leader, the entire Conservative interest. His coolness seemed to grow to ice in the midst of excitement, while his firm eye emitted not even a flash.

In the early days of the Liberal agitation at Berlin, when the beer-halls were centers of heated and noisy discussions, Bismarck was seated at a table with a friend, quietly taking his beer. A noisy drinker at a neighboring table, a stranger to him, commenced a railing talk at him for his silence. Getting no reply, he grew more disrespectful, and at last advanced, mug in hand, threatening to throw the beer in his face. Bismarck then rose, gave him a

blow under the chin which sent him reeling to the floor, breaking chair and glass in his fall. The succeeding silence was broken by Bismarck's quiet voice assuring the hostess of the place that he would pay for the damaged furniture. He requested the companions of his adversary to observe that he had not provoked the affair; but if anything further was wanted, he handed them his card.

It is only one of many incidents of his career showing the absence in him of the hasty impulses of passion, and the presence instead of a quiet, steady firmness of resolution, in the face of personal and political antagonisms. The same steadiness of character and nature was displayed in his constant loyalty to his sovereign. In this he has never wavered by a hair's breadth, in private, in parliament, on the battle-field, or in council. It is not to be forgotten that by this anchor he held amidst all changes of constitutions, compacts, and laws. Changes certainly might be made, but rather to augment than diminish the power of the State. Promote the welfare and happiness of the people, yes; not by giving them domination of the royal prerogative, but by subordinating them to the crown-wearing head of the State. So he believed, and so he fought.

With these opinions he began his public career in 1847 as a member of the United Diets, at the age of thirty-two years, in troublous and critical times, as well for the Prussian Crown as for all Germany and Western Europe. Everywhere the people were fermenting with the doctrines of Liberalism and popular rights. In Prussia, the monarchy was absolute. The bureaucratic rule was offensive and oppressive. The King's father had allowed a Diet to each of the eight provinces of Prussia. Frederick William III. had just yielded again so far as to grant a brief constitution for Prussia, if the royal decrees of February, 1847, deserve so dignified a name. By these ordinances he assembled at Berlin a union of these provincial bodies under the name of the United Diets, and promised that no new loan in time of peace should be contracted without their consent, nor new imposts introduced, nor existing taxes increased without their concurrence. Ever since the national uprising of 1813 the desire of the people for constitutional guaranties and for participation in the government had been increasing. At this time every periodical press in Prussia was Liberal. The partisans of

the royal prerogative had not a single organ in the kingdom. All the popular orators were Liberal. Upon the first assemblage of the United Diets not only was the Conservative Party unorganized, but in their ranks appeared not one orator with ability to capture or control an audience. Bismarck himself was only a hesitating speaker. The fluent Liberal orators called forth storms of applause, while Bismarck's firm, opposing, but modest speeches for the rights of the Crown were met with murmurs and hisses. On the first occasion of a speech from him his Conservative declaration, of no great significance in itself, was met with such uproar of disorder that he could not proceed. He coolly pulled from his pocket a newspaper and read it till the president restored order, when he laid it aside and proceeded with his speech. At that time he, like a great majority of his countrymen, was partially under the influence of the Liberal spirit of the times. But in this Assembly he heard only the rounded periods of scholastic and theoretic eloquence. There was little evidence of practical statesmanship. There was hot eagerness leaping toward change, but no patience for experimental developments. He perceived that the late royal decrees were not accepted as a finality. They were to be regarded only as the first installment of a more complete and constitutional Liberalism. His opponents were already impatient for much longer strides forward. The King's speech, which reads like a chapter from the records of the ancient Assyrian Kings, had denounced all such expectations. The Crown, at the opening of the chamber, declared:

"I am forced to the solemn declaration that no power on earth will ever succeed in moving me to change the natural relation between Prince and people into something merely conventional or constitutional; and that, once for all, I will never suffer a written sheet of paper to force itself in, as it were a second Providence, between our Lord God in Heaven and this people, in order to rule us with its paragraphs, and to replace by them our ancient, and time-hallowed, trusty reliance upon each other."

This royal bar was already disregarded in the speeches to which Bismarck listened, and in the articles which he read. The Tribune and the press alike clamored for more progress. He resisted the increasing waves. The higher the storm rose, the more resolved became his resisting energy. The Liberal press, with united and clamorous voices, assailed him. He was ridiculed, denounced, contumelies rained upon him. No friendly public press then

existed to defend him. His enemies had the whole printed field of Germany to themselves. They covered it with the seeds of hostility and bitterness so thoroughly that it required a score of years, and changed conditions of the press, to even partially eradicate the noxious growths of popular distrust.

It is not surprising that in face of this storm of partisan reproaches Bismarck's incipient Liberalism faded from his mind. He defied their spoken and printed jibes with scornful denunciations. He could not convince, he would not sue for favors ; but he could leave on his enemies the marks of his bitter sarcasms. He believed that behind the flowery speeches of his rhetorical opponents was the tendency to overthrow existing institutions, with no security against chaotic results to the State. On one side was patriotism, with loosely defined aims floating in the enthusiastic imaginations of the orators ; on the other was patriotism, seeking logical and orderly development for the good of the State, and backed by force. The first was anticipating a premature millennium. The second planted itself in the present, and marched with measured step toward the better future. Long, therefore, very long did Prussia wait before discovering in the victim of these popular denunciations the heroic soul who was destined to lift the bowed heads of all Prussians into the sunlight of national glory, to aggrandize Prussian territory, to reconstitute German unity, to humiliate their ancient Gallic enemy, to revenge the occupation of Berlin by the conquest of Paris, and to become himself the most illustrious figure of the nineteenth century.

JOHN A. KASSON.

# WHY AM I A CATHOLIC?

It is clear that my answer to the question "Why am I a Catholic?" must shape itself according to what I conceive to be the religious position of my interrogator. I cannot well state a case until I know what I may take for granted, nor can I begin a line of proof until I know how far back my demonstration is expected to go. This is indeed the chief difficulty which presents itself to one who undertakes to formulate, in a few pages of a review article, his reasons for the faith that is in him. Fortunately, however, in the present instance, I am freed from this embarrassment by the limits assigned by the editor. I am not supposed here to address myself to infidels but to Christians, and "while assuming what is common to all—faith in the Christian revelation—briefly to explain the reasons why I chose to enter, or preferred to remain in the Church to which I belong."

Supposing, therefore, the fact of revelation, I assume that whoever admits the existence of the Christian religion, and its importance, will, of course, admit that the profession of it, as taught and defined by Christ, is not a mere matter of choice. It stands to reason that religion, if once defined by the Supreme Legislator, is, as so defined by Him, of strict obligation. Hence it is not optional with believers in the Christian revelation to adopt any form of religion they please, or, to use the words of a well-known Unitarian writer, "to make their own formula of belief or conviction, or to make none."

Christian revelation assures us that Jesus Christ taught but *one* religion, and that He made the belief and practice of it a divine law. In virtue of that supreme power which He had in heaven and upon earth, He gave to His Apostles, whom He specially called and chose from among the many disciples that surrounded Him, the divine mission He had received from His Heavenly Father, "As the Father hath sent me, so also I send

you." He commanded them to go and preach *His Gospel* to all nations, to teach them "to observe *all* things whatsoever He had commanded them" (Matt. xxviii. 20). Nay, He made the belief in His Gospel, as *preached* by His Apostles, an essential condition for salvation, emphatically declaring that "he that believeth not shall be condemned" (Mark xvi. 16). The doctrines, therefore, of this one religion, taught us by Christ through His Apostles, are the objects of our belief; its precepts alone have the power to bind our will.

Moreover, as Christ taught but *one* religion, so He established but *one* Church: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build *my Church* (Matt. xvi. 18). He always speaks of "His Church," never of "His Churches;" and the different types employed by Him and His Apostles to denote the Church, necessarily imply the same *oneness*. It is a "fold," a "kingdom," a "body," etc., not invisible, but visible, founded for the purpose of carrying out his own visible mission among all men to the end of time. To this Church He committed the sacred trust of His religion (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20), and promised that in teaching His Gospel it should be directed by the Holy Ghost (John xiv. 16); that "the gates of hell should not prevail against it" (Matt. xvi. 18), because it should have His own divine assistance "all days, even to the consummation of the world" (Matt. xxviii. 21). These words are addressed to the Apostles not merely as individuals; for, as such, they were not to live "all days even to the consummation of the world;" but inasmuch as they, with their lawfully appointed successors, form one moral body instituted by Christ to perpetuate on earth His own divine mission. And because of this His own unfailing assistance, He could say to His *Church:* "He who heareth *you* heareth *me*, and he who despiseth *you* despiseth *me*" (Luke x. 16). "He who doth not hear the Church, let him be to thee as a heathen and a publican" (Matt. xviii. 17). The Church, therefore, is His organ, His voice, His representative. Hence, as we are not free to embrace any religion we please, but must embrace His religion, so to this one Church, which He established, and to no other, we must belong in order to be saved. The Church is "the body of Christ" (1 Cor. xii. 27). Whoever, then, is not a member of this Church is not in union with Christ, the head.

Hence, to the question proposed as the heading of this paper,

"Why am I a Catholic?" my answer is plain: I am a Catholic, because a careful examination of the nature and notes or characteristic marks of the religious society founded by Christ convinces me, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the Catholic Church is the one true Church established on earth by Jesus Christ.

There can be no doubt that if Jesus Christ obliges all men to "hear the Church" which He established, and, consequently, to obey her, and to be subject to her, He must have given all men the means to know her with certainty. He must have impressed upon her certain prominent characteristics, by which she could be clearly recognized as the divinely authorized teacher of men, to lead them in the way of truth and salvation. His perfect justice required it: otherwise He would have given a command, without making its fulfillment possible. As we admit, therefore, that He obliged us to hear His Church, we are bound to admit also that He gave His Church these distinctive notes or marks by which she can be recognized.

But what are these important marks by which all ages have infallibly recognized the true Church of Christ? They are well known. Thus the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed, which are so peculiarly sacred to all Christians, and which "may be proved by the most certain warrants of Holy Scripture" (8th of 39 Art. of the Church of England), expressly affirm the existence of these marks. They are four—Unity, Holiness, Catholicity, and Apostolicity. "*I believe in the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.*" These four marks, therefore, when found together, manifest the Church which all ages have recognized, as the true Church of Christ—the Church in which our forefathers believed.

Now all these marks I find nowhere except in the Catholic Church. Therefore, I must conclude that the Catholic Church is the only true Church of Christ.

A mere glance at the profession of faith of the Catholic Church, at her catechisms, or theological treatises, at her books of instruction as they are published in various countries, will suffice to show that her members "keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." And as they have but one Lord and one baptism, so also they have but one faith (Eph. iv. 3, 5). "They are," as Tertullian well said of the primitive Christians, "each what all are and all what each is." Catholics, however far apart

in time and place, however separated by conflicting interests, inclinations, or national prejudices, are all intimately united in religion, and constitute one great people, one fold, one kingdom, professing the same doctrines, and acknowledging one supreme authority, viz.: the authority of the Roman Pontiff, the Vicar of Christ, and the Successor of St. Peter.

This twofold unity of faith and government is an essential property of the true Church of Christ. And, indeed, if the members of Christ's mystical body were not animated by the same faith, how could they be said to be "members of member," or, as we may read in the revised version, "severally members thereof?" (1 Cor. xii. 27). How could their unity be compared to that which exists between the Eternal Father and His Divine Son, and be a proof to the world of the divinity of Jesus Christ? (John xvii. 20, 21). And if the Church were not one in government, how could it be said to be a kingdom? A kingdom necessarily conveys the idea of a society strictly one, and this implies one supreme authority. It is a fact, moreover, that our Lord ordained that His Church should have one universal pastor. It was to Peter alone that He addressed these words: "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona . . . and I say *to thee,* that thou art Peter (Cephas), and upon this rock (Cephas) I will build my Church, . . . and I will give *to thee* the keys of the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. xvi. 18, 19). That Peter is "the rock" is not only evident from the context and the common interpretation of the Fathers, but is also admitted by the most learned Protestant commentators. Thus Bloomfield (Comm. in loc.) testifies that this is the interpretation of "almost every modern (Protestant) expositor of any note." I cannot better explain the relation of Christ and Peter, as foundations of the Church, than in the words of St. Leo (A.D. 440): "As my Father has manifested My divinity to thee," he says, paraphrasing Christ's address to Peter, "I make known to thee thy excellences: for thou art Peter, that is, as I am the inviolable Rock, who maketh both one, I, the foundation, other than which no one can lay; nevertheless, thou also art a rock, because thou art strengthened by my power, so that those things which belong to me by nature are common to thee with me by participation." (Serm. 4 de Assumpt.) And Christ fulfilled His promise, for, as St. John relates in the twenty-first chapter of his Gospel, our Saviour, after His resurrection, addressing the same Apostle,

committed to him the care of His Church. "Feed my lambs, feed my sheep." St. Ambrose (A.D. 370) declares that Christ appointed Peter to feed the lambs and the sheep, "in order that He, who was the more perfect, might hold the government" (in Lucam. l. 10, n. 176). St. Jerome (A.D. 385) assigns the reason why our Lord constituted a head for His Church. "One is chosen amongst the twelve, that a head being established, the occasion of schism may be removed" (Ad Jovin l. 1, n. 26); and St. Optatus (A.D. 368), addressing the Donatists, says that the Episcopal chair in the city of Rome was bestowed first upon Peter, "head of the Apostles, whence he was called Cephas," and that "in communion with that chair unity was to be preserved by all." The Catholic Church preserves this communion with the chair of Peter, the See of Rome, and this is the reason why it is commonly called "The Roman Catholic Church."

In the Catholic Church, again, I find that holiness which must characterize the true Church of Christ. By her doctrine and the administration of the sacraments the true Church of Christ is to carry on the work of Christ, and so attain the end for which she was instituted—the sanctification of her members. And this is precisely what the Catholic Church does.

Let me take, for instance, her doctrine concerning the sacraments, and it will clearly appear how, by her ministry, she sanctifies every stage and condition of life. She teaches that we are born in a state of sin (Rom. v. 12), and, therefore, that before we can live the life of grace, we must be purified from our guilt—we must receive a spiritual birth (John iii. 5). And this she gives us by means of the Sacrament of Baptism (Matt. xxviii. 19). After being spiritually born our life of grace is but weak. We are, indeed, Christians, but we have to become strong and perfect Christians; and we are made such, she teaches us, by receiving from her the Sacrament of Confirmation (Acts viii. 15, 17). Furthermore, as in temporal life, so also in the spiritual, we stand in need of nourishment—our souls must be frequently fed with "the bread of life" (John vi. 48); and this she gives us in the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, which, as we know again from her divine teaching, is the true body and blood of Christ, under the appearance of bread and wine (John vi. 51, 52; Matt. xxvi. 26–28). But to be perfect is not human. We are liable to fall into sin and lose thereby the state of grace. We stand in need, therefore, of some healing

remedy for sin. This necessary remedy she provides for us in the Sacrament of Penance, in which, by the priest's absolution, given to us by the authority of Christ delegated to him (John xx. 22, 23), joined with contrition, confession, and satisfaction, the sins which were committed after baptism are forgiven. Again: the Church knows that it is at the time of our death that we are in the greatest spiritual need. Weakened by disease, we are less able to withstand the attacks of the enemy of our salvation. This special assistance which we need then she communicates to us in the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, the anointing of the sick mentioned by St. James (v. 14, 15). In religion, to sanctify ourselves we stand in need of spiritual teachers and guides—of men who are "ministers of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God" (1 Cor. iv. 1); and these are supplied, together with the powers and graces necessary for them, by the Sacrament of Holy Orders (2 Tim. i. 6). And, finally, she sanctifies the married state by the Sacrament of Matrimony, which she considers as the emblem of that sacred union which exists between Christ and His Church (Eph. v. 25, 32). This, she teaches us, has been instituted to give to married persons the graces required for the fulfillment of their duties and for the religious training of their children.

Assisted by the Holy Ghost, who gives efficacy to her ministry, the Catholic Church is ever gathering new members into her fold, and implanting in them the principle of supernatural life, and by the practices of devotion she inculcates, she fosters that life in all. And if some of her children are not actually saints, it is only because they do not live in accordance with their faith. In fact, in every age and in every land, she has been and is the fruitful mother of saints, and thousands of her sons and daughters renounce all worldly honors and enjoyments, in order to consecrate all that they have, and all that they are, to the service of God and of their fellow-men, always ready to lay down their lives for them. Witness those heroic men who vowed to attend the lepers, and bear the awful consequences of their self-devotion; witness those who solemnly vowed to remain in slavery themselves, if they could not otherwise redeem the captives; witness those many priests and sisters of charity who lay down their lives in every epidemic. In a word, with an activity and zeal for souls, which even her enemies are forced to admit, the Catholic Church leaves nothing undone for the conversion of sinners, for the in-

struction of the ignorant, for the relief of the poor of Christ. Her many missions in every land, her schools of every degree for the rich and poor, her books of devotion in every tongue, her hospitals, asylums, and charitable institutions of every kind, are so many proofs of her untiring zeal in fulfilling her divine mission to bring all to Christ.

The true Church of Christ has always been and must always be "Catholic" according to those words of the Apostles' Creed: "I believe in the holy Catholic Church." Hence we find the term Catholic used by the Fathers as a distinctive mark of the true Church. St. Ignatius (A. D. 107), writing to the Church of Smyrna, says: "Where the bishop is, there let the multitude of believers be; even as where Jesus Christ is, there is the *Catholic* Church." This catholicity of the true Church, instituted by Christ, is threefold—catholicity of extension, "going teach *all nations*;" catholicity of doctrine, "teaching them to observe *all things*;" catholicity of duration, "I am with you *all days* even to the consummation of the world." Catholicity, then, implies a multitude of members spread throughout the whole world, in all ages, and professing the same doctrines. Now this is exactly what I find in the Church to which I belong. Her members far outnumber all the other Christian denominations taken together. According to the London "Scientific Miscellany," there are over 254,000,000 Catholics. These are spread all over the world, so that there is no civilized or savage country known where the Catholic Church is not actually established, and carrying out the work of Christ. "The Catholic Church is so called," says St. Augustine, "because it is diffused throughout the world" (Ep. 52, ad Sever. n. 1). Catholics can repeat to-day what Tertullian (A. D. 199) said of the Catholics of his time, "We have filled every place, cities, islands, castles, towns, assemblies, your very camps, your tribes, companies, palaces, senate, forum! We leave you but your temples" (Apol. 22). And what is more important, the Church so diffused holds everywhere the same faith, has the same constitution, the same sacraments, the same form of government. She is Catholic as she is one. To the question, then, "Why am I a Catholic?" I might well answer in the words of St. Augustine: "Many things detain me in the bosom of the Catholic Church. . . . The name itself of the Catholic Church keeps me: a name which, in the midst of so many heresies, this Church alone

has, not without cause, so held possession of, that while all heretics would fain have themselves called Catholics, yet, to the query of any stranger, 'Where is the meeting of the Catholic Church held?' they would not dare to point out their own basilica or house" (C. Ep. Fund., c. 4).

By "Apostolic Church" is meant the Church which Christ established by means of His Apostles, whom, as the Gospels tell us, He selected, instructed, ordained, and commissioned to perpetuate among men to the end of time His divine mission. The Church, then, to be Apostolic, must be *the Church* established by the Apostles, that is, it must have an *Apostolic* origin, it must teach the *same doctrine* which the Apostles taught, and her ministers must derive their authority from those same Apostles.

That the Catholic Church has an Apostolic origin is a fact which cannot be questioned. Dr. Lardner, a Protestant writer, speaking of the foundation of the Church of Rome by St. Peter, assures us that "this is the general, uncontradicted, disinterested testimony of ancient writers in the several parts of the world," and he adds, "it is not for our honor, nor for our interests, either as Christians or Protestants, to deny the truth of events ascertained by early and well-attested tradition" (Works, vol. 6, p. 253, London, 1838). "It is the universal testimony of tradition," says Dr. T. Schaff, "that Peter labored last in Rome" ("Hist. of the Ap. Church," p. 362, N. Y., 1853). And Dr. Whiston, another Protestant, speaking of the same subject, expresses himself in a still stronger way. "This is so clear," he says, "in Christian antiquity, that it is a shame for a Protestant to confess that it has ever been denied by Protestants" ("Memoirs," London, 1750). It will suffice, then, to cite a few testimonies from the early doctors of the Church. Thus St. Cyprian calls the Roman See the "See of Peter" (Ep. 55, n. 14). St. Jerome calls Pope Damasus "the Successor of the Fisherman," and his chair "the chair of Peter" (Ep. 15, n. 2). And St. Augustine calls Linus, the Roman Bishop, "the Successor of St. Peter" (Ep. 53, n. 2).

A careful examination, moreover, of the doctrines of the Catholic Church will prove clearly to any unprejudiced mind, that she teaches *whole* and *entire* the very same doctrines that were taught by the Apostles. This I find to be admitted by Protestants themselves, at least as far as it concerns those points, which they call "fundamental" or "the original elements of the Gospel."

See ex. gr. Hodge "Systematic Theology" (p. 3, c. 17, § 3), and Hopkins, "End of Controversy Controverted," (Lett. 19). What they try in vain to prove is, that the Catholic Church, together with those doctrines, has taught many errors, that she has added many new points of doctrine to the original deposit of faith. I have diligently examined each and every one of these points, and the result of this study has been to convince me the more, that the so-called additions are not new articles of faith, but only *authoritative declarations* of the teaching Church that the doctrines in question had been revealed to the Apostles, and had come down to us either by Scripture or Tradition.*

The last condition required for the Apostolic Church is an Apostolic ministry, that is, ministers who derive their powers from the Apostles, and are in communion with the center of unity which Christ established, and from which they derive their mission. The necessity of this communion with the center of unity is evident from the few remarks already made on the unity of the Church. In confirmation of this, it will be enough to quote here two of the many authorities I have examined on this subject. St. Optatus speaking of "the chair of Rome, in which Peter sat," tells us that "in communion with this chair unity is to be preserved by all." And that great saint and doctor of the Church, St. Jerome, thus addresses the Bishop of Rome, Pope Damasus: "I speak with the Successor of the Fisherman, and the Disciple of the Cross. Following no chief but Christ, I am joined in communion with your beatitude, that is, with the chair of Peter. On that rock I know that the Church was built. Whosoever shall eat the Lamb outside that house is profane. Whosoever does not gather with *you* scattereth" (Ep. 15, n. 2).

It is an historical fact, which no scholar has ever denied, that the priests and bishops of the Catholic Church can trace their lineage back to an Apostolic origin. This is clearly demonstrated by following the succession of pontiffs from St. Peter to Leo XIII., in the Apostolic See of Rome, with which center of unity no other priesthood but that of the Catholic Church is in communion. I may add, also, that those denominations which lay any claim to apostolicity of orders, as, for instance, the Church of England,

* I may be permitted to refer the reader to "The True Faith of our Forefathers" (American News Co., N. Y., 1882), where he will find the result of this investigation.

and its daughter, the Episcopal Church in the United States, found this their claim on the fact of having received these orders from bishops that had been in communion with the Roman Catholic Church. Again, therefore, with St. Augustine, I answer that I am a Catholic because "In the Catholic Church . . . the succession of priests from the See itself of the Apostle Peter [Rome] even to the present Episcopate, holds me" (Contr. Ep. Man. n. 2).

But, once more, if I consider the express will and purpose of Christ in establishing His Church on earth, I find that she shall continue to the end of time, unchanged in her internal and external constitution, and possessing all the very same gifts, marks, etc., with which she was endowed by her Divine Founder. For the mission of the Church is the mission of Christ, "to save souls." She must last, therefore, as long as there are souls to save. She is built on a rock, and "the gates of hell shall never prevail against her." Hence it is impossible for her ever to become corrupt in her faith, in her sacraments, or in her government. For the moment she should fail in any of these, that moment the gates of hell would have prevailed against her. To assert that at any time the Church of Christ failed is to deny the truth of Christ's promise to His Church, "I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world." "There are some," St. Augustine tells us, "who say: she that was the Church of all nations, is already no more; she has perished. This say they who are not in her. The impudent assertion!" (Ps. 101., serm. 2, n 8.) If, therefore, the Church cannot fail or become corrupt, there can be no reason for any reformation in her faith, her sacraments, or government. Every attempt at such reformation is an explicit denial of her indefectibility.

But if the true Church of Christ was to last the same "all days," even to the end of the world, then it has always been in existence, from the days of the Apostles to our own. It existed, therefore, when Luther and Calvin and Henry VIII. raised the standard of revolt against the Catholic Church, in which they were baptized and educated; it existed when each established a separate and independent Church of his own. And if it existed, it could be no other than the Roman Catholic Church. For it is a fact that, at the time, there existed no other Church distinct from her, and recognized by the Reformers as the true Church of Christ.

It is evident, therefore, that the "Reformers," and consequently those who have followed in their footsteps, have no divine authority to preach, to administer the sacraments, and to govern Christ's mystical body. They certainly did not receive it from the Catholic Church, from which they were separated, and by which they were condemned. Luther was a priest, but never a bishop. Calvin was a simple cleric, and never received the order of priesthood. Henry VIII., "the spiritual head" of the Church of England, was a layman. By whom, then, were they sent? And "how can they preach unless they be sent?" (Rom. x. 15). Did they receive an extraordinary mission from God himself? But where are their credentials, where their proofs? No account of these has ever come to light. And it seems plain enough to me, at least, that they all could not have been sent by the same God to preach contradictory doctrines and vilify each other. Henry VIII. wrote against Luther, Luther against Calvin, and Calvin against both.

As this subject is of vital importance, I will consider my position as stated above from another point of view, briefly touching on a point of doctrine characteristic of the Catholic Church.

My reason for being a Catholic is drawn from the fact that the Catholic Church, *i. e.*, the Church in communion with the Successor of St. Peter, the Bishop of Rome, is the true Church of Christ. This I briefly proved, by showing that she possesses all the notes, which must, according to the intention of Christ, characterize His Church, and distinguish it from every other society. I now add, that since I am obliged to be a Christian in order to be saved, and since the choice is only between Catholicity and Protestantism, if I were not a Christian Catholic, I ought to be a Christian Protestant. Now is it proved that Christian Protestants constitute the Church of Christ? This should be *one* in faith and government; its members should be so united as to be "members of member" and constitute one body, one kingdom, one fold. In vain do I look for this unity among Protestants. They do not constitute one church, but many independent churches. They have not "one faith" or creed, but many creeds. And no wonder, for there no unity of faith can be found where the only principle of this unity is denied, and a principle is set up in its place which necessarily causes dissension. This false principle is their rule of faith. As long as they are told that every man

has the right and duty to interpret the Scriptures for himself, as long as the private interpretation of the Bible is to settle all religious controversies, so long will religious division be perpetuated, not only among different denominations, but even among the members of the same denomination. If Washington and his colleagues in promulgating the Constitution of this Republic had said: "Let each one read this Constitution for himself, explain it for himself, and follow out in practice his own interpretation of it," we certainly should not be "known and read of all men" as one united nation. In its stead, we should have had a thousand different political sections and petty governments. How did these great statesmen guard against this danger? They framed the Constitution, and at the same time established a supreme tribunal, and an authoritative power, which should interpret its meaning ultimately and definitively, by whose decision all, without exception, from the President to the beggar, are bound to abide.

The true rule of faith is the living and infallible authority of the Church of Christ. This, and no other, is the supreme tribunal, and the supreme judge in matters of faith. This is the source and safeguard of unity. I have already shown that Christ, our Lord, established in His Church an authority to whose teaching the faithful must submit. While it is nowhere said in the Scriptures that Christ gave to His Apostles, who then constituted the Church, a mission to *write*, we find it expressly stated in the last verses of St. Matthew's Gospel that He committed to His Church the mission of *teaching* all nations. We know also that He made submission to this teaching a condition of salvation (Mark xvi. 16), assuring us that he who hears the Church hears Him. Because He is always with His teaching Church, and the Spirit of truth, the Paraclete, abides with her forever (John xiv. 16). How could Christ make obedience to this teaching authority a condition for salvation, and declare that in hearing the Church, I should hear Him; that the gates of hell should never prevail against it; that the Spirit of truth is the Spirit of His Church, if that Church had no divine authority to teach, or were fallible in teaching?

Those who deny this authoritative and infallible teaching of the Church, if consistent, must give up all divine faith. "I should not believe the Gospel," says St. Augustine, "unless the authority of the Church moved me thereto" (C. Ep. Fund., c. 5).

The Bible, without this living and infallible authority, leaves men necessarily in a state of doubt. For before they can believe any article of faith, on the sole authority of the Bible as the word of God, they must first be infallibly sure that the book, in which they find that article, *is* the word of God, and not the word of man; just as before we accept any statement as an article of the Constitution of the United States, we must first be certain that the Constitution spoken of is really the Constitution of the United States. How can Protestants settle that question? *i. e.*, how can they, without the authority of the Catholic Church, be infallibly certain that the Bible is the word of God? That the Bible, as they have it, containing so many books, and chapters, and verses, is a work of inspiration? This evidence is not found in the Bible itself, and even if it were there, the question would still remain, how do you know that this assertion is itself authentic? How do you know that this assertion is of God? They may believe that book to be the Word of God, because they think so, or because they fancy that the Spirit bears witness within them, or because this is the opinion of learned men, or even because their own denomination tells them so. But are they infallibly sure that they are correct? All those learned men are fallible; they acknowledge it themselves; their own denomination or Church professes to be not infallible, and consequently to be liable to err.

Moreover, this fallible authority is *human* authority. Will they believe on *human fallible authority* that the Bible is the word of God? They may, if they choose, but then let them be logical, and believe *whatever* is in the Bible on the *same* authority—in other words, let them give up *divine* faith. "Prove to me," says Rousseau, "the necessity of authority in religion, and to-morrow I will be a Catholic." That this authority is absolutely necessary is evident from the fact that without it the unity of the Church of Christ cannot subsist; without it the Church of Christ is a purely human institution; without it in religion we are lost in doubt. This divine and infallible authority I find in the Catholic Church, and nowhere outside of it; for the different denominations that have sprung up since the time of the "Reformation" positively reject it.

These, then, are some of the reasons "why I am a Catholic." I remain in the Church to which I belong, because, to use St. Augustine's words, "This is the Holy Church, the One Church,

the True Church, the Catholic Church, which fights against all errors. She may be attacked, but cannot be overcome. All errors have gone far from her . . . but she remains unsevered from her own root, in her own vine, in her own charity. The gates of hell shall not prevail against her" ("De Symbolo," n. 14).

S. M. BRANDI, S. J.

# THE PROGRESS OF ARKANSAS.

ARKANSAS—pronounced Arkansaw—was carved out of that immense and productive region acquired by purchase from France in 1803, when Thomas Jefferson was President of the United States, and Napoleon the First was Emperor of France, at a cost to us of only $15,000,000. It extended from the British possessions on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and from the Mississippi River on the east to the Rocky Mountains on the west.

The mean average temperature of Arkansas is 60° Fah.; the mean average rain-fall is 49 inches. The country is generally healthy, except upon the streams that overflow. There are no extremes, as a general thing, of heat or cold, and the weather in the fall season of the year is delightful.

Arkansas was settled by the French in 1670. A territorial government was organized for it, under act of Congress of March 20, 1819. On the 16th day of June, 1836, it was admitted as a State into the Union.

According to the United States census reports, it had a population, in 1820, of 14,255; in 1830, of 30,388; in 1840, of 97,574; in 1850, of 209,897; in 1860, of 435,450; in 1870, of 481,471; in 1880, of 802,525.

The war between the States greatly interfered with and retarded the population and progress of the State. It is safe to say that the population of the State to-day is 1,000,000. In 1865, when the war closed, Arkansas was in an impoverished and deplorable condition. Almost her entire territory had been occupied during the war by the contending forces of the Federal and Confederate armies; the larger part of the property of the citizens had been destroyed or consumed, and the regular business of the country was almost entirely suspended. The people were discouraged and greatly perplexed at the changed conditions, and by the great difficulty of procuring the means of subsistence. The slaves

had been liberated; the citizens had been deprived of their horses; mules, cattle, and domestic animals of almost every description were very scarce and hard to obtain. There was a great scarcity of money and of the necessaries of life. In many places the improved lands had been stripped of fences, houses, and orchards, and left bare. There was wide-spread poverty and dilapidation. Cotton, the staple product of the State (the growth of which had been almost entirely suspended, and much of which that was on hand in 1862 had been burned), bore a high price for several years after the war closed, and was a very important factor in the rapid recuperation of the State, financially.

The first legislature that convened after the war, in the winter of 1866 and '67, composed in large part of old soldiers of the Confederate Army, passed an act of pardon and amnesty which provided "that full and free pardon and amnesty be and the same are hereby granted to all persons, who, at any time after the 24th day of May, A.D. 1861, and before the 4th day of July, A.D. 1865, may have committed any crime, or misdemeanor, against the State of Arkansas, rape only excepted, who shall not have been convicted thereof before the passage of this act." This legislature also passed the act enlarging the rights of those who had been held as slaves, and of free persons of color, conferring upon them the full and equal benefits of the rights of personal security, personal liberty, and private property, and all remedies and proceedings for their enforcement and protection.

But the reconstruction acts of the Congress of the United States greatly retarded and obstructed the progress and prosperity of the State, and kept it, from early in 1867 to 1874, virtually under military surveillance and the domination of provost marshals, while the former slaves had been enfranchised and many of the best and leading men of the country were disfranchised. Under the maladministration of the State and county governments, by those who were brought into power by these reconstruction acts, the indebtedness of the State and of nearly all the counties was enormously increased without any corresponding benefit.

The entire State debt in March, 1867, was only about $3,400,000, principal and interest. By September 30, 1874, the bonded debt of the State had been swelled to $12,205,846, bearing an interest of six per cent., or more. Of this amount $5,300,000 were railroad aid bonds, and $3,005,846.05 were levee bonds, which

have since been decided by the Supreme Court of the State to have been issued without authority of law, and hence to be void. A constitutional amendment, adopted by the people in 1885, prohibits the payment of the railroad aid, levee, and Holford bonds as fraudulent and void. The undisputed debt of the State, principal and interest, now amounts to only about $5,000,000. There were issued also within the period aforesaid about $3,000,000 of Arkansas treasurer's certificates, much of which bore interest at five per cent. and some at eight per cent. per annum. These certificates were made receivable for all State, county, and municipal taxes, except the tax to pay interest on the public debt, and also for all debts due the State. Thus the revenues of the State were anticipated for years. County scrip, or warrants upon the county treasurer, in many counties, were purchasable, in 1874, at from fifteen to twenty-five cents on the dollar, and the State treasurer's certificates of indebtedness at from twenty to twenty-five cents on the dollar.

In the early part of 1875 the State had no money and no means of raising the small sum of about $1,300 to pay the public printer for printing the acts of the special session of the legislature, convened by Governor Elisha Baxter, at which an act was passed calling the Constitutional Convention of 1874, which framed the present State constitution, and at the election for the adoption of which the Hon. A. H. Garland, now Attorney-General of the United States, was elected in October, 1874, Governor of the State.

The adoption of this constitution, and the election of Mr. Garland to the office of governor, marked, if not a new era, a golden epoch in the history of the State. Confidence in the stability and integrity of public affairs, which had fled, was again, after a weary period of doubt, fear, and distress, restored, and peace, contentment, and quiet prevailed throughout the State. The counties commenced to pay off their accumulated debts, and the floating indebtedness of the State began to be gradually absorbed from year to year, until now most of the counties are out of debt, and the State has paid off the treasurer's certificates of indebtedness, the Loughborough bonds, devised to bridge over the State's straightened financial condition, and the Brooks-Baxter war bonds, issued to pay the expenses of the Brooks-Baxter War of 1874. The State is now on a currency basis, and has money in her treasury.

Besides, she is this year, 1886, making thorough improvements upon her State House, and considerable improvements for the School for the Blind, the Deaf Mute Institute, the Lunatic Asylum, and erecting two new buildings within the walls of the State Penitentiary. She has reduced her taxes three mills on the dollar.

The State has about 4,000 miles of navigable waters. Her lands are rich, producing abundant crops of the cereals, native and cultivated grasses, vegetables in great variety, and the most luscious small fruits, peaches, and apples, in the production, beauty, and flavor of which she is unsurpassed, if equaled by any other country. Arkansas apples, exhibited at the World's Fair and Cotton Centennial Exposition at New Orleans, in 1884, took one of the two gold medals and twelve special premiums, and, at the St. Louis Fair, in October, 1885, the fruits exhibited from Arkansas took the sweepstakes premium over all competitors. Her cotton, also, took the first premium at the Exposition at the city of New Orleans in 1884. At the North, Central and South American Exposition at New Orleans, in 1886, Arkansas took the first premium for the best collective exhibit of fruit, and for the best display of apples, and the first premium for the best fifty varieties of apples, the best forty varieties, the best twenty varieties, the best fifteen varieties, the best ten, the best five, the best three, and the best one varieties, and nine other special premiums.

There are in Arkansas 30,000 square miles of land covered with the finest timber of almost all the useful varieties, amongst which are many varieties of valuable oak, black and white walnut, cypress, poplar, gum, cedar, hickory, ash, locust, mulberry, cherry, linn, maple, pecan, catalpa, elm, and many other species, besides pine, of which it is estimated there is within her limits enough to make 40,000,000,000 feet of lumber.

An inexhaustible wealth of minerals slumbers undeveloped in her bosom, consisting of lead, iron, zinc, copper, manganese, with various other minerals, besides coal, of which it is estimated she has 12,000 square miles. The Ouita Coal Company and Stiewell & Company are engaged in mining coal upon the Arkansas River, above Little Rock, the capital of the State, and upon the line of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad. This coal is of excellent quality, as shown by the analysis of Dr. David Dale Owen, who made a geological reconnoisance of the State some years ago.

Manganese mines are worked at Batesville, on White River, where there is said to be an abundance of the very best quality.

Arkansas has 2,000,000 acres of lands which she offers to donate, in tracts of 160 acres, to actual settlers, and there are within her borders 5,525,680 acres subject to entry under the United States homestead laws, of which 160 acres can be had by paying fees amounting only to $18.70. The State also owns 70,000 acres of swamp lands, 817 acres of seminary lands, 16,000 acres of saline lands, and 15,000 acres of internal improvement lands, which she sells for $1.00 and $1.25 per acre.

At the close of the war, in 1865, there were only thirty-eight miles of railroad in the State. Since then the Memphis and Little Rock Railroad has been completed to Little Rock, the capital of Arkansas, and the St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern Railroad has been built from St. Louis, Mo., through the State, from the north-east corner, *via* Little Rock, to Texarkana, a flourishing little city of 6,000 inhabitants, on the south-western border of the State, where the road enters the State of Texas, and where several other railroads converge.

The Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad extends from the beautiful and prosperous city of Fort Smith, with a population of 10,000 inhabitants, on the western boundary line of the State and the border of the Indian Territory, down the fertile and picturesque valley of the Arkansas, in sight of the Boston, Magazine, and Ozark Mountains, to the city of Little Rock, which is appropriately called the City of Roses, from the many beautiful flowers grown there, and the great taste of her charming and elegant ladies displayed in their cultivation. This road will be extended soon, west across the Indian Territory. The Little Rock, Mississippi River and Texas Railroad, recently completed from Little Rock to Arkansas City, on the Mississippi River, and the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad, which connect at Little Rock and are now under one management, form what is called the Arkansas Valley Route, which crosses the Mississippi River at Arkansas City and connects at Leland, in the State of Mississippi, with the Mississippi Valley route from Memphis, Tennessee, by way of Vicksburg and Baton Rouge, to New Orleans. So we can leave Little Rock at 2.35 o'clock, P.M., and take breakfast at New Orleans next morning. The Texas and St. Louis R.R., a narrow, but soon to be made a standard gauge road, from opposite Cairo, in Illinois, through the

eastern and southern part of the State to Texarkana, passes, on the south bank of the Arkansas River, Pine Bluff, a city of over 6,000 inhabitants, which is also on the line of the Arkansas Valley route, and is growing rapidly in trade, population, advantages, and facilities, and is supported by a most magnificent adjacent cotton country. The Texas and St. Louis is called the Cotton Belt Route. All along its line are magnificent forests of oak, pine, cypress, and other valuable timbers, and lumber establishments abound. The lumber business in Arkansas has increased fourfold in the last decade. The Kansas City, Springfield and Memphis Railroad is a magnificent new road from Kansas City, Missouri, through the entire length of the State of Arkansas to Memphis, Tennessee. Besides these, there are many other new and excellent roads, among them the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad, which enters the State in the north-west corner, in Benton County, and, passing through Benton, Washington, and Crawford Counties, terminates now at Fort Smith, but is destined to be extended soon into Texas. This road passes the healthful and picturesque little city of Fayetteville, in Washington County, which nestles among the lovely elevations and charming valleys of the Boston Mountains and the head waters of the beautiful White River. Washington, and Benton, and other adjacent counties, constitute a wheat and fruit-growing country, par excellence. Arkansas has now about 2,000 miles of railroad in operation, and several new roads projected and in course of construction.

According to the census of 1870, there were 49,424 farms in the State, with 7,597,296 acres, of which 1,859,821 acres were improved; in 1880 there were 94,433 farms with 12,061,547 acres, of which 3,595,603 acres were improved. The value of farms in 1870 was $40,629,698; in 1880, $74,249,409. The value of farm implements and machinery in 1870 was $2,237,409; in 1880, $4,637,497.

The following figures will show the progress of Arkansas in material production during the decade ending in 1880:

| Indian Corn. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Bushels.* | | *Bushels.* | |
| 1870..13,382,145. | | 1880..24,156,417. | |

| Cotton. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Bales.* | | *Bales.* | |
| 1870.....247,968. | | 1880.....608,256. | |

| Oats. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1870.....528,777. | | 1880...2,219,822. | |

| Hay. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Tons.* | | *Tons.* | |
| 1870.....6,839. | | 1880.....23,295. | |

| Wheat. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1870.....741,736. | | 1880...1,269,715. | |

| Tobacco. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Lbs.* | | *Lbs.* | |
| 1870.....594,866. | | 1880.....970,220. | |

HOPS.

| | Lbs. | | Lbs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1870 | 625,064. | 1880 | 1,444,077. |

HORSES.

| | Value. | | Value. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1870 | $92,013. | 1880 | $146,366. |

MULES AND ASSES.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1870 | $36,204. | 1880 | $87,052. |

MILCH COWS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1870 | $128,959. | 1880 | $249,407. |

CATTLE, OTHER THAN OXEN.

| | Value. | | Value. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1870 | $193,589. | 1880 | $433,304. |

SHEEP.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1870 | $161,077. | 1880 | $246,757. |

SWINE.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1870 | $841,129. | 1880 | $1,565,095. |

BUTTER.

| | Lbs. | | Lbs. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1870 | 2,753,931. | 1880 | 7,790,013. |

The total value of all farm products for the year 1879 was $43,796,261. We have no accurate statistics since 1880, but the increase has been very great.

The interest in and provision for popular education indicates, more accurately perhaps than aught else, the progress and improvement of any people. The school system of Arkansas, established by law in 1868, was revised in 1875, and its supervision given to a State Superintendent of Public Instruction. The present constitution provides that "intelligence and virtue being the safeguards of liberty, and the bulwark of a free and good government, the State shall ever maintain a general, suitable, and efficient system of free schools, whereby all persons in the State, between the ages of six and twenty-one years, may receive gratuitous instruction." It authorizes the levy of a State school tax, not to exceed two mills on the dollar, in each year, on all taxable property of the State, and an annual per-capita tax of one dollar on every male inhabitant over twenty-one years of age; and it provides further that the general assembly may authorize school districts to levy a special school tax not to exceed five mills on the dollar in any one year. This State school tax is levied and collected each year, and, under laws passed for that purpose, each school district votes the special district school tax annually. As a rule, all these districts vote the full five-mills tax. The sixteenth section in each township of thirty-six sections of land is set apart, under act of Congress, for school purposes. In 1876, the number of children entitled to education at the free schools, between the ages of six and twenty-one years, as enumerated, was 180,950; in 1877, 203,567; 1884, 313,356, of whom 153,216 were enrolled in the schools. The enrollment of 1884 almost equaled the enumeration of the seven years preceding. In 1877, the apportionment of State school funds was $82,268; in 1884, $240,000. In 1876, the total

school revenue from all sources in the State was $194,445; in 1884 it reached the sum of $931,404.10. In 1877, the whole number of school districts in the State was 1,127; in 1884, 3,337. In 1878, the number of teachers employed was 1,458; in 1884, 2,899. In 1877, the value of school-houses and furniture belonging to the schools of the State was $170,422; in 1884, $384,827.73½. The last seven years have witnessed the inauguration of an entirely new order of things, and nearly every considerable town in the State has erected one or more large, well-ventilated school buildings of modern architecture. This may be also said of quite a number of smaller towns and of the rural districts. Really, the estimate of 1884 is under the real value. The city of Little Rock has school buildings and appurtenances of the value of $150,000. There is little room for doubt that the school-houses, furniture, and appliances of the public schools of the State are of the value now of $600,000. These schools in the rural districts are all open for three, and many of them for five months in each year; and the towns, almost without exception, have a free school for five months in each year, and those towns that have a population of one thousand maintain a free school from seven to ten months in each year.

There is a growing demand in the State, generally, for longer terms, better houses, and for such improvement in teaching as will yield the fruits of virtue, intelligence, and practical knowledge combined. This growth in education has not been circumscribed by the narrow environment of race. The colored children have their separate schools and receive their *pro rata* of all taxes collected for school purposes. In 1884, of the 112,233 enrolled in all the schools of the State, 28,133 were colored children; and of the 2,899 teachers employed, 582 were colored. The State has established at Pine Bluff a normal school for the special training of teachers for the colored schools, which, though it has been in operation but a few years, has met the expectations of its friends and is justly considered as one of the best schools in the State.

The Arkansas Industrial University, situated at Fayetteville, Washington County, is a fine institution under the control of an able faculty, and is sustained by the State. The State Teachers' Association, held at Morrilton in 1884, was attended by 114 teachers; the Normal Institute at Greenwood in 1869, by 169 teachers for ten days; the institute at Monticello by 104, and at Camden

by 88; in the same year more than half of the counties have County Teachers' Institutes which meet quarterly.

In the hearts of the people of Arkansas there is a strong and growing love for and a deep and abiding interest in the schools of the State.

Few countries offer greater inducements and combine more advantages for the home-seeker and the capitalist than Arkansas. A cordial welcome is extended to the worthy, of whatever rank or condition, or from whatever country.

SIMON P. HUGHES.

# LIFE INSURANCE.

Among the multitude of mythological creations is that of an attractive lady on a rolling stone. She means that, when many variable causes operate, more or less together in time and space, it is impossible for the human mind to predict the joint effect on an individual. Of a single cause we can predict the effect by observation and experience ; of two, with some, but a less degree, of certainty ; but beyond that we begin to be in a realm where we call our ignorance chance.

Our experience of human life has taught us that every man is sure to die, some time or other, and that the insurable or productive money value of his life beyond the age of one hundred years is inconsiderable, and beyond the age of seventy-five is hardly worth mentioning. The insurable part of a man's life lies almost wholly between the ages of twenty and seventy-five, if, by reason of its usefulness to some other individual, it is insurable at all.

As to the individual man, if we know nothing about him but his age, nothing can be more uncertain than when he will die. If we know about his health, we can better guess ; if about his parentage, still better ; if about his habits, still better ; but, after all, our guess will be nothing like a certainty. After all possible care in selecting good risks and avoiding fraud, the best risk may prove the worst.

Yet there are institutions that not only guess like good prophets, but fairly insure or answer the purpose of a wise providence, to mitigate the saddest calamity that befalls man. They will agree to pay to a man's heirs or dependents, to whom it is to be presumed that his life is both valuable and dear, a certain sum of money if he dies before reaching a certain age. And the business can be done with the effect of greatly limiting the jurisdic-

tion of the lady on the rolling stone and realizing the aspiration of the Saxon poet:

> "Thy spirit, independence, let me share,
> Lord of the lion heart and eagle eye,
> Thy steps I'll follow, with my bosom bare,
> Nor heed the storm that howls along the sky."

Surely the utility of the business to the heirs of the man whose fate it is to die before he can have provided against their poverty or starvation is not to be denied. The utmost care of his health, or the best possible physicians, cannot make it certain that he will not die before that provision can be made. Even on a very crude, and only half scientific basis, life insurance, for the last two hundred years, has been of vast benefit to society, and has been, in spite of frequent failures, constantly improving in its methods and popularity.

The success of life insurance is founded on the facts, observed by careful statisticians, that, out of a very large number of men of a given age, a certain number will die within one year. As, for example, out of 10,000 men, all aged twenty-seven, very nearly 80 would be sure to die within one year, and out of 10,000, at the age of fifty, twice as many. If they were all apparently in good health at the beginning of the year, the mortality would be considerably less. But, as an average fact, the probability of dying within one year is determined very nearly by the figures of a mortality table, and for all practical purposes the mortality tables now in common use substantially agree. That most commonly used is founded on the experience of the seventeen largest offices in England, and was prepared in 1843. It has since been confirmed by a larger experience of English offices as well as American. As to the risk or probability of dying, if a company acquires at a moderate expense—and it ought to be much more moderate than it often is—a well-selected and sufficient number of risks, well spread as to locality, it may safely trust either of the mortality tables. A company consisting of too few members needs to have its own life insured. It must be subject to failure unless guarantee capital supplies the place of numbers till it has acquired them.

Life insurance is of very gradual growth. Its history is too voluminous for my space. But a glance into it may answer a good

purpose in default of the algebraic language which is necessary to explain its methods.

The American who first drew the Protean life-principle out of the clouds was sent to the mother country to secure justice for her then infant colonies. He there became acquainted with Dr. Richard Price, who, by his scientific labors, was restoring the vitality of British life insurance, then in a ruinous condition, because it had been founded on guess-work. Both these men recognized the relations of capital and labor—that capital is the child of labor—and that there can be no social or national prosperity where the child enslaves the parent. They both believed that extreme poverty was not a necessary evil, that coöperative institutions might be founded by which every industrious man could save himself and family from pauperism, let death do what it might. Dr. Price showed how the perpetual solvency of a life insurance company may be maintained on annual premiums not increasing with the increasing risk of age, as was abundantly illustrated in the career of the London Equitable. But he, unfortunately, did not provide an equitable method by which a coinsuring member could retire from the society when he ceased to need further insurance, or was unable further to pay the annual premium. Here has remained a very important question, practically, if not theoretically, unsolved nearly to the present time.

The present writer cannot better explain the working of this defect than by stating what fell under his own observation, when, in the year 1844, he visited England as a peddler of Sparks' Lives of Franklin and Washington, as well as of a publication of his own. He had from the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, a corporation chartered in 1816, a commission to procure information for its use on life insurance, and a letter of introduction to Joshua Milne, the author of the "Carlisle Table of Mortality," and other statistical works, then at the head of the Sun Life and Fire Office. That gentleman, in his sixty-ninth year, received me most graciously, and communicated to me even more information than I was capable of holding. About a week afterward, I was invited by John Kenyon, a well-known London Mæcenas, to one of his literary breakfasts, where I met such men and women as Samuel Rogers, B. W. Procter (better known here by his *nom de plume* of Barry Cornwall), Robert Browning, Miss Mitford, Elizabeth Barrett (afterward Mrs. Browning), and others. Proc-

ter, sitting next to me, asked me pleasantly, "What of the London lions have you seen?" "The Thames Tunnel," I replied, "is the largest; but the most interesting to me has been the Sun Life Office, where I have learned a good deal about life insurance that was new to me." "Life insurance!" broke out Mr. Procter; "it's the biggest humbug in Christendom." I was quite thunderstruck, but managed, after a little hesitation, to say "You surprise me, Mr. Procter. If I had not taken a policy from a life company just started in Boston, I should not have dared to cross the water, leaving a wife and five children on the other side." "Go to the Royal Exchange," said Mr. Procter, "Thursday afternoon, at three o'clock, and you will see what I mean." I assured him I should do so, and did. What I saw at that sublime center of trade was a sale at auction of several old policies on very aged men to speculators, apparently of the Hebrew persuasion, to be kept up by them by their paying annual premiums to the company till the decease. This was done, I was told, because the companies had made it a rule "*never to buy their own policies.*" A poor rule, it seemed to me! I had seen slave auctions at home. I could hardly see more justice in this British practice. If I should ever become old myself, I thought, I should not like to have a policy on my life in the hands of any man with the slightest pecuniary motive to wish me dead. This, then, was what had disgusted the sweetest songwriter in England with life insurance!

I soon found there was a reasonable act of Parliament against the issue of a policy in the absence of insurable interest on the part of the policy-holder in the life of the insured, but no law whatever against the continuance of one, after all insurable interest had ceased; on the contrary, a judge-made law allowing it. I resolved, if I ever returned to America, it should be otherwise here, if my voice could avail.

However, when I returned home, I found that by the terms of the policy—generally copied from the English form—the same thing might be done as in England, though there was generally, outside of the policy, a promise to pay an equitable surrender value in case the insured should wish to withdraw and give notice to that effect before premium became due. But it was left with the company to say, after the notice, what payment should be equitable. If a case was ever carried into court, the court only looked into the policy, and finding stipulated there no return

of any part of the premiums, but rather the reverse, compelled none.

Dr. Price's great improvement consisted in commuting the series of net natural premiums, increasing annually with the tabular risk, into a level or constant series for the whole term of insurance. And this made the business of the company, from first to last, consist of two distinct parts—insurance and banking, or, insurance and self-insurance. A certain part of every premium—or, at any rate, of any of the earlier ones—goes to pay the party's bet that he will not die in that year, and of course goes toward paying the claims arising on those who do die. The other part goes into the invested or reserved fund, accumulating at a certain interest, but the whole of it, with its interest, comes out in case the party himself dies, because he himself has insured that part of the face of the policy, and not the company.

Curiously enough, Dr. Price's net level or constant premiums had a provision for expenses attached to them by adding a certain percentage of the net premium to itself. There was no justifiable logic for that form of provision, and, plainly enough, it had better have been a percentage on the face of the policy or a specific yearly due, variable and corresponding with the work done by the company. It had the effect, by discounting the bonded future premiums into present resources, to make the assets of many a "Diddlesex concern" vastly exceed the tabular liability on its policies, while it was marching to inevitable bankruptcy. Our State departments, by early adopting the test of a net valuation, have saved most of the present companies from that rock. All, perhaps, might have been saved if fewer had been created.

What led to a different practice in this country from the English, was the willingness of some companies to receive a part of the annual premium in a note of the insured bearing interest at six or seven per cent. If this note were not more than half of the annual premium and the interest were paid in advance every year, not only the note (unless the party entered at a very advanced age) might lie unpaid till the policy became a claim, but another note to the same amount, and on the same conditions, might be taken safely for every succeeding premium. As these notes, being a part of the reserve or self-insurance on the policy, were applicable, as far as they would go, to pay the widow's or beneficiary's claim, it was pretty plain to ordinary comprehension that if the insured lived to

die at an advanced age, his widow or children would get little, or perhaps nothing, but a dead husband's or father's notes. This obvious consideration led the companies to promise that the divisible surplus of cash over claims and expenses would be such as to cancel the notes, so that not more than five or six would ever be outstanding—a prophecy which facts hardly warranted in the most successful and economical of the companies. In many cases the half-cash part of the premium with the interest on the uncanceled notes became fully equal to an all-cash premium. But what happened of more significance was, that in case of lapse on a policy, with premium note or notes outstanding, the company did not enforce collection. If any company had resorted to law to enforce the payment of such notes, the question would have arisen whether the maker of the note had received any value. Plainly not. The policy was canceled on the non-payment of cash and another note on its anniversary. The obligation to pay the notes ended with the insurance. The past insurance had been fully paid for by the cash already received by the company, and enough more, commonly, to compensate the company for the damage by the lapse.

This settled the question, for law does not, or should not, undertake to force payment on notes, only where value has been received, or damage would be inflicted by non-fulfillment of a contract. As many policies lapsed on which the full premiums had been paid in cash, a State legislature was forced to interfere so that all-cash payers should not, in such a case, be treated worse by the very companies it had chartered than those who had paid half in notes. This was the cause of the Massachusetts Non-forfeiture Act of 1861. It did not compel the return of any cash, but only so much further term insurance as four-fifths of the cash reserve on the policy would pay for. It was not a very scientific or thorough treatment of the subject, but clearly better than nothing in the interest of equity between policy-holders.

It seems unfortunate that the regulation of insurance—a subject which interests all parts of our vast republic, and in which one part depends so much on another—should be so much at the mercy of conflicting State laws. If insurance had fallen, in the opinion of the wisest interpreters of our national constitution, into the category of "commerce between the States," it might have been otherwise. But as it is, there is nothing for it but to cultivate comity between the States, and, restricting State legislation to cor-

porations of its own creation, to wait for the best laws to prevail in other States, according to their wisdom and equity. It would border on bigotry, if not cruelty, to restrict the citizens of a State from dealing with the corporations of another State, considered by themselves as more honest, or profitable, than any corporations of their own State. American liberty will never brook any legislation to *think* for it.

Games of chance are characteristic of the human race and have amounted to a passion, from time immemorial, in all countries. As science increases, the passion subsides. Governments, inclined to be paternal, have labored more and more to repress them. The time is not beyond the memory of old men when lotteries were licensed in favor of building churches, bridges, and other desirable public works. They are now reduced nearly to grab-bags.

All insurance is essentially a game of chance, and cannot be well understood without resorting to the mathematical laws of probability. So true is this, that the law of New York makes an express exemption of insurance from the penalties against gambling, on the ground that it really reduces the inequality of fortune.

Nothing is more certain than that all the utility which has resulted from life insurance has come from the investigations of such minds as Pascal, DeWitt, De Moivre, Price, and Quetelet into the problems of chances. Yet it is not less true that the best thing that can be done for life insurance is to clear it as much as possible from the influence or interference of the gambling passion, which is prone to infect it, and tempt some policy-holders to adopt any plan which bids fair to get their insurance partly paid for at the expense of others, always apt to result in the detriment of coinsurers less fortunate. The game, to be perfectly fair, should involve no contingency except that between life and death.

The same two assumptions of mortality and interest, on which Dr. Price founded his calculations of the net level provisions which would maintain the solvency of a company, were equally available for the calculation of a rule of equitable and safe surrender. The neglect to establish any such rule resulted in a vast unpopularity of life insurance with the humbler classes of society, leading to societies constructed with a good deal of benevolence but no science at all, and sure to fail shortly; and making many sensible people remark, like the fox in the fable, that life insurance companies were lion's dens, with all the tracks leading inward.

One of the most unfortunate things that ever happened to American life insurance was a proposition made, some sixteen or seventeen years ago, to one of the largest and best managed of our companies, to carry on one branch of its business on a plan which would result in making insurance cheaper to the richest and most fortunate, than to the poorer and unfortunate. Most fortunately it was never carried into practice according to the plan proposed, though the name by which it was distinguished was improperly adopted, and has led to a world of misapprehensions.

There existed, perhaps as long ago as life insurance itself, an institution called from the name of its inventor a Tontine, almost exactly the reverse of life insurance, whereby property, thrown into a common stock, in the case of a member's death, reverted to the company, till the last survivor owned the whole for himself and his heirs. Nothing could exceed the absurdity of attempting to increase the attractions of life insurance by adding to it that of "tontine." Even the name should have been avoided, as the fact really was.

William Morgan, the President of the London Equitable, founded on the labors of Dr. Price, in his preface to the sixth edition of "Price's Annuities," very forcibly says: "Of all the phantoms which are held up to entice and to deceive the public, none are more mischievous or deserve more severe reprehension than the Tontines which have lately prevailed so much in every part of this country. By these, while the adventurer is flattered with the extravagant hope of making his fortune in a short period and at a small expense, the worst spirit of gambling and idle speculation is called forth, and all those baneful effects which are produced by a State lottery in London are extended to the remotest corners of the kingdom."

Happily, the very popular life insurance company, to which I have referred, never adopted the plan proposed, in 1868, except as to the attractive misnomer. The plan, if it had been true to the name, would have required by this time perhaps forty-eight distinct tontine classes, eleven of which would have terminated with quite various results as to the profits, or effects on the cost of the insurance, to the survivors of the different classes. But no such distinction of classes was made; therefore, there was no tontine. What was done, was to reduce the possible terms during which forfeiture of reserve and surplus could take place, from the whole

extent of the policy, to terms of ten, fifteen, or twenty years, at most—a manifest improvement on the plan of the London Equitable, so far as whole-life policies are concerned. The "tontine" profits to survivors of any tontine term have never been determined by the actual facts as to the lapses of members for the same term, but by a general hypothesis as to the probable losses, both past and future, applying to all tontine members.

It is a very amusing fact that the real nature of what is called tontine insurance has been so mystified by a word which has no application to anything ever done in this country, that the Ohio legislature has entered into a grave and expensive investigation into it, without sensibly diminishing the fog, or discovering that the whole trouble, so far as there is any, lies in not having an equitable rule, involved in the charter of the corporation, or embodied in the policy itself, for its cash surrender when its further premium becomes due and is not paid.

If a man for the protection of his dependent family wishes to make a contract with a life insurance bank, for better or worse, to cover his whole life, and by its terms to forfeit whatever he has in the bank and its interest, together with any surplus from his payments over the cost of the insurance he has enjoyed, whenever he wishes to retire, why should he be precluded by law? Must we depend altogether on statutes to keep fathers from giving away their own interests? Yet, as no such forfeitures as above described are necessary for the solvency of a life insurance company, a legislature may very well refuse to give companies of its own creation the right to make contracts which no well-informed citizen, not of a speculative turn of mind, would take.

There is no possibility of illustrating a subject so wide as life insurance in its application to all grades and classes of society, and so various in its forms of procedure, motives, and plans, within the space of a moderate article. I can only say, in closing, that some of the most faulty plans have been worked by men whose honesty has been faultless, and their energy has achieved such vast results as to counteract the malign effects of the faults they have adopted. Socially, life insurance, as it stands, is one of the brightest spots in our national horizon, and it is extending its influence from ours to other continents.

ELIZUR WRIGHT.

# RADICALISM IN FRANCE.

## I.

POLITICAL parties have at least one trait in common with dramatic writers—that is, their extreme repugnance to recognize that almost always their defeats should be laid to their own faults. It is extremely rare, indeed, for an author to explain his want of success otherwise than as due to the incapability of the actors, or to the rain or snow, or to excessive heat, or to some other climatic condition apt to exert an unfavorable influence on the public. Undoubtedly it would be much simpler to admit that the piece was hissed solely because it was poor; but that is the last explanation of which the unfortunate playwright will dream.

In the same way parties, when they behold public opinion abandoning them, never look upon this general defection as a direct consequence of their own detestable policy; on the contrary, they exert all their ingenuity to discover remote causes, of a machiavelic and most complicated nature, and thus free themselves from the necessity of admitting their own errors and allow themselves to continue in them. For example, no one can ever make the Opportunist faction admit that, if the late defenders of the Monarchical idea in France have, during the last few years, regained part of the ground which they had lost in 1877, it is due exclusively to the unpardonable faults committed by the coterie which seized the power, and to the powerless condition in which the Radical party has found itself in the last two legislatures.

The 16th of May had found all the Republicans up and united for the defense of the Republic. This masquerade of a *coup d'état* over, the people, who had suffered from it during seven months, had perhaps a right to expect from the Republic, now regaining the upper hand, something different from a counterfeit of the grotesque *régime* which had just fallen to pieces. People said:

"Well, at last we are going to find out what a Republican government is." But, we have found out nothing whatever; and, from all appearances, we shall be yet a good while in the same ignorance. MM. de MacMahon, de Broglie, and their accomplices, in a few months, had brought two thousand five hundred suits against the press, without counting hundreds of prosecutions against railway employees who were charged with being colporteurs of newspapers under the guise of merely gathering up the loose sheets left in the cars by the passengers. Twenty-five hundred lawsuits! This truly was a fine figure, and it was difficult to surpass it; nor has it been attempted. But, if they are less numerous now than in 1877, the political trials are really quite as ridiculous, with the difference that they are more odious. The journalists imprisoned by M. de Broglie were never dragged, handcuffed, into jails prepared to receive them; yet, such is the treatment borne by two of the writers for the Radical Socialist press. The trials of the 16th of May were by the Empire, and the prosecutions by the Opportunist Republic are of the 16th of May. The label is altered, but the methods of action are exactly the same. Is it wonderful, then, that the people who witness a constant postponing of the promised reforms, and who listen, disheartened, to the repeated eulogies of men whom they have trusted, have no longer that generous confidence and enthusiastic faith which they manifested ten years ago? Assuredly, this result is lamentable; but who should be blamed if not those who, holding an undisputed power, have not even kept a single one of the engagements which they had made while they were members of the opposition?

At present the Radicals are charged with having sown disunion among the Republicans, and of having by their secession compromised the Republic itself. For my part, I do not believe that in France the republican form of government is in danger; the election of two hundred Monarchical deputies is merely an accident which I will explain by and by; it has not the threatening signification which people seek to attach to it. But if we wish justly to divide up the responsibilities which have been incurred, it is proper to recall, in the first place, the rôle played these last years by the two principal factions of the democratic party. The actual position of the Radicals, and the future which is without doubt reserved for them, will quite naturally follow from this simple *exposé*.

## II.

Let us suppose that a foreigner, little familiar with our internal affairs, should have the luck to meet an honest man on his way—there are some such to be met here and there—and put this question to him :

"Would you tell me what they mean in this country by the word 'Radicalism,' and why a certain number of your compatriots raise their hands to heaven, and with plaintive shrieks, like the osprey, declare solemnly that France is lost, every time that it is proposed to call to power those whom you style 'Radicals' ?"

It is certain that the Frenchman of good faith, whose existence I have ventured to suppose, would not hesitate to reply in the most civil manner possible :

"Well, sir, we understand by *Radicalism* the body of political doctrines which the Republican party has constantly professed, and of social reforms which it has unceasingly demanded, up to the moment when a fraction of this party, having attained to power, was placed in a position to apply the one and realize the other."

This reply, the sincerity of which leaves nothing further to be desired, would perhaps somewhat astonish the foreigner, who might thus pursue his interrogatory :

"The Radicals, if I understand you rightly, are then those Republicans who have remained faithful to the principles heretofore defended by the democratic opposition ? But the others—

"The others have discovered that the holding of public offices, with all that it brings of honor and of emolument, was well worth the making of some concessions ; and they have got rid of their convictions of the past, which were beginning to become irksome. Feeling, moreover, that power, which is often disagreeable and always oppressive to those who have to bear it, is full of charm for those who exercise it, they have made in all simplicity a public display of their wishes and their expectations by entitling themselves *Government Radicals.*"

"Why Radicals ? Have you not just told me that they have repudiated their former opinions ?

"*Repudiated* is not the exact term, as the immense majority of the electors are firmly attached to those opinions ; and the so-called *Government Radicals* have taken good care not to condemn them. They have confined themselves to merely declaring inopportune all

the reforms which awhile ago seemed to them the most urgent. So that, if they be also called *Opportunists*, it is absolutely by way of antiphrasis ; for they have raised Inopportunism to the dignity of a parliamentary institution."

Such would unquestionably be the reply of a man of good faith to a foreigner who might be curious to learn the situation of parties in France. It is summed up, moreover, in the ironical expression of Berryer, nearly half a century ago : "The liberal ministers are very rarely ministers of liberality."

The fact is that, since the first presidential election of M. Grévy, that is since 1879, the *Opportunists* have held power in an almost permanent fashion. And what have they done with it ? What reform have they carried out ? What abuses have they abolished ? What improvements have they accomplished ? Let us see :

Six years ago our budget showed a surplus of receipts of over two hundred millions. To-day it not only does not balance, but the surplus of receipts has disappeared to make way for a deficit so enormous that no one dare confess the exact figure.

Our army, reorganized at the cost of the most onerous sacrifices, is now cut up, dislocated, disorganized ; the plan for general mobilization cannot be carried into effect ; the defense of our territory is in a compromised condition ; and such is the squandering of the public treasure that there could not be found in the state treasury the few millions required for the casting of the fortress guns necessary to protect our territory from a surprise, possible at any moment, now that we have lost the line of the Rhine.

The French navy is in no better condition ; its vessels, worn out by a long cruise in the Chinese waters and the Indian seas, require immediate repairs which will cost many millions ; its arsenals are empty ; its marines and sailors worn out and decimated in Tonquin and Madagascar, to-day fill the hospitals and the cemeteries.

The leading public works are at a stand-still for want of money, or are intrusted to companies who content themselves with pocketing the profits, leaving the expense to be borne by the State ; the roads for rapid transit, the arteries along which flows the wealth that is the very life of nations, have just been handed over to railway companies under agreements the execution of which has been one of the gross scandals of the day.

Commerce and industrial pursuits crushed with taxes, ruined by transportation rates fabulously enormous, confess that they cannot hold their own with foreign competition.

Add to this, the creation of a multitude of needless offices which increase by nearly one hundred millions—one hundred millions (all must have read it)—the list of expenditures of the public administration ; the Catholic clergy raising their heads and becoming once more arrogant in proportion as they note the progress of the general discontent ; finally, the monarchical conspiracy succeeding in putting into the Chamber of Deputies two hundred of its bounden adherents, and proclaiming aloud its factious expectations ; and you will have a true picture of the results produced by five years of Opportunist government.

## III.

If the singular governors who have placed France in this sad state had merely betrayed their short-sightedness and want of skill, we might still forgive them the grave faults which they have committed, incapacity and weakness of mind never being considered criminal. But there can be no doubt that, in abandoning the traditional programme of the Republican party, in entangling the country in a disastrous adventure, the Opportunists have been governed by prepossessions that are purely personal, and which absolutely they dare not avow.

It is in this way that the annexation of Tunis had for its object and result to enrich a certain number of politicians whose names are known to all. The scheme was of the simplest, and it succeeded perfectly ; the French army went to Tunis under the pretext of putting a stop to the incursions of the Khroumirs ; the Regency was annexed, and the Tunisian debt charged to France. Immediately the bonds of this debt, which the grocers for a long time had been using to make superb bags of and the hair-dressers to work out pretty hair-papers, rose to par. Well, as the relatives and friends of Minister Ferry, forewarned of the lucky moment, had taken care to seize all these Tunisian securities which had not yet been sold to the old-papermen, we beheld all at once Deputies, who fifteen days previously had no soles to their boots and were pitilessly refused any credit by tailors, full of diffidence—we beheld these men buying real estate worth 600,000 francs, ordering from the sculptor Antonin Mercié statues of the most undoubted

Carrara marble, supporting in riches high-priced courtesans, and having carved by the jeweler Odiot silver services the cost of which represented at least ten years of parliamentary compensation.

This sudden metamorphosis did not come about without arousing some clamor. There were some journalists so indiscreet as to express astonishment at this sudden prosperity and to seek out the cause of it. One of these journalists was prosecuted, and his trial caused a great noise; the upper ranks of the administration, the diplomatic body, the army, made haste to testify against this abominable scribbler who allowed himself to denounce these little intrigues of men in office. But the jury acquitted the journalist, and it remains judicially settled that the Tunisian enterprise had been in reality only a shameless financial speculation, or, more properly speaking, a deliberate theft mixed with assassination, whose authors should have been brought before the Court of Assizes, instead of the journalist whom they had the barefacedness to prosecute.

Indeed MM. Ferry and Roustan had formed a partnership, the object of which was to bring down to the price of mere paper the securities of the Tunisian debt, and then buy them in for the price of a crust of bread.

It was to carry out this memorable swindle that thousands of our soldiers went to perish in Africa from sunstroke and want. The war in Tunis has been compared to that in Mexico. Surely enough they have an appearance of resemblance which binds Opportunism so well to Bonapartism. The history of the Tunisian bonds is, with but slight difference, that of the Jecker bonds. In each case it was a question of spilling French blood for the purpose of filling the coffers of a lot of impostors who were despoiling those whom they pretend to govern.

The comparatively easy carrying out of the Tunisian scheme had piqued the appetite of all the swindlers who have made Parliament a branch of the Bourse. Moreover, all appetites were not satisfied by any means. Among the knowing ones, for whom politics is only the art of becoming rich with the shortest delay possible, one awaited impatiently *une concession de mise*, another had in his pocket the plan of a railroad extremely oriental; there were two or three, all senators or deputies, who had in joint elaboration got up the statutes for a colonial bank without even

knowing for what colony they reserved the advantages of their genial concepts. Another influential personage, a sawbones from the college, dreamed of quitting the Academy of Sciences to go play viceroy beyond the seas; finally, a general wished to have his devotedness rewarded with the gift of a command-in-chief.

In order to satisfy all these ambitious aspirations a new expedition was decided upon, that of Tonquin. I will not retrace its lamentable and bloody history; it is fresh in the memory of all, both in Europe and in the New World. I will merely recall the shortsightedness with which this silly adventure was entered into and carried out. It was necessary to conquer, four thousand leagues from the coast of France, an immense empire of not less than 18,000,000 inhabitants; and 400 men under the command of Captain Rivière were sent to do it.

The result of this foolhardy enterprise was easy to foresee. Rivière had his throat cut, and those of the French troops who had not fallen with him found themselves penned in Hanoï. Then, under pretext of avenging Rivière, fresh troops were sent to Tonquin, and more millions demanded of the Chamber. From that time forward the Radical press protested energetically against the blind policy which, while pretending to enrich France, was ruining her for a long time, and which sent soldiers to die in heaps on the banks of the Red River, while 2,000,000 German bayonets are gathered along the frontier of the Vosges.

A writer—the same who pens these lines—had predicted, three years ago, that this sad expedition would cost 500,000,000 and 50,000 men. This prediction, alas, has been but too well fulfilled. From one disaster to another, we finally reached that lame peace which, while constituting France guardian of public order in Tonquin, compels her to keep there a whole army corps, the costly maintenance of which weighs heavily on our finances.

It was at this conjuncture that the elections occurred from which came forth the present chamber. By making use of the unpardonable faults committed by the Opportunist faction, by posing as the friends of peace, by pointing to the Treasury empty and to the army disorganized, the Monarchists have succeeded in sending to the Chamber a somewhat large number of their representatives. But it is well to remember, that the form even of the government has not been for one single moment called in question; and it is not the Republic which the country holds responsible for

the criminal follies of a coterie from whom it has been found necessary to wrest the power.

IV.

If the Liberal party has not done all it might and should have done to oppose a policy which it judged to be dangerous ; if at all times it has lacked energy and decision, at least it has not shared in the grave faults which have been committed during these last six years. It condemned the Tunisian enterprise, fought against the Tonquin expedition, pointed out the dilapidation of our finances, and protested against the disorganization of the Army. It is outside of it that party, and in spite of it that the government of the country, has been carried on since the resignation of President MacMahon. So its credit has increased throughout the country from year to year; and at the last elections we have witnessed the Opportunist candidates themselves display the Radical colors in order to be nominated.

When M. Freycinet, last January, formed the cabinet which is now at the head of affairs, he understood without difficulty that he had to reckon upon the Radical groups which controlled a hundred votes in the Chamber, and he offered two port-folios to two members of the Extreme Left, MM. Lockroy and Granet.

It is true that, after making this concession, M. Freycinet deemed that he was all right with the Radicals, and quietly persisted in his Opportunist policy, which consists in governing the Republic with Monarchical laws.

There are subtle and pliant minds that never feel so much at ease as when living in dim light. M. de Freycinet is one of them.

We might apply to the system of government preferred by the President of the Council a saying of Victor Hugo's about the Clerical party. Victor Hugo said that the Clericals understand admirably well how to carry on a "government by lethargy." No formula could better characterise the method of M. de Freycinet. He has a genius for setting people asleep. No one knows better than he how to shuffle with difficulties, put off decision, toy with the Left without angering the Right, and by the power of insinuating subtlety secure the prolongation for months of a state of affairs, utterly impossible to any one else. This policy has only one defect ; but that is a capital defect, it is true : a politician who proposes to please every one can get along only by deceiving all parties,

one after the other. To do this he is bound to have no settled policy on any question; that is the indispensable condition of his success. Keeping every one in suspense by making each one believe that perhaps his plan will be adopted—that is the policy to adopt. But, there always comes a time when each party demands the fulfillment of the promises made to it. Thiers for two years played this game of seesaw, and in spite of all his skill he ended in being caught in his own snares.

I do not know but that I may be mistaken; but it seems to me that at the very time I write, the Freycinet Ministry is in a pretty bad way. What renders parliamentary government, so-called, as it is practised in France, a never-ending joke, is the mania which ministers have for keeping the knife constantly at the throat of the Chamber:

"There is what you must vote for, or we withdraw!"

Soliciting from the Chamber at every moment orders-of-the-day of confidence, is but to run to an inevitable fall within a specified time. You may be granted ten, twenty, and thirty. After that, if the majority refuses you a thirty-first, you find yourself compelled to give up your port-folios.

This is, perhaps, what will soon happen to the Freycinet Ministry, even though it has been supported for the last six months by the Parliamentary Radicals with a devotedness which at times has gone so far as to forget Republican principles. I will cite an illustration which has its importance; for the fact of which I wish to speak has considerably changed the situation of the Radical party, and in the future will have incalculable consequences.

Last February, a strike broke out in the south of France, at Decazeville—a strike provoked, as always happens, by a reduction of wages. Supported by the whole Socialistic press, which at once hastened to open subscription-lists in their favor, the strikers resisted every attempt at intimidation; and, at this very time, they have not resumed work. If during this long strike the peace has not been disturbed for one moment at Decazeville; if there has been no blood shed, it is due (and this is incontestible) to the exhortations of two *Intransigeant* journalists, MM. Ernest Roche, editor of the *Intransigeant*, and Duc. Quercy, editor of the *Cri du Peuple*.

Both of them, for over two months, have never ceased to call

on the workmen to remain calm, and they ended by gaining over the strikers considerable influence.

Irritated by the continuance of this strike, which was injuring their interests, certain influential financiers persuaded the Ministry that it would suffice to make the miners resume their work immediately if Roche and Quercy were removed. One morning both journalists were brutally arrested and dragged in chains through the whole town. Some days afterward, in contempt of the most formal processes of law, a servile tribunal condemned MM. Roche and Quercy, contrary to all law and all justice, to fifteen months imprisonment, under the pretext that they had made an attack upon liberty to labor.

This unique sentence, which was applauded by the Opportunists and the Monarchists, aroused among the Radicals (even among those who, like M. Clémenceau, had never approved the attitude of MM. Roche and Quercy) a general indignation. Only however, that, while the "Parliamentary Radicals" were satisfied with formulating in their newspapers platonic protestations, the Socialist Radicals prepared to manifest, in a way to arrest attention, their too well founded discontent. The opportunity presented itself quite *à propos*. As a consequence of the resignation of M. Henri Rochefort, a deputy's seat became vacant at Paris. One of the two journalists arrested and condemned for the strike at Decazeville, M. Ernest Roche, was then nominated by all the branches of the Socialist party, they thus combining for the first time.

One might believe that all the "Parliamentary Radicals," of whom M. Clémenceau is the head, would not hesitate to rally to the support of this candidate, and would join in an absolutely pacific and entirely legal protestation. After some hesitation, however, and notwithstanding the very lively remonstrances of a large number of his friends, M. Clémenceau determined to set up an opposition candidate against the Socialist Radical.

The contest then began between M. Ernest Roche, supported by three journals only, and the candidate of M. Clémenceau, M. Gaulier, who united in his support all the Radical press, the benevolent neutrality of the Opportunist press, and the avowed complicity of the Ministry. Naturally, M. Gaulier was elected; but, contrary to all expectation, the Socialist candidate received over 100,000 votes, whereas the most favorable forecasts allowed him scarcely 60,000.

I have deemed it necessary to relate with some detail this electoral incident, because it was the point of departure for an absolutely new state of affairs, and the occasion of a break-up which I look upon as irrevocable.

In putting up a Radical candidate against the Socialist candidate, M. Clémenceau has sought to save the Ministry which he has been supporting for six months from getting a severe lesson and from experiencing a painful check, not deeming himself yet ready to receive his inheritance. It is not, moreover, the first sacrifice which the head of the "Parliamentary Radicals" has made for the Freycinet cabinet. A few months previously he had (always to please the ministries in power) contributed powerfully toward the rejection of an amnesty proposition in favor of political prisoners—a proposition which had been supported and demanded by the majority of advanced Republicans.

The result of the recent election in Paris was to cut the Radical party in twain. Undoubtedly M. Clémenceau has kept about him his faithful staff, all the deputies of whom he expects to make ministers and under-secretaries of state, or whose re-election he thinks he holds in his hands. But he has lost, and lost forever, part of his army—the most devoted portion and the most sincere. The political associations which thus far have been feeling his influence have left him, and fight openly against him; finally, in the very district which he has represented for fifteen years in the Chamber—Montmartre—M. Clémenceau is assailed in force by the Socialists.

## V.

A neat saying is reported of M. Clémenceau to M. Grévy, who was sounding him to learn whether he was disposed to assume power if the occasion should arise:

"But, M. le Président, do you want to make me put up my twenty-eight days?"

In the form of a pleasant repartee this is indeed a statement of the truth. For, it is evident that, for the first time since the Revolution, the "Parliamentary Radicals" will soon reach power in the person of M. Clémenceau and his friends. But it is no less certain that their management of affairs will be of short duration.

The Clémenceau ministry, in which there will certainly be places for M. Camille Pelletan, editor-in-chief of *La Justice*, an

orator of great talent and a very distinguished journalist, and for M. Charles Floquet, now President of the Chamber—this ministry will have at the very outset to struggle against the formidable coalition of the Monarchists and Opportunists. As a result, it is condemned from the start. On this point M. Clémenceau has no illusion; but he at the same time knows that, whatever fate may await him in power, it is not possible for him to decline the offer which the President of the Republic is about to make him very soon. This explains the support, often not recognized, which the "Parliamentary Radicals" have given to the Freycinet cabinet: they supported it, at times against their feelings, so as not to be obliged prematurely to assume their onerous succession.

M. Clémenceau, who is subtle and pliant—for whose character, however, I have a particular esteem—has not perhaps all the qualities necessary for a statesman. He is a very remarkable debater, extremely witty, and full of resources; he is not an orator in the parliamentary sense of the word. He frequently convinces; he never carries one along with him. In private life he has courage equal to any emergency, but in many circumstances of his public life he has seemed to me to lack boldness and clearness of vision. Thus, on the Tonquin question, while criticising with surprising vigor and powerful argument that foolish and criminal expedition, he did not dare to declare himself in favor of the recall of our troops and the evacuation of the place—although at heart he sympathized with this idea.

So, also, on the question of amnesty for political crimes and misdemeanors, although firmly convinced of the necessity of such a measure of pacification and reparation, he did not assume that well defined and firm attitude which could have had an important influence on the result of the debate.

Finally, M. Clémenceau takes hold of public affairs with the apprehension that he cannot realize his own programme; and this, to begin with, is an unfortunate condition to be in when one desires to achieve success in the end. The first reform to be carried out, the most essential one,—that is, the reduction of expenses,—can never be brought to a favorable issue except by an energetic and determined will. The minister who will essay to reduce the expenses of the administration, to suppress the countless unnecessary offices, will behold aroused against him that terrible storm of interests threatened by his measure, and the fury of the "bureaux."

Now, with us (and I suppose it is the same with other people) what we call "bureaux" is, properly speaking, the government itself. Always, when ministers have reached power, they have pretended to be inspired with a spirit essentially reformatory; but, when asked to show what their reforms were, they have invariably replied :

"We have found it impossible to make any : the 'bureaux' have prevented us."

And they abandoned the reforms, instead of abandoning the "bureaux." So that France, in truth, for centuries, has not failed to be governed by office-holders with their black silk caps and sleeves of green *lustrine*.

This explains why the ambition of every minister has been constantly to get from the Chambers the largest possible budget. Every one of them, interpreting faithfully and with docility the wishes of the "bureaux," exclaims :

"Cut down all you choose from my colleagues, but it is impossible for me to allow one centime to be taken from my appropriation."

It would be at once a great satisfaction, and an immense surprise for the public in the end, to hear the head of the Interior Department, or of the Foreign Office, make a declaration such as this from the tribune :

"I used two hundred and fifty millions last year ; I beg of you earnestly to allow me only one hundred and ninety this year."

Will M. Clémenceau, when minister, use such language as this? I have no doubt that his intentions are very sincere. I have difficulty to believe that he will be allowed to do it.

Well, then, I repeat that such a reduction of expenses, at once so necessary and so difficult to accomplish, is the chief and the most urgent of all reforms in the present state of our finances. If I were to believe certain confidential statements made to me, M. Clémenceau's plan on reaching power would be to take hold of one of the following weighty questions : First, a modification of our financial system by laying a tax on income; second, the separation of church and state; third, to bring Paris back to common law and to communal autonomy.

M. Clémenceau will probably select the question of the separation of church and state, which is a ripe one, and will place it clearly before Parliament. And then, what? One of two things will

happen, either Parliament will agree to follow the minister in this path of radical reform, or, on the other hand (and M. Clémenceau expects this), he will be overthrown at the outset. In this case "he will fall to the Left," after having proved that he did not seek power for power's sake, but in order to carry out the ideas which he had developed while he was on the opposition benches.

An honorable withdrawal of this sort will restore to M. Clémenceau, without any doubt, some of the sympathy which his hesitating policy in latter times has estranged. But the break-up which has recently taken place between the Socialist Radicals and the Parliamentary Radicals is none the less thorough. The suffering masses, in fact, have scarcely any more faith in the advantage of political reforms; they take less and less interest in the questions debated before Parliament; and the claims for social reforms are making themselves heard in more and more formidable ways.

The Radicals, if called to power, will probably not maintain themselves there long; but we may rest assured that they will return to power, through the force of events, with a programme bolder and more revolutionary than the one they are about to essay. It is in the logic of things that the Radical party should inevitably return to power; for although sometimes it has been found possible to cook a dish from which the hare was entirely missing, the means have never yet been found to keep alive a democratic republic while constantly excluding from power the sincere and devoted republicans. The Opportunists, it is true, pretend that they also are republicans—at least, as much so as the Radicals; but it is difficult to attach the least importance to the opinions of those fine tricksters, who should tie a handful of straw to their conscience to show that it is always for sale.

HENRI ROCHEFORT.

# LABOR IN PENNSYLVANIA.

## I.

THE population of Pennsylvania, by the last census, was 4,282,891, and in composition approximated more closely to the normal standard than most American States, males being to females as 213 to 214 (excluding decimals); native born to foreign born as 36 to 5, and white to colored as 419 to 8. This is a more nearly equal proportion of sexes than in any of the adjoining States; a smaller proportion of foreign born than in New Jersey, New York, or Ohio, and a smaller proportion of colored than in Delaware, Maryland, or West Virginia.

This population was distributed over an area one-third larger than Ireland, and within one-seventh as large as England, giving an average of but 95 to the square mile, as compared with 159 to the square mile in Ireland and 484 in England. There is here certainly no crowding, and such a population on such an area ought to be able to make good wages for themselves unless nature were exceptionally niggard. But, in point of fact, it may be doubted if there is on the earth's surface another area of 43,000 square miles, which, considering all things, is better fitted by nature to yield large returns to labor. With a temperate climate, with water communication with the Atlantic, the Great Lakes, and the Gulf of Mexico, with rich loamy valleys, and hills underlaid with iron and coal, Pennsylvania has also, in vast reservoirs of mineral oil and natural gas, what seem like the latest and most lavish of nature's contributions to man's service. In all the material of wealth she is, even on the surface, a rich State; but her surpassing natural resources lie below the surface. The stores of heat, light, and motive power, which the energy streaming from the sun for countless ages has accumulated beneath her soil, make Pennsylvania far richer to civilized man than would have been that favored spot in which, according to the old-world myth, the first laborer appeared—to make a living and rear a family without asking employment from any capitalist or dreaming of the need of a custom-house.

And, while in Pennsylvania nature has been so lavish in the materials and opportunities which she offers to labor, her people have not been satisfied, but have endeavored to supplement the gifts of the bountiful mother by invoking the protection of a paternal government. For a time longer than the oldest Pennsylvanian can remember, the great aim of Pennsylvania policy in the sisterhood of States has been the encouragement and protection of Pennsylvania labor. There is something almost touching in the devotion which even the rich and powerful have in Pennsylvania shown for the interests of the laborer. Great manufacturers, wealthy iron-masters, powerful combinations of employers, have seemed to forget all about themselves while they besought Congress to help labor. Nor has this devotion been unregarded. While nature has been most lavish in the materials and opportunities which she has provided for labor in Pennsylvania, Congress has also been most gracious, and the taxes that without compunction have been asked for the benefit of Pennsylvanian labor have been voted without stint. To satisfy Pennsylvania's plea for "the protection of labor," the whole foreign commerce of what would otherwise have been the greatest maritime nation of the world has been sacrificed, until now an American ship is becoming a curiosity on the deep sea; to give Pennsylvanians what upon their own showing is a scant profit of 50 cents per ton, the railways of the Pacific States are compelled to pay $16 per ton more for rails,* while sections of the country that use no Pennsylvania coal must, to assure protection to Pennsylvania labor, pay on the coal they do use a duty larger than the cost of mining it.

But, in spite of the lavish gifts of the bountiful mother, and in spite of all the fatherly care of the General Government, the conditions of labor in Pennsylvania are anything but satisfactory, as is shown to the most heedless by the constant reports of strikes and labor troubles that come from that State.† Yet the great ma-

* Testimony of Mr. Joseph Wharton, representing several of the great iron and steel companies of Pennsylvania, before the Ways and Means Committee, March, 1886, against a reduction of duties. Mr. Wharton testified that English rails could be placed in San Francisco for $25.84 per ton, exclusive of duty, or $42.84 per ton, duty paid, while Pennsylvania rails cost in San Francisco $42.42 per ton; and that this represented so low a rate of profit that a reduction of 50 cents per ton in the duty would take away the trade from the Pennsylvania makers. "In New Orleans," he added, "the conditions are nearly the same."

† Nothing like a record of these strikes is easily obtained; but I am told by

jority of these strikes are never heard of beyond the localities where they occur. Some of the strikes are trivial in extent, embracing only a single colliery or a single works, and continuing only for a few days. Others involve the cessation of work over wide districts and for long periods. Some of them occur for causes that seem light if not ridiculous—as, for instance, one protracted strike in an anthracite colliery which grew out of an edict that the miners should not keep goats, and which, having been ended by the removal of the "anti-goat" superintendent, has been celebrated by a local bard in the song of "Hopkins and the Goats." Some of them could evidently have been easily avoided by anything like a spirit of mutual respect and conciliation, as, for instance, a recent strike in an iron works, precipitated by the imperious treatment of a delegation of workmen who had been deputed to present a grievance; some of them are doubtless provoked by employers with a view to their effects upon markets; but others, again, are well-considered attempts to force advances or reductions which involve differences too wide to be settled by any other appeal than the trial of strength, or rather of endurance—for the strike, when unaccompanied by violence, is simply a game of "starve-out," a trial as to which of two parties will the longer submit to loss, and (on the part of the men) suffering.

Whatever may be thought of the policy of strikes (and there seems to be a growing feeling of their general impolicy on the part of at least large sections of Pennsylvania workmen), the fact that they so often occur shows anything but just and wholesome conditions in the relations of labor. Men dependent upon their daily labor do not strike for the sheer fun of striking, and even foolish and reckless strikes, when they occur in any number, indicate a chronic irritation that can only proceed from real grievances.

At the request of the editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, I have recently endeavored to learn something of the conditions of labor in Pennsylvania, particularly in her great mining indus-

Mr. Thomas A. Armstrong, editor of the Pittsburgh "Labor Tribune," the organ of the Western Pennsylvania coal and iron labor associations, that an examination of the files of his paper showed four hundred strikes officially reported during three months in 1881. Many of these strikes were in other States, yet, according to Mr. Armstrong, this count did not include anything like all the strikes that actually took place; nor yet was 1881 a specially "good year for strikes," which have even increased since that time, climaxing apparently in the spring of this year.

tries, and to obtain from the laborers themselves their side of the story. In this and following papers I shall lay the results of this inquiry before the readers of the REVIEW as fully as the space at my disposal permits.

Any examination of the subject of work and wages will at once show how easy it is to convey a false impression with an appearance of exact statement. Thus, when for political purposes it is desired to show how much better off is the "highly paid American laborer" than "the pauper laborer of Europe," the favorite method (and this is pursued even in official documents), is to take the highest rate of wages paid in the particular occupation and assume that it indicates the earnings of the year. But not only are there large differences between wages paid in the same occupation in different localities even in the same State (and how very large are some of these differences in Pennsylvania I will hereafter show), but the rate of wages per day or per week will not give the true earnings unless the time of employment is also taken into consideration.

It is to the credit of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Industrial Statistics under its present head, Joel B. McCamant, of Pottsville, that it has endeavored to avoid such causes of misconception, and has laid more stress upon the important distinction between what it terms "theoretical wages" and actual earnings than to my knowledge has yet been given it by any of our statistical bureaus. In all respects, the reports of the Pennsylvania Bureau show a commendable desire to arrive at the facts without reference to their bearing upon theories, and it is to be regretted that its operations should be hampered by the meagerness of the appropriation made for its expenses.

Coal mining is, next to agriculture, the greatest of Pennsylvania industries, and, consequently, the greatest of her "protected" industries, employing, according to the estimates of the Bureau of Industrial Statistics, nearly 140,000 persons, of whom something over two-thirds are employed in the anthracite mines of the eastern part of the State, and something less than one-third in the bituminous mines of the western part.*

In the report of the Bureau for 1884, the "highest average wages" of miners on contract in the anthracite districts is given

* The figures for 1885 are, in anthracite mining, 95,055; bituminous mining, 44,006.

at $2.70 per day, and for miners on wages $2 per day; while in the bituminous region, the highest average wages are given at $2 per day. What is meant by highest average wages is, the average obtained by excluding districts in which exceptionally low wages prevail, and "miners," as thus used, applies only to a part of those engaged in getting out coal—namely, to those who have charge of the operation of breaking out the coal. In addition to these are inside and outside laborers, whose highest average wages are given—in the anthracite districts at $1.78 and $1.40, and in the bituminous districts at $1.75 and $1.60, besides drivers and runners, slate-pickers, blacksmiths, carpenters, engineers; and in the coke districts, oven chargers and drawers.

But what prevents these average rates of wages from giving anything like a fair idea of real earnings is the lost time. This loss (exclusive of Sundays and holidays) amounted in 1884 to an average of 128 days in the anthracite and 110 days in the bituminous coal fields, and in 1885, to 111 days in the anthracite, and 112 in the bituminous.

The Bureau of Industrial Statistics makes the following comparison of theoretical and actual weekly wages for 1884, the estimates being based on the "*highest* average wages paid," and the average time of work during the year.

ANTHRACITE MINES.

| | *Theoretical.* | *Actual.* |
|---|---|---|
| Miners on contract | $16.20 | $8.84 |
| Miners on wages | 12.00 | 7.00 |
| Laborers, inside | 10.68 | 6.14 |
| Laborers, outside | 8.40 | 4.91 |
| Boys | 3.90 | 2.07 |
| Drivers and runners | 8.58 | 5.32 |
| Firemen | 9.48 | 5.73 |
| Engineers | 11.28 | 8.84 |
| Blacksmiths | 11.46 | 7.16 |
| Slate-pickers, boss | 9.30 | 5.60 |
| Slate-pickers, boys | 3.00 | 1.70 |

BITUMINOUS MINES.

| | *Theoretical.* | *Actual.* |
|---|---|---|
| Miners | $12.00 | $7.10 |
| Laborers, inside | 10.50 | 6.30 |
| Laborers, outside | 9.60 | 5.61 |
| Boys | 3.60 | 2.70 |
| Drivers | 10.50 | 6.20 |
| Blacksmiths | 12.00 | 7.20 |
| Coke-oven chargers | 10.20 | 6.04 |
| Coke-oven drawers | 9.90 | 5.68 |
| Mine bosses | 16.80 | 12.00 |
| Carpenters | 10.50 | 7.00 |

In the forthcoming report for 1885, it is estimated that the total amount returned as paid in wages in coal mining would, if divided equally between all returned as employed, give $6.67 per week in anthracite mining and $6.21 in bituminous mining. In this computation boys are, of course, averaged with men ; but, *per contra*, the report states that "there were at least 14,000 persons employed in coal mining who received wages out of the wage fund who are not reported among the average number of persons employed," so that this average, which substantially agrees with statements made by the miners themselves, is probably a close approximation to the earnings per adult. The miners themselves put their average earnings (for miners proper) at from $35 to $20 per month, according to locality.

The excess in the number of persons really employed over those returned, which is referred to by the Bureau, is due to the fact that the name of one person is sometimes carried on the pay-rolls where in reality more are employed. This custom accounts for the exceptionally high wages which are sometimes pointed to as evidence of what industrious miners can do. What seem like the large earnings of one man, are thus often, in reality, the earnings of a man and a boy, or of two men, and in one case of which I was told, in Westmoreland County, the credit on the pay-roll of $86 to one man for a month's work proved upon inquiry to be in reality the earnings of four persons—the man himself, a boarder who worked with him, and his wife and daughter, whose pay for work done around the company's offices was lumped with his.

On the highest estimate that can be made the wages of the Pennsylvania coal miners are miserably low, especially when the character of the occupation is considered. For the coal miner (save when "stripping" is resorted to) works underground in a darkness "made visible" only by the dim rays of the lamp he carries in his hat. Oftentimes he works in places where it is impossible to stand upright. His clothes are constantly wet from the dripping of the rocks, and take what care he may he can hardly escape rheumatism. And besides this, is the risk of sudden dangers—of deadly fire-damp, of falling masses of rock, of unexpected explosions, or of being emtombed alive, to starve or suffocate before aid can possibly come. Yet low as are the earnings of these miners, there are certain deductions which must be made from them to get at the true rewards of this hard and dangerous

labor. All miners working by contract, or at the rate of so much per ton (the usual way), must pay out of their earnings for the explosives they use, and for the sharpening of their tools, while all underground workers must pay for the oil and cotton they burn in their lamps. Further than this, the wages are largely paid, not in cash, but in the use of company tenements, and in goods furnished at high prices from "pluck-me" stores.

As a rule, when the operators of the mine control the surface, and where they are not brought into competition with the owners of closely adjacent land upon which stores or dwellings can be built, they will neither sell nor lease building sites, the control of the land giving them better control of their men. The employees are lodged in dreary, monotonous rows of company houses, divided by thin partitions into from two to four tenements of from two to four small rooms. These houses are of wood, built in a cheap and flimsy manner, usually unfinished inside and unpainted outside. The only evidence that there is such a thing as paint in the world (as for whitewash, that seems to be unknown) is generally the company number painted in bold figures; but in some rare cases the doors, and in still rarer cases the whole exterior, has at some time or other been treated to a coat of dull-colored mixture which serves as an apology for paint, and is probably dear to the Pennsylvania heart as a "home production," in the making of which the "pauper labor" of foreign parts has had no share. The rent of these houses differs on different estates, ranging from $2.50 to $9 per month—the average seeming to be about what is stated by the Bureau of Industrial Statistics, $5 per month—and being deducted from the wages earned. This is now illegal in Pennsylvania, the law requiring the payment of wages once a month in cash *or cash orders;* but this, like other legal provisions for the protection of the tenant, is evaded by what the miners term "cut-throat leases," which every tenant of a company house is required to sign. By this cut-throat lease, in which the wife is sometimes required to join, the tenant gives authority for the stoppage of rent out of his wages, waives the benefit of the exemption laws, which reserve to the debtor a certain amount of household effects, and waives also the statutory notice of expulsion, giving legal authority for his eviction at any time upon five days' notice.

In these mining villages every one, therefore (with perhaps the

exception of a clergyman or two, for the owners generally give or lease lots for the erection of churches) is a tenant upon five days' notice. And the results of such tenancy may be seen. There is not the slightest effort at improvement or adornment. Though a few vegetables are frequently cultivated in a little patch at the back of the house, there is an utter absence of the trees, the shrubs, the flowering plants, which may make even the poorest cottage picturesque in summer, or relieve something of the winter bleakness. Men will not improve or adorn habitations from which they may be driven out at five days' notice, even though, as is frequently the case, they may continue to live along all their lives under such a precarious tenancy.

The mere aspect of the hamlets that in the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania stretch out from the tall "breakers," or in the bituminous regions cluster around the tipples, is to the last degree dreary and forbidding, even in the early summer when nature is in her glory. The impression they give is that of a hard, dull, monotonous struggle for mere existence; of human life reduced to little more than animal terms, and shorn of all that gives it dignity and grace and zest. They suggest the poverty-stricken hamlets of Ireland without being so picturesque.

Strange it seems when passing through the mining regions of Pennsylvania to come across newspaper articles on *Irish* landlordism or to read resolutions of Knights of Labor denouncing "land grabbing" in the Far West. If the Pennsylvanian wishes to see land-monopoly, he need cross neither the ocean nor the Mississippi. From many a point in his own State all of the world there is in sight is the legal property of one man or one corporation. All the other "free and independent" citizens of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania whom one sees there may be cut off at a word from the privilege of earning a living, and be thrown out of what they call their homes at five days' notice.

Traveling in Western Ireland four summers ago, I was arrested on "reasonable suspicion," and taken by a squad of policemen to the house of a resident landlord for examination. As the jaunting-car passed his lodge gates and rolled up a noble avenue toward a spacious mansion, it seemed to me the most striking contrast I had ever beheld—as though at the wave of some enchanter's wand we had left Connaught and entered some more favored country. The poverty, the squalor, the harsh bareness of the life that I had

been seeing, were all shut out by the high demesne walls, and in their stead were grand trees, great stretches of well-kept lawn, bright beds of flowers, buildings and their surroundings that gave every evidence of plenty and ease, and instead of bare-footed peasant women, handsomely dressed ladies playing croquet. All this came vividly back to me as, a few weeks since, after passing through a dreary, squalid street of company houses on the outskirts of Hazleton, I paused a little later and peered through the iron railings that fenced in the grounds and residence of their owner. *There* everything was bare and mean and hard, as though the homes of men were but places to eat and sleep in like the stables of horses. Save the company number, not a vestige of paint; not a springing flower or a blossoming shrub. *Here* beds of color that shamed the glory of Solomon's attire, palms from the hot-house contrasting with the foliage of native shade trees, and everything that betokened wealth and taste.

It is not only in what one sees, but in what one hears, that the same parallelism is suggested. Such stories as that I heard in one place, of how the owner of vast stretches of unoccupied land had refused even a site for a little cabin which his fellows proposed to build for a crippled miner who had fought through the war, remind one of the stories that across the sea he who listens to the plaint of the common people may hear. The gulf between landed and landless is not yet so wide, for our continent is broad, and is not yet quite all fenced in; but there is enough to suggest how the man who owns the land on which other men must live becomes at last in all things their master, and learns to look on them as but wealth-producing animals.

The power of the sole landlord enables the operator or superintendent to exercise such control as he cares to and may deem prudent. He may enact dog laws, goat laws, chicken laws, liquor laws, or any other laws that he pleases, short of the point of producing a general revolt; may regulate trade and control amusements. No stores are allowed that will interfere with the "pluck-me" store, and in one case brought under my observation a widow who lived in a little house put up and then abandoned by a former company was prohibited by the new lessee from selling the candies, tape, and shoe-strings by which she had managed to eke out a living. In some places no one is allowed to live in the village unless employed by the company, a young man born on the spot

and still residing with his parents, being compelled to leave if he goes to work elsewhere than for the "lord of the manor." The post-office and telegraph office are in the company store, and the miners often do not like to take labor papers and never think of telegraphing on labor matters. Any objectionable person can readily be got rid of without the need of assigning a reason. For instance, an acquaintance of mine in Carbon County told me how, some years ago, he had returned to the village where he had lived when a boy, and taken board with an old friend. Offended by an act of the superintendent which he deemed a piece of petty tyranny, he passed him one morning on the road without saluting. When he returned at night he found his host and hostess in consternation, the man having been informed that he would no longer be needed in the mine, and notified that he must within five days vacate the house in which he had lived for eight years. No reason had been assigned, and what the reason was they could not imagine. "I know what is the matter," said my informant, "and I will fix it." So preparing to depart, he went next morning to the company's office, and asking to see the superintendent, said, "There is no need for you to punish these people on my account. I will leave the place at once." He left, and the man and his wife are living there yet. Power of this kind is of course frequently used for good purposes. The quarrelsome and dissolute may be banished and liquor-selling prohibited. If liquor is purchased it must be from some traveling wagon or at a neighboring town.

This power of turning a whole population out of their homes at five days' notice is a tremendous weapon for compelling submission in case of a strike, and gives point to such threats as that which a great coal king is credited with during a strike some years since, "I will break this strike or turn Schuylkill County into a howling wilderness." * But though sometimes resorted to, and, as I write, a newspaper item tells of a wholesale eviction in a coal field in Illinois, where the same system prevails, it does not seem to be as freely resorted to on a large scale as one might expect. The explanation seems to be that the operators, even in cases where they do not find milder measures suffice, shrink from arousing the passions that would be engendered by a wholesale eviction, or fear that, having driven the laborers away, they might be troubled to get them back again. From whatever cause, the power of eviction

* He broke the strike.

seems in Pennsylvania to be more used to get rid of objectionable persons and make individuals subservient than to coerce bodies of men.

Company houses, though general, are not universal. Even where they exist, the Italians or Huns, now to be found in considerable numbers in the mining districts, are often permitted to put up little shanties of their own on ground-rent, with the stipulation that they are to work for the company. There are also some places in which native miners are permitted to build houses for themselves on monthly ground-rent. And in some places, generally where there is adjoining property on which lots can be bought, they are permitted or even encouraged to buy lots, the usual price seeming to be from $100 to $150 per lot, mineral rights being of course reserved.* But the possession of their own houses is for obvious reasons not generally desired by men who may at any time be thrown out of employment, and sometimes operates to make the miner even more dependent than if he lived in a company house, since if for any cause he loses work, he may be obliged to abandon or sacrifice his home.† Rather than do this, he sometimes adds to his day's work a walk of miles to and from the mines. And even though he may find work in a mine not far off, he is sometimes obliged to board up his own home and live in a company house, or else pay rent for one, whether he lives in it or not, the rent of their houses being considered by the companies as a rebate to which they are entitled on the cost of labor.

In England, the miner obtains free of charge what coal he needs for household use, and this was formerly the custom in Pennsylvania. Now, however, the rule is, that he must pay for it. In some places a monthly charge for coal—usually $1, but sometimes $2—is added to the rent, and, in addition, 60 or 75 cents per ton is charged for hauling. In other places, the miners pay for their coal at the rate of from $2 to $2.75 per ton.

It seems to be the universal custom that mining supplies—powder, fuses, oil, cotton, etc., must be bought of the company. As the miners put it, "If you go elsewhere to buy powder, you

* One cannot help noticing in all these small towns how much the price paid for land for living purposes exceeds its value for other purposes—being in reality a speculative or monopoly, rather than an economic, rent.

† One coal miner writes to the Pennsylvania Bureau that in the effort to keep in work he had to move five times during 1885.

must go elsewhere to burn it." And it seems to be as universal a custom for the company to charge the miners from twenty to one hundred per cent. more than the ordinary prices. The great corporations like the Reading and the Lehigh Valley Companies, which have so largely displaced individual operators in the anthracite coal regions give, however, some countenance to the saying "Lions do not catch mice," since whether from conscience, from disdain, or because their managers have been too busy with larger methods of extortion, they have not yet established company stores, but let their miners buy their household supplies where they please. With these exceptions, the company, or as the miners call it, the "pluck-me," store system is general in the Pennsylvania coal regions. The "pluck-me" store is not always kept by the company, but is sometimes farmed out or conceded to a separate firm, in which the superintendent or other members of the operating company have interests.

These "pluck-me" stores seem to well deserve the name the miners have given them, the prices charged in them running from 15 to 100 per cent. above ordinary retail rates, and probably averaging from 25 to 40 per cent.* Quality, too, is sometimes in inverse relation to price, as when a miner bitterly complained to me that while fresh roll butter could be bought for 25 cents a pound, the company store charged 45 cents a pound for butter "strong enough to pull a car up a slope." It is doubtless true that there are some company stores content to charge only ordinary prices, but in the course of conversations with miners representing pretty much all the mining districts of the State, I only heard of one. In this case the company store has passed to the widow of a deceased member of the mining firm, and this lady, who lives, I believe, in New York, has issued strict orders that prices shall not be higher than in ordinary stores.

From the store-keeper's stand-point, there can be no prettier business than the company store. It has all the economic advantages of the best co-operative store without any division of profits. There are no bad debts, no dead stock, no expenses for advertising or showing off goods, or in any way attracting custom. In

* From detailed statements of prices in a number of localities I do not think this too high an average. I heard in Hazleton of a store-keeper who made a bet with a friend that prices in company stores in that vicinity would average 45 per cent. above Hazleton prices, and on investigation won it.

purchasing, they know just what is wanted and can get the very lowest rates, and in selling have no competitors to introduce more taking goods or to cut prices. Charging ordinary rates, they would be very profitable, and charging such prices as they do, it is no wonder that they are looked on, by the smaller operators at least, as yielding no inconsiderable part of the profits of mining. In the bituminous region, it is said that the company that runs a store can afford if need be to sell coal at from a quarter to a half cent per bushel cheaper than the operator who has none, and were it not for their control of transportation, the great companies like the Reading could not sustain in the anthracite regions the competition of operators who thus get back a good part of the wages they pay their men.

There is no avowed compulsion in dealing with these stores, but it nevertheless as effectively exists. The operators would doubtless declare that the men are free to buy where they please, and that they only maintain the stores for the convenience of their employees. There are two things that *do* make it convenient for the men to deal at these stores. 1st. Where the company owns the land of the village no other store is allowed to be set up; and 2d, as the miners are only paid by the month, and that from two to three weeks after the end of the month, they are frequently unable to purchase elsewhere. But, in addition to this, it is generally well understood that men must make their purchases at the company stores, and if a man fails to do so he will receive a hint from one of the "bosses" (foremen), or be quietly informed at the end of the month that his services are no longer needed. I was told by one of the delegates to the Miners' Convention in Altoona of a case which occurred a few months ago in Elk County, where a miner's wife brought a basket with her into the company store. The store-keeper took occasion to raise the lid of the basket, and finding in it a purchase she had made at another store, her husband was the next day discharged without explanation, though the cause was well understood. Nor are such stories incredible. Men accustomed to believe in a pluck-me tariff are not likely to see much impropriety in a pluck-me store, and there is no difference in principle between the searching of a trunk to see that an American returning from abroad has not bought anything of low-price foreigners, and the inspection of a market-basket to see that a miner's wife has not bought anything of a low-price

store. And I am quite sure that Professor Robert Ellis Thompson of the University of Pennsylvania could, if he chose to, make quite as good an argument to prove that Pennsylvania miners are profited by being compelled to pay high prices to their company stores, as he does to prove that all Americans are enriched by being compelled to pay high prices to their protected producers. It is, at least, not to be wondered at, that the proprietors of these company stores, being accustomed to believe that the nation at large should be protected from cheap goods, should endeavor to protect their own miners.

And further than the compulsion to buy at the company store in preference to buying elsewhere, it seems to be generally well understood that the man who spends the largest part of his earnings in the store and has least cash to take on pay-day, gets the best work. With the small earnings of the miners, it is, under these circumstances, no wonder that a large proportion of them have usually on pay-day only what they call "bob-tailed checks" to receive—the credit for work done being fully offset by the fixed charges and store bill. I have heard it asserted, with general acquiescence, in two representative gatherings of coal miners from various districts, that not half the miners have usually any cash coming to them on pay-day, and that this is the habitual condition of many from year's end to year's end. It is indeed possible for the miner to live in this way, since all that he absolutely requires can be obtained at the store, even to tickets for Young Men's Christian Association exhibitions or other entertainments, in neighboring towns, which are patronized by the mining magnates. So, too, the company pays the taxes of its employees, deducting the amount from their wages—for, in Pennsylvania, "protectionism," which originates in the desire of the rich and powerful to throw the weight of taxation on the poor and weak, is carried to the levying even of county taxes—and while the borrower is taxed by the State on the money he owes, the laborer is taxed by the county on his "occupation." So, too, the company pays the doctor, deducting generally 50 cents per month from the wages of single men and 75 cents from married men (which, however, does not cover all family charges). So, too, it often pays church dues, deducting the amount from the wages of the employed. Other charges and contributions to which the company has no objection can of course be paid in the same way. I have even heard of a store order being given for

the putting of a patch on the toe of a shoe. This system, of course, operates to make the company the great all-in-all of the district.

The coal miners of Pennsylvania are not, however, what in this country we call peons. As a class, the coal miners are not allowed to run in debt to the company. There are some exceptions, as, for instance, when a man working under contract is doing unprofitable work as a preliminary to getting at profitable work, or when it is otherwise certain that he will remain and work out his indebtedness; but the rule is that until wages have been earned they cannot be drawn against at the store. This rule is often enforced to the very cent, and I have heard of five potatoes being held back out of a bushel, because the miner's credit fell a few cents short of the price. But through the store the miner can get his wages as soon as he has earned them, while to get them in cash he may have to wait a month or six weeks. And feeling it hopeless to try to get more than a living, many of the miners seem to resign themselves to getting all they can at the store, as the way of getting the best living, the "bob-tailed check" men being preferred employees.

The feeling in Pennsylvania against company stores, which is bitter and deep, has in it something more than objection to their high prices. This is the point on which the miners dwell in talking about the system, but beneath that there is, I think, a matter of sentiment, the man (and especially the female man) who can buy where he pleases, feeling himself freer than one who is obliged to buy at one particular place. The store of the great Cambria Iron and Steel Company (not a mining but a manufacturing company) at Johnstown, Pennsylvania, sells as cheaply as the individual stores, but if I am correctly informed is nevertheless much disliked by the men. The only explanation I was able to get is that the having to purchase at the company store marks a social distinction—the people who are able to buy where they please constituting a sort of superior class of freemen. Perhaps, also, this feeling may in some part be accounted for by a story I heard from a traveling salesman, which at least illustrates what from the store-keeper's point of view is one of the great advantages of these stores. He had gone into Cambria for the purpose of introducing a brand of smoking tobacco made by a Cincinnati house, and in order to create a demand for it had distributed a large quantity of tobacco among the workmen. But when he came to

try to get an order from the company store he found he had reckoned "without his host." On no consideration could he get them to take any of his tobacco. "But what will you do when the men come here and ask for it?" he finally said. "We will sell them something else," was the prompt and decisive reply.

Besides the complaints as to the "pluck-me" stores, there is much complaint among the Pennsylvania coal miners as to the accounting of their work. This is done in the anthracite regions by measurement, the coal being brought out of the mines in cars supposed to hold two tons with an allowance for fine coal, and in the bituminous regions by weight, the coal paid for being that which remains after running over a one-and-a-half-inch screen.

There are complaints that the cars are in many cases too large, and that the weight is in many cases false. To meet these complaints a recent Act gives the miners authority to employ a check weighman at their own expense. Where this has been done the miners assert that it is with the most satisfactory results, but the law has not generally been taken advantage of, the reason assigned by miners being that the men are afraid of falling under the displeasure of their employers by moving in the matter.

Similar to the complaints of this kind are the complaints of "dockage." When a car is drawn out of the mine it bears a tag showing the number of the miner to whom it is to be credited. This is taken by an under-foreman who is called by the miners the "docking boss." It is his duty to see that the car is properly filled, and that the coal it contains is free from slate, rock, or slack. If it is not in his opinion up to requirement in these respects he reduces the credit to the miner *half a car*. The miners complain that this system is habitually used to reduce their earnings, and that by the presence of a few pounds of slate, or the falling out of a little coal, things which it is impossible totally to prevent, the men are made to lose, and the company to gain, half a car load of coal. Incidental proof of this feeling among the miners was given me by a conversation I heard in Schuylkill County, in which two worked-out old miners took part. Both stated that they had refused the place of "docking boss" in a manner which showed that they regarded it as a most discreditable occupation.

The following petition, presented to Governor Pattison in April of this year, is a presentation of miners' grievances in their own words. Clearfield is in the bituminous region, and it may be re-

marked that less powder is used in bituminous than in anthracite mining, and that what the men attribute to the inspector in warning them to use less powder is a desire to avoid putting the company to expense for ventilation, and to furnish it with an excuse in case of accidents. Some of the other matters referred to will be explained in subsequent papers:

*To His Excellency Robert E. Pattison, Governor of Pennsylvania:*

The undersigned citizens of the County of Clearfield, representing Miners and Mine Laborers, would respectfully represent:

That there is at this time a strike of the miners of the Clearfield region for an advance of ten cents per ton in the price of mining coal. That we deprecate striking as a remedy to redress our grievances; that we offered to leave the whole matter to arbitration, but the coal operators refused our overtures therefor; and that the only remedy left was to refuse to work at the price given by the operators. Our reasons for refusing to work for forty cents per ton are:

1. The average wages of the miners in this region per month, for the last year, has been about (not over) twenty dollars per man. That out of this amount they must furnish their own tools, pay for tool-sharping and also powder and oil. That the operator compels the miners to put out 2,240 pounds of coal for forty cents, where the scales are properly balanced, and where they are not so balanced, it takes from 2,500 to 3,000 pounds to make one ton. That out of the above average monthly income of the miner he must pay expenses as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Rent | $5.00 |
| Tool-sharping | 50 |
| Powder and oil | 2.00 |
| Coal for family use | 1.60 |
| Total | $9.10 |

This amount, deducted from the amount received monthly, leaves a balance of $10.90 to support and clothe the family.

2. That the law allows a check weighmaster on each tipple, but if the miners elect and put one on he is not permitted to touch the scales, and is required to stand and see the cars weighed by the company weighmaster as they run across the scales at the rate of from four to seven miles per hour, the length of the scales being about eight feet, the cars being about the same length, and the distance from center to center of the wheels being two feet eight inches, it being impossible under these conditions to get the exact weight.

3. That at nearly all the mines the workmen are required to deal at the company stores under pain of being dismissed from employment. That at these stores they are compelled to pay from twenty to thirty-five per cent. more for the necessaries of life than they could purchase the same for elsewhere. That the mine bosses and superintendents compel the miners to deal at these stores, and that the operators receive a percentage for sending their men there

to be robbed. We believe these stores to be a curse to any community, as they detract from the independence of the workingman, and drive out honest competition. That G. W. Van Dusen & Co. are the only proprietors of such store who reside in our midst. That Frank Liveright & Co. are the proprietors of the leading pluck-me store in this region, and control the orders from miners in the employ of Berwind, White & Co., R. H. Powell & Co., Kittanning Coal Company, Coal Run, and various other places, and that the said Frank Liveright & Co. reside in Philadelphia, and that the miners so controlled by them number not less than 3,000, and we believe that the actual number is greatly in excess of this statement.

4. That the laws now on the statute books of Pennsylvania in favor of miners and mine laborers are a dead letter so far as their execution is concerned. That the mine inspector for this district, John M. Watt, does not attend to his duties as the law requires. That his sympathies, as we believe, are with the operators; that when he visits this section his consultations are mainly with the operators or the mine bosses, and upon such visits the men are warned against using powder in the coal, in order to avoid smoke, and a consequent increase of foul air. That if any laborer or miner complains of any of the above grievances, reasons are found for his speedy discharge, and if he is so fortunate as to be the owner of a little property, he is, in many cases, obliged to sell it at a sacrifice and leave this region in order to secure employment.

5. That the Berwind-White Coal Company have monopolized the greater number of the coal operations in this region ; that we believe the said Berwind-White Coal Company are large shareholders in the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and to a great extent control its actions. That the said railroad company at times fail to supply the smaller operators with cars, and discriminate in favor of the large shipper. That we believe Berwind, White & Co. are instrumental in bringing about such action, and we charge them with prolonging the present strike, believing their object is to crush out the smaller operators in order to obtain full control themselves.

6. We are opposed to any monopoly or syndicate having control of this or any other coal region, believing it to be detrimental to the best interests of the community and the State at large.

We, therefore, your committee, appointed at a public meeting of our citizens, respectfully submit the foregoing, and pray your Excellency to take such action in the matter as you in your wisdom may think most proper, and with as little delay as possible. Respectfully,

H. J. McGowan, White Nixon, J. M. Lehman, James White, Committee.

It may be added that the Clearfield miners, though at last forced to resume work at the old price, gained a promise of just weight, cash payments, and freedom to buy where they pleased.

Henry George.

*(To be continued.)*

# MY NEGOTIATIONS WITH GENERAL SHERMAN.

WHEN General Lee was appointed General-in-Chief, late in the winter of 1865, a large number of Members of Congress, including Senator Wigfall of Texas (who is my authority for the statement), urged the President to replace me in the military service. This was done by the following telegrams, received together:

RICHMOND, *February* 22, 1865.

GENERAL J. E. JOHNSTON: The Secretary of War directs that you report by telegraph to General R. E. Lee, Petersburg, Va.

(Signed) S. COOPER, Adjt. and Inspt. General.

HEAD-QUARTERS, *February* 22, 1865.

GENERAL J. E. JOHNSTON: Assume command of the Army of Tennessee and all troops in South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. Assign General Beauregard to duty under you as you may select. Concentrate all available forces and drive back Sherman.

(Signed) R. E. LEE.

Mr. Davis explains (vol. ii., page 631) that he assented to this assignment "with the understanding that General Lee would supervise and control the operations." This evidently is a mistake. It has been known, since the first military organization, that no one absent from an army can "control its operations."

After learning that this assignment was not disagreeable to General Beauregard, I accepted it, with no other hope than that of contributing to obtain favorable terms of peace; the only one that a rational being could then entertain. For the result of the war was evident to the dullest, although General Lee's matchless skill and resolution were still maintaining his position against the great Federal power.

The troops placed under my control that might be united to oppose General Sherman's forces, which were not less than 65,000 (instead of being 30,500, as Mr. Davis asserts), amounted, when

concentrated at Bentonville, to not more than 18,500, including 4,000 cavalry. The cavalry, under General Hampton, was observing the march of the Federal army, and harassing it as much as possible. The infantry was in four bodies, at long distances from each other: Hardie's troops, hurrying from Charleston toward Cheraw (6,500 of whom crossed the Cape Fear); Hoke's division of above 5,000, near Goldsboro'; and 3,950 of the army of Tennessee at Charlotte and Goldsboro', under Generals Stewart, D. H. Hill, and Stevenson.

The Federal army was moving from Winnsboro' toward Cheraw, in two columns, occasionally half a day's march apart, and within the quadrilateral at the angles of which were the four bodies of Confederate troops.

My immediate object was to unite these four bodies in front of one of General Sherman's columns, in the hope of attacking it to advantage by striking its head. My ultimate object was to join General Lee when he should abandon Richmond, so that he might fall upon Sherman with our united forces. Later on, however, I learned from him that he could only leave his position by marching to the West. As General Sherman's course from Cheraw made it uncertain whether he would take the road through Raleigh, or that through Goldsboro', the troops of the Army of Tennessee were directed to Smithfield, intermediate between the two routes. With about 1,800 of these troops, under General D. H. Hill, and Hoke's division, General Bragg attacked a much superior force under General J. D. Cox near Kinston, on the 8th of March. The enemy was driven from the field, and pursued by Generals Hill and Hoke with their accustomed vigor. But General Bragg stopped the pursuit. General Cox halted in the first good position, which he intrenched. General Bragg attacked him in it, on the 10th, and was easily repulsed—so easily that his loss in men and material was trifling. But the prestige of victory was left to the enemy, in exchange for the 1,500 prisoners and three field-pieces they lost on the 8th. In action with the left Federal column, General Hardie lost about 500 men, inflicting upon the enemy at least an equal loss.

On the march, encounters of cavalry were frequent. In all those reported to me, General Hampton had the advantage.

From Fayetteville, General Sherman's right column took the direct road to Goldsboro', and the other that by Averysboro'. The

Confederate forces, assembled near Bentonville, attacked this column on the 19th of March, drove it from the field and pursued it a mile, into woods and thickets so dense as to stop the pursuit, by making order and control impossible.

Although all the Federal forces were united before us next morning, we held our position that day and the next against five times our number and were able to carry off our wounded—which was a very slow operation, as we had no ambulances and very few wagons. This action had a happy effect upon our troops and the neighboring people.

General Sherman writes of this action (page 305, vol. ii.) that Johnston's army struck the head of Slocum's column, knocking back Carlin's division; but when the rest of the Fourteenth and the Twentieth corps came up he repulsed all of Johnston's attacks. This is a mistake. The Federal troops began the action; making two attacks, each of half an hour's duration. Both attacks were repelled. After these repulses, at about 3 P.M., the Confederate troops assailed the Federals and drove them from the field, which ended the fighting, excepting an occasional Federal cannon-shot. He reports the Confederate loss as four to three, compared with the Federal, although the former had the advantage in all the fighting, and in most of it were covered by breastworks. The statement that the right wing buried 100 Confederates and took 1,287 prisoners is inconsistent with the fact that its men were fully exposed and that ours were under shelter, nor did his men approach our position until the 22d—hours after it had been evacuated. And, again, only 653 of our men were missing at the end of the affair.

General Sherman had a great accession to his forces at Goldsboro'; where he remained until the 10th of April. The Confederate troops were in bivouac during that time—a day's march north-west.

On the 5th, the press dispatches informed us that General Lee had abandoned the lines he had been holding with such admirable courage and conduct.

On the 10th, the Federal army commenced its march toward Raleigh. The Confederate troops moved in the same direction. Having the advantage of a day's march, they reached Raleigh the next afternoon, when I received, by telegraph, orders to report to the President at Greensboro' without delay.

I reached the station there early in the morning of the 12th,

and was General Beauregard's guest in the box-car in which he lodged. It was conveniently near the President's quarters. His Excellency sent for us in an hour or two. We found him with three members of his Cabinet—Messrs. Benjamin, Mallory, and Reagan. We were told that General Breckenridge was on his way from Virginia, and that Mr. George Davis was unwell. We had supposed that the President wished to obtain information from us of the military condition of that department, but it soon appeared that we were to receive, not to give information. For those present were told, with very little preface, that, in two or three weeks, the President would have in the field a larger army than the Confederacy ever had in its ranks at one time, by calling out the many thousands who had abandoned the service, and all those enrolled by the conscript bureau, who could not be brought into it by the military force used for the purpose by that bureau. It was suggested that men who had left the army when our cause was not desperate, and those who under similar circumstances could not be forced into it, would scarcely return to it, or enter it, in its present hopeless condition, upon a mere invitation. The fact that we had not arms enough for the soldiers who stood by their colors made this scheme inexpressibly wild. But no opinions were asked and we were dismissed. Before leaving the room, we were told that General Breckenridge's arrival that evening was certain, and that he was expected to bring positive intelligence of the fate of the Army of Virginia.

General Breckenridge came as expected, and reported that General Lee had capitulated on the 9th. After this intelligence, General Beauregard and I carefully considered the state of our affairs. We found ourselves compelled to admit that the military resources of the South were exhausted, and that the Confederacy was overthrown. Subsequently, in conversation with General Breckenridge, I endeavored to convince him of this fact, and represented that the President had but one power of government left in his hands—that of terminating hostilities—which it was his duty to exercise by making peace without delay. I offered to suggest to him the necessity of immediately opening negotiations to arrange the terms of peace between the two sections, should an opportunity be given me. He promised to make one for me next morning.

Later in the evening Mr. Mallory found me, and sought to con-

vince me of the necessity of the course that I had endeavored to impress upon General Breckenridge, and desired me to urge upon the President the need of doing promptly all in his power to end the war. This he thought peculiarly the duty of the ranking military officer. After maintaining that it belonged rather to his constitutional advisers, I told him of the agreement made with General Breckenridge.

General Beauregard and I were summoned to the President's quarters next morning (the 13th); I supposed at General Breckenridge's suggestion. We were desired to compare the military condition of the Confederacy with that of the United States. As spokesman, I said that we had an army of 20,000 * infantry and artillery, and 5,000† mounted troops; against which the United States could bring three: that in Virginia of 180,000, as we were informed; that in North Carolina of 110,000, and that in Alabama of 60,000, making odds against us of at least fifteen to one. Then we had neither money nor credit, and no arms except those in the hands of our soldiers, nor ammunition excepting that in their cartridge-boxes, nor shops to repair arms or fix ammunition; and that therefore the only effect of our keeping the field would be the devastation of our country and the ruin of the people, and this, too, without inflicting harm on the enemy. I asserted further that it would be the highest of human crimes to continue the war. General Beauregard assented decidedly to this view.

The members of the Cabinet were then desired by the President to express their opinions as to the possibility of our continuing the war. General Breckenridge and Messrs. Mallory and Reagan concurred with the military officers—that we had been overcome in arms, and that it was necessary to make peace. But Mr. Benjamin entertained the opposite opinion, which he asserted in a speech enthusiastically warlike.

The President then remarked that it was idle to suggest to him negotiation with the Government of the United States, for it was known, from the result of an attempt that he had lately made, that no terms offered by him would be considered, nor would his authority to treat be acknowledged by Mr. Lincoln. I reminded him that, as he knew from his military reading, peace had been occasionally established by the generals of belligerent powers agreeing upon general terms, which, accepted by the two governments, became

* 18,500 actually. † 2,400 only.

the basis of treaties. I suggested that he should permit me to propose negotiations for that object to General Sherman. Mr. Davis opposed this idea; but, in arguing against it, he brought himself to assent to the first plan—that he should propose negotiation to Mr. Lincoln. He sketched a letter appropriate to be addressed by me to General Sherman, asking him to meet me to arrange the terms of an armistice, to enable the civil authorities to agree upon terms of permanent peace. I urged that this course should be taken at once, by his dictating this letter to Mr. Mallory, who was a good penman, and my signing and sending it to General Sherman. It was prepared immediately, and was in these words:

"The results of the recent campaign in Virginia have changed the relative military condition of the belligerents. I am therefore induced to address you, in this form, the inquiry whether, in order to stop the further effusion of blood and devastation of property, you are willing to make a temporary suspension of active operations, and to communicate to General Grant, commanding the Armies of the United States, the request that he will take like action in regard to other armies, the object being to permit the civil authorities to enter into the needful arrangements to terminate the existing war."

This letter was immediately dispatched to General Hampton, commanding the Confederate cavalry (who was near Hillsboro'), to be forwarded by him to General Sherman—to whom it was delivered on the 14th.

I left Greensboro' that evening to rejoin the army, which was marching from Raleigh toward Greensboro'.

In the morning of the 16th, near Greensboro', I received General Sherman's assent to the proposed meeting. Supposing that the President was waiting in Greensboro' to be ready to negotiate should General Sherman agree to the armistice, I went to the town to obtain any instructions he might have for me. There I learned that Mr. Davis was on his way to Charlotte. So, after requesting General Hampton by telegraph to arrange the time and place of meeting, I went to his head-quarters, a few miles east of Hillsboro'. There he informed me that the meeting was to be at noon of the 17th, on the Raleigh road, at a house midway between the pickets of the two armies.

The meeting occurred, as appointed, at the house of a Mr. Bennett. As soon as the door of the room assigned us was closed, and we without witnesses, General Sherman showed me a telegram which he said was brought by a courier who overtook him after he

left the railroad station. It was from Mr. Stanton, announcing the assassination of the President of the United States. I remarked, after reading the dispatch, that no greater misfortune could have befallen the South than that event.

From his account of this interview, it is evident that General Sherman's memory confounds, I think, occurrences in Raleigh with those in Mr. Bennett's house. The idea that the Confederates could be suspected of such a crime never entered my mind, and the amount of sensibility ascribed to me is unnatural; nor is General Sherman capable of the rudeness of speaking to me in such terms of my President as he attributes to himself. He informed me that an armistice to give opportunity for negotiation by the two governments would be useless, because the Government of the United States did not acknowledge the existence of a Southern Confederacy, and, consequently, it could not recognize any civil officers authorized to make treaties, and, therefore, he could not transmit or receive any proposition to the President of the United States by one calling himself President of the Southern Confederacy. But, after expressing, with an air and manner carrying conviction of sincerity, an earnest wish to avert from the Southern people the devastation inevitable from war, General Sherman offered me such terms as those of Appomattox Court House. I replied that General Lee's capitulation was unavoidable; but that, in my position, the armies being four days' march apart, it could be easily avoided; and I proposed that, instead of a suspension of hostilities, we should agree upon general terms of pacification, as our official positions empowered us to do, and as other generals had done; quoting among other precedents the termination of the war in 1797 by General Bonaparte and the Archduke Charles, the overtures having been made by the victorious general —Bonaparte. On my repeating Bonaparte's sentiment, that if his overtures should save the life of one man, he would value the civic crown so won above any honor merely military, General Sherman evidently, as he said, appreciated that sentiment, and added that to put an end to bloodshed and devastation, and restore the Union, and with it the prosperity of the South, were objects of ambition to him. He regarded joint resolutions of Congress, and proclamations by the President of the United States, as proving conclusively that the restoration of the Union was the object of the war, and he believed that the men of the Union army had been

fighting for that object. A long conversation with Mr. Lincoln at City Point, but a short time before, impressed upon him the opinion that the President then so considered it.

In a short time we agreed upon the terms as written out by General Sherman on the 18th, excepting that he would not consent to include Mr. Davis in the amnesty clause. The afternoon was consumed in efforts to dispose of this question in a manner that would be satisfactory to the Southern President and Southern people. No conclusion had been reached at sunset, when the discussion was suspended, to be resumed at ten o'clock next morning.

On returning to General Hampton's quarters, I telegraphed to General Breckenridge, Secretary of War, to join me, in the hope that his confidential relations with Mr. Davis might enable him to suggest terms satisfactory to the President and people. General Breckenridge and Mr. Reagan came to General Hampton's quarters early next morning. I explained to them the subjects of the discussion between General Sherman and myself the day before, the terms proposed, and the only one not agreed to—that including the Confederate President in the clause giving general amnesty. I stated that I desired assistance of the Secretary of War in making that clause a satisfactory one. Mr. Reagan asked if the terms discussed had been reduced to writing. I replied that they had not. He proposed to write them out. With that object I carefully repeated them to him.

As the United States acknowledged only the military officers of the Confederacy, General Breckenridge and I rode to the place of meeting without Mr. Reagan.

When we met, I explained to General Sherman my reason for asking General Breckenridge's presence, and asked his admission as a major-general, not as Secretary of War, to which he assented. I then presented to General Sherman, as my proposition, the terms discussed the day before, as written out by Mr. Reagan, which included general amnesty, and reminded him that he had already accepted all but one clause. After listening to General Breckenridge, who addressed him six or eight minutes in advocacy of these terms, General Sherman, with my paper before him, wrote very rapidly the agreement which we signed, and which follows. He wrote so rapidly that I was convinced that he had decided to agree to these terms before coming to the meeting. His paper only differs from mine in style, and the addition of the

article to establish the Federal courts, which seemed to me superfluous.

The terms agreed upon were:

1. The contending armies now in the field to maintain the *statu quo*, until notice is given by the commanding general of any one to its opponent, and reasonable time—say, forty-eight hours—allowed.

2. The Confederate armies now in existence to be disbanded and conducted to their several State capitals, there to deposit their arms and public property in the State Arsenal; and each officer and man to execute and file an agreement to cease from acts of war, and to abide the action of the State and Federal authority. The number of arms and munition of war to be reported to the Chief of Ordnance at Washington City, subject to the future action of the Congress of the United States, and, in the meantime, to be used solely to maintain peace and order within the borders of the States respectively.

5. The people and inhabitants of all the States to be guaranteed, so far as the Executive can, their political rights and franchises, as well as their rights of person and property, as defined by the Constitution of the United States and of the States respectively.

6. The Executive authority of the Government of the United States not to disturb any of the people by reason of the late war, so long as they live in peace and quiet, abstain from acts of armed hostility, and obey the laws in existence at the place of their residence.

7. In general terms—the war to cease; a general amnesty, so far as the Executive of the United States can command, on condition of the disbandment of the Confederate armies, the distribution of the arms, and the resumption of peaceful pursuits by the officers and men hitherto composing said armies. Not being fully empowered by our respective principals to fulfill these terms, we individually and officially pledge ourselves to promptly obtain the necessary authority, and to carry out the above programme.

W. T. SHERMAN, Major-General,
Commanding Army of the United States in North Carolina.
J. E. JOHNSTON, General,
Commanding Confederate States Army in North Carolina.

Four copies were made, one for each President, and one for each signer. General Sherman then returned to his army and I to mine; and each of us announced, publicly, the suspension of hostilities.

Soon after my arrival at Greensboro', Colonel Archer Anderson, adjutant-general of the army, delivered to me two notes, of different dates, from the President. In the first I was informed that the sum of $39,000, in silver, subject to my order, was in the hands of the Treasury Agent, Mr. J. N——; which I was directed to use as the military chest of the army. In the

other, which was of later date, I was directed to send this money to him in Charlotte. As the faithful soldiers around me had been without pay many months, and were in great need of money, I thought and felt that its best use would be its distribution among them without regard to rank—generals and privates sharing equally, the sick in hospitals being included. The sum divided was $37,800; $1,200 having been taken by the commissary-general. I also urged the Secretary of War, in writing, to procure the application of a portion of the specie in the possession of the Administration to the payment of a part of the very large arrears due the troops. The letter was carried by Colonel A. P. Mason, who was instructed to wait for an answer. One was promised by telegraph; but it never came. Mr. Davis asserts (page 691, vol. ii.) that it is more than doubtful if he wrote the notes above mentioned. I assert that *he* does not doubt it. Colonel Anderson's evidence of the distribution of the silver proves that he wrote the first note, which he denies. His denial of the writing of that note invalidates his denial of the other. It was my duty, in such a case, as Mr. Davis well knows, to call the attention of the War Department to the great needs of the troops committed to me.

When I assumed command in North Carolina, there were very large supplies of provision for man and horse in the railroad depôts. But the War Department prohibited their use by the troops serving there, on the ground that they were necessary to the army before Richmond; although those troops could not have consumed them in six or eight months. The wagons of the Army of Tennessee arrived in Augusta in the beginning of March; and Colonel W. E. Moore, chief commissary of the army, was instructed to use one hundred of them to form a line of depôts between Washington, Ga., and Charlotte, for the general object of collecting supplies, and for the possible march of our troops along that line, should General Lee leave his position before Richmond. About the 20th of March, Colonel Moore reported that more than 700,000 rations had been collected in the fine depôts of the line. The meeting of General Sherman and myself on April 17th suggested, among the troops, the idea that peace was to be made, or that they were to be surrendered. So, many of them left the army to plant their crops, but many more to escape becoming prisoners of war. Such as could lay hands on them rode off with the horses and mules belonging to the batteries and trains.

In the afternoon of the 24th I received from the President, who was then in Charlotte, notice by telegraph that he had ratified the terms of pacification agreed upon by General Sherman and me on the 18th. Within an hour thereafter a courier brought me from General Hampton two communications from General Sherman—one giving notice of the rejection of the terms above mentioned by the President of the United States, and the other announcing the termination of the armistice forty-eight hours after noon of that day. These facts were communicated to the administration without delay; and I proposed that, to prevent further devastation of our country by the marching of armies, our army should be disbanded. A reply dated 11 P.M., April 24th, was received early next morning. It suggested that the infantry might be disbanded then, to re-assemble at a place named. I was directed to bring with me all the cavalry, a few light field-pieces, and all other men who could be mounted on serviceable beasts. I declined to obey this order; giving as my reason, that it provided for the performance of but one of the three important duties I had to perform—securing the safety of the President and Cabinet, but not that of the people and of the army, and I suggested the immediate escape of the high civil officers under a proper escort.

The confident belief that it would be a high crime to continue the war governed me in this instance, as it had prompted me to urge the civil authorities of the South to end the war.

The arrangement ordered would have put the great bodies of Union troops in motion, everywhere spreading suffering and ruin among our people, without serving the object of the President's escape as well as an escort of a few picked men would have done.

I determined, therefore, to make another effort to bring about a pacification—within the extent of my command, at least—in the confidence that it would spread fast to the West and South. In that hope I proposed another armistice to General Sherman, and another arrangement, on the basis of the military clause in the agreement of the 18th. General Sherman sent a favorable reply very promptly; so that I was able to set out early on the 26th to meet him at Bennett's, as before, after reporting to the Administration that I was about to do so.

My proposition to General Sherman had been reported to the President, or Secretary of War, when made to him.

We met at Mr. Bennett's about noon; and, as General Sherman was anxious to restore tranquillity to the country, we soon agreed upon terms, and established peace within the limits of our commands, which were the same. We believed that they would produce a general pacification. They were:

1. All acts of war on the part of the troops under General Johnston's command to cease from this date.

2. All arms and public property to be deposited at Greensboro', and delivered to an ordnance officer of the United States Army.

3. Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate; one copy to be retained by the commander of the troops, and the other to be given to officer to be designated by General Sherman. Each officer and man to give his individual obligation in writing not to take up arms against the Government of the United States until properly released from this obligation.

4. The side-arms of officers, and their private horses and baggage, to be retained by them.

5. This being done, all the officers and men will be permitted to return to their homes, not to be disturbed by the United States authorities, so long as they observe their obligation and the laws in force where they may reside.

W. T. SHERMAN, Major-General,
Commanding United States Forces in North Carolina.
J. E. JOHNSTON, General,
Commanding Confederate Forces in North Carolina.

Approved: U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

SUPPLEMENTAL TERMS.

1. The field transportation to be loaned to the troops for their march to their homes, and for subsequent use in their industrial pursuits. Artillery horses may be used in field transportation if necessary.

2. Each brigade or separate body to retain a number of arms equal to one-seventh of its effective strength, which, when the troops reach the capitals of their States, will be disposed of as the general commanding the department may direct.

3. Private horses, and other private property of both officers and men, to be retained by them.

4. The commanding general of the Military Division of West Mississippi, Major-General Canby, will be requested to give transportation by water from Mobile or New Orleans to the troops from Arkansas and Texas.

5. The obligations of officers and soldiers to be signed by their immediate commanders.

6. Naval forces within the limits of General Johnston's command to be included in the terms of this convention.

J. M. SCHOFIELD, Major-General,
Commanding United States Forces in North Carolina.
J. E. JOHNSTON, General,
Commanding Confederate Forces in North Carolina.

General Sherman assured me that he would transfer from the department all the troops except a small number sufficient to maintain order. He did this by an order issued the next day. Several of the leading officers of his army accompanied General Sherman on this occasion, and their conversation made the clear impression on my mind that they regretted the rejection of the terms of the 18th.

I announced this pacification to the Governors of the States immediately concerned, by telegraph, as follows:

"The disaster in Virginia, the capture by the enemy of all our workshops for the preparation of ammunition and repairing of arms, the impossibility of recruiting our little army, opposed to more than ten times its number, or of supplying it except by robbing our own citizens, destroyed all hope of successful war. I have made, therefore, a convention with Major-General Sherman, to terminate hostilities in North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. I made this convention to spare the blood of this gallant little army, to prevent further sufferings of our people by the devastation and ruin inevitable from the marches of invading armies, and to avoid the crime of waging a hopeless war."

The general terms of agreement were published to the army on the 27th.

Before the Confederate army came to Greensboro', most of the provisions in depôt there had been wasted or consumed by fugitives from the Army of Virginia, or by the poor people of the neighborhood. That at Charlotte had been consumed by our cavalry encamped near by and stragglers. The depôts established in South Carolina had been emptied in like manner. The consumers, acting upon the opinion, probably, that as there was no longer a government, they might, as well as any others, divide this property, which was sorely needed by most of them.

The only means of feeding the troops on the way to their homes was by distribution of a little cloth and a stock of cotton-yarn to serve them in lieu of currency. But the quantity of these articles on hand was utterly inadequate. General Sherman, however, prevented the great suffering that otherwise would have occurred along the homeward routes of the troops by giving us 200,000 rations, on no other condition than our transporting this provision from the coast to our camps.

The business of preparing and signing the necessary papers was concluded on the 2d of May. They imposed on the members of the Confederate army an obligation not to take up arms against

the United States, and secured them the protection of the Government. The three corps, and as many little bodies of cavalry, were then ordered to march to their homes, each under its former commander. I took leave of those admirable soldiers, in Order No. 22.

"COMRADES: In terminating our official relations, I earnestly exhort you to observe faithfully the terms of pacification agreed upon, and to discharge the obligations of good and peaceful citizens, as well as you have performed the duties of thorough soldiers in the field. By such a course you will best secure the comfort of your families and kindred, and restore tranquillity to our country.

"You will return to your homes with the admiration of our people, won by the courage and noble devotion you have displayed in this long war. I shall always remember with pride the loyal support and generous confidence you have given me.

"I now part with you with deep regret, and bid you farewell with feelings of cordial friendship, and with earnest wishes that you may have hereafter all the prosperity and happiness to be found in the world.

"Official. J. E. JOHNSTON, General.

"KINLOCK TALCONESS, A. A. G."

The large bodies of Federal troops stationed in the South proved by their conduct that they regarded the restoration of the Union as the object of the war, and treated the people around them as fellow-citizens, as they would have done those of Northern States if stationed among them. This inspired in the South a more kindly feeling for the Northern people and the Federal Government than had existed for ten years before. For it was imagined that those who did not fight were still more friendly than the invaders of our country; and a strong expectation grew that the Southern States would soon enter the Union.

Very few apprehended such "reconstruction" as that soon imposed.

The example of pacification set in North Carolina was followed quickly in the other military departments.

The report of an interview with Mr. Davis, published in the "Globe-Democrat" of St. Louis, about the middle of February, indicates that his memory has failed. For, according to it, he asserted that, on the 24th of April, 1865, immediately after he approved the agreement of April 18th and received intelligence of its rejection by the United States Government, he ordered me to execute a plan of his to prosecute the war, which I disobeyed, al-

though commanding a large army; a part of which (36,000 men) was paroled at Greensboro'. The proofs that he was conscious, at that time, of his utter inability to wage war, are, that at Greensboro', April 13th, after discussing the subject with four of his cabinet and two generals, he agreed with five of the six, that the military resources of the Confederacy were exhausted, and the endeavor to obtain peace an absolute necessity. And then—on the 24th, the date of the disobeyed order—he ratified the terms of a convention based on the fact that he had not the power to continue the war; and, but the day before, he wrote to Mrs. Davis in a tone and in terms of utter hopelessness. All the members of his cabinet advocated the ratification of the agreement of April 18th.

These letters have been published. As to my "large army," General Breckenridge testified that, on the 18th it had 14,770 men, and was rapidly diminishing. If Mr. Davis had projected war, he would not have ordered the disbanding of the infantry, who were far more important than cavalry. The object of the order was evidently to strengthen his cavalry guard. He asserted that I had the advantage in cavalry. I had but 1,000 left; General Sherman nearly 6,000, and General Wilson, in Georgia, nearly 20,000, as they reported. As to the testimony of the numbers paroled, two-thirds of those mentioned by Mr. Davis were men who *ought* to have been in the ranks, but who had quitted them, and were eager to get the protection given by parole. They were like the 53,000 paroled under the same terms of pacification in South Carolina and Georgia.

JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON.

# NOTES AND COMMENTS.

## I.

### General Smith to General Sherman.

In your July edition there is to be found a letter from General Sherman to President Johnson, in which this expression is used: "I have been with Grant . . . in Chattanooga when the soldiers were stealing the corn of the starving mules to satisfy their own hunger," etc.

As the assertion involves a historical question of some importance, may I ask of General Sherman, through your columns, as to the date of his visit to Chattanooga when such scenes were taking place?

Wm. Farrar Smith.

## II.

### Dr. Dexter on Arthur Richmond.

"Arthur Richmond," in your July number, sought, by a single quotation from the journal which I edit, to convict me of inconsistency in having never objected to the teaching of former professors in the Seminary at Andover, while disapproving that of those now in office there.

I am sorry that, having read the "Congregationalist" so assiduously, he has read it to so little purpose as to overlook the explanation, many times given therein, of the precise point which he raises.

We wage no factious war with anybody. We are quite willing to give the largest liberty of the Andover Creed to its professors. That largest liberty they themselves have defined in their letter, published 12 April, 1882, in our columns, in which they said: "We accept fully, sincerely, heartily, the system of truth defined in this creed *in its opposition to the errors which are specified.*"

That is to say, so long as the professors at Andover so believe, interpret, apply, and teach its creed *that their influence makes against the long list of misbelievers and misbeliefs, which that symbol enumerates*—ending with "Unitarians and Universalists, and all heresies and errors, ancient or modern, which may be opposed to the Gospel of Christ, or hazardous to the souls of men—" we raise no objection to them or their work, even though we may differ with some of their views, and possibly regard them as infelicitous or even of doubtful tendency.

Now, in point of fact—whatever their philosophical speculations—we never had the slightest reason to suspect Professors Park or Phelps, or any former professor, of holding or teaching anything which tended in any unevangelical direction; and, therefore, whether fully agreeing with them or not, we never made objection to their work.

It is because the case is wholly different with the present incumbents, who seem to have taken pains to thrust that fact into the face of the Christian

public through the pages of their "Andover Review," and because we are unable not to regard them, and not to know that the public regards them, as so holding and teaching the Creed *as not to be in opposition to the errors which it specifies*, that we have been reluctantly constrained to protest against their continuance in positions, to the good faith of which they seem to us lamentably false.

HENRY M. DEXTER.

## III.

### NEW YORK CONSTITUTIONS.

ON the second day of November, 1886, the voters of the State of New York will determine by their ballots at the polls whether or not there shall be a convention to revise and amend their Constitution. The six millions of New Yorkers are now living under their third Constitution, the original frame-work of which was constructed in 1846, for a different age and a different population. It has become so changed and perverted by amendments, in the course of forty years, that, like the garment of an over-thrifty housewife, bearing a multitude of incongruous patches, it is utterly disfigured and scarcely recognizable by its earliest acquaintances.

When the Revolution of 1776 had overthrown the authority of king and parliament, and the thirteen colonies confronted the problem of government, the inhabitants applied themselves, promptly enough, to its solution. Erecting and regulating the machinery of free institutions was no novel duty, indeed, to the citizens of the young State of New York. When the Dutch Director, William Kieft, in 1641, had called into consultation the heads of families, residents of Nieuw Amsterdam, he had awakened upon our soil the germs of representative government. It was the first official recognition of the existence of the people. When the English Governor Dongan convened the Legislature of New York, in 1683, that body declared itself to be "the People, met in General Assembly," thereby incurring the displeasure of His Majesty James II., who complained that he "found no such phrase in any other Constitution in America." In 1777, in the thickest of the struggle for independence, insurrectionary New York had solemnly announced that "all power in this State hath reverted to the people thereof," and "that no authority shall, on any pretense whatever, be exercised over the people or members of this State but such as shall be derived from or granted by them." With these announcements the "Empire State" entered into association with the American system of sovereignties.

Our first State Constitution of 1777 was, nevertheless, a document rather of English than of American ideas—indeed, as yet, the American ideas familiar to us scarcely existed. Parliamentary government was its feature. Colonial forms and usages were disturbed as little and as lightly as possible. A convention held in 1801 and presided over by Aaron Burr (then Vice-President of the United States) was confined to the construction of a doubtful point in the system, and did not perceptibly democratize the order of things; and so the first Constitution endured through the second war with Great Britain and up to 1821; the State's population having increased, in those forty-four years, from 300,000 to 1,500,000 souls.

The second Constitution (of 1821), adopted in the teeth of vehement opposition by 74,000 votes against 41,000, was afterward amended by popular vote no less than ten times in the twenty-five years of its existence. The day came when the old instrument could bear patching up no longer, and a demand for a new one broke out and would not be stilled.

The State was for that period, and considering the resources it possessed, heavily in debt, and the doctrine that "a public debt is a public blessing" had not become as prevalent as now. When the Erie and Champlain canals had been built, the clamor of the advocates of lateral canals had arisen, and became persistent. The State continued to borrow money to dig water-ways and to assist railroads till its credit utterly broke down, and it could borrow no more. Six per cent. stock was at twenty per cent. below par, and State officers had to resort to temporary loans to pay daily expenses. Then the enemies of the public debt rode triumphantly into power, and the "Stop Law" of 1842 at once paralyzed the public works and saved the State from bankruptcy. Out of all this emerged two well-defined schools, which divided both political parties. There were Whigs and Democrats who favored internal improvements, and there were Democrats and Whigs opposed to them. The demand for a new Constitution first came from those who desired to limit thereafter forever the power of any legislature to incur debt; but these were insufficient in numbers to accomplish their object, until the cry was taken up and echoed by other powerful interests, and urged by the voice of general discontent wherever it made itself heard.

The "Anti-Renters" joined in it. Two great manorial estates, owing to the fidelity of their owners to the patriot cause, had survived the Revolution and its wholesale confiscations, and were still held by the Van Rensselaer and Livingston families. They lay in and around Albany, in the fertile center of the State. The tenure of the lands was semi-feudal: the tenants ground their corn at the "patroon's" mills, and bought their goods at his stores, and brought their rent in wheat and fat chickens to the door of his manor-house. The woods, waters, mill privileges, were the patroon's. Upon the Van Rensselaer estate the holdings were in perpetuity; upon the Livingston, each lease ran for several lives, with reversion to the landlord on the death of the last survivor Each transfer of the leasehold imposed a payment by the tenant of a quarter of the consideration money.

The patroon would never sell; but he could distrain and evict. The discontent of the younger generation was excited by the spectacle of their neighbors in adjacent towns and counties, proprietors working their own farms, who lived better off poorer soils, and could boast of superior roads, bridges, farm buildings, fences, and crops. There was no help for the tenantry from the courts; *they* had sustained the manorial titles. The aggrieved parties betook themselves to political agitation; but the legislature could do nothing. Next, civil processes were sullenly resisted; night-ridings of disguised men, bringing bloodshed and murder, followed; the militia were called out, and assizes held, and convictions had; but the dissatisfaction was not allayed, nor were the rents collected.

But the most powerful advocacy of constitutional reform developed itself

among the young lawyers everywhere. They were in arms against the judiciary. It is a familiar experience in human affairs, that not even an ecclesiastical establishment is more liable to abuses than a judicial one. As particles of dust cling most offensively to the finest fabrics, so do the fair robes of Justice reveal the slightest defilement. The courts were unpopular, mediæval, and top-heavy with officials; yet, as Governor Bouck himself complained, "of insufficient force." There was a court for the trial of impeachments and the correction of errors, consisting of the entire Senate, the chancellor and the three justices (in imitation of the House of Lords); in the Court of Chancery there were a chancellor and two vice-chancellors, six *ex-officio* vice-chancellors, an assistant vice-chancellor, register, deputy register, and clerks; in the Supreme Court there were the three justices, eight circuit judges, clerks, etc. Every functionary (except senator) held his place for life, and almost every one was entitled to fees for his own use. In every county, at the county seat, was a ring of officials, holding their places by appointment from Albany; namely, a first judge and associate judges of the Common Pleas, a surrogate, masters and examiners in chancery, Supreme Court commissioner. Add to these a sheriff, district attorney, and county clerk, and you had in every county a citadel garrisoned by place-holders, who dominated public opinion, and crushed out intrusive young lawyers. These rising attorneys, impelled by youth and feverish ambitions, revolted; they argued, they denounced, they projected; they filled the country newspapers with demands for popular tribunals, an elective judiciary, and brief terms of office. They came up to the convention of 1846, like the *Tiers Etat* to the States General, to rebuild, if it might be, but, above all things, to overthrow. "The rats are in the corn," said they, "and we will destroy them, if we have to burn the barns!" So they—or at least the Democratic wing of them—got the name of "Barnburners." The convention was ordered by a vote of 214,700 against 33,000.

The leading spirits of the convention took it in charge and held it well in hand throughout. The work which they accomplished was a revolution. Let us look at the men who shaped it.

Michael Hoffman (then United States surveyor of the port of New York) was the sworn enemy of State debt, and a very faint admirer of internal improvements. He was obstinate and upright. As chairman of the committee he framed the financial article, bore down all opposition to it, and stamped it upon the public policy. It remained intact until 1854, when it was amended. In 1865 a State debt was actually authorized by a popular vote of nine to one.

Levi S. Chatfield was the popular man of the day—the *beau ideal* of the fortunate politician. In that convention he marched from triumph to triumph. He supported the new policy on the canals, the manor properties, and the courts.

John Young was the Whig chief, a firm friend of the new order of things—adroit, masterful, never losing an opportunity. He divided his political foes past reconciliation, and made his minority win. The skill he exhibited from June to October elected him governor in November.

Arphaxad Loomis, cynical and croaking, deaf and almost voiceless, had nevertheless the absolute deference of his fellows. What Hoffman proposed he

seconded; and what he proposed Hoffman sustained. They were nick-named "Castor and Pollux."

Ambrose L. Jordan was learned and eloquent. He was superb in debate. All that could be done for the Anti-renters, whose representative he was, he did.

William C. Bouck, the ex-governor (and then sub-treasurer at New York), impersonated the negative element. Like Governor Hill to-day, and like Governor Wright in 1845, he had preferred that there should be no convention, and had suggested that amendments only be proposed to the people. The most honest and honorable of men, he failed nevertheless to accommodate himself to the new methods, and his influence passed away.

The third convention (of 1846), in the shape in which it was accepted by a popular majority of 130,000, was a purely and distinctively American public paper. As such it became a model to junior commonwealths of the South and West, and its forms, and even its language, may be traced in constitutions since adopted as far as to the very shores of the Pacific. It is the judgment of men of the progressive school of politics that most of the changes it has undergone since it was first put together have been retrograde and reactionary, and have produced blemishes rather than conduced to perfection : in other words, that its various amendments have not amended it.

It declared all land tenures allodial, abolished restraints upon alienation, and limited the terms of agricultural leases to twelve years each. It placed all the departments of State which it provided for in the hands of officers elected by the people. It decentralized the appointing power. It erected single legislative districts. It forbade State debt except by sanction of direct popular vote. It established a Court of Appeals independent of the Legislature, and a new Supreme Court, with jurisdiction both in law and equity; and uprooted and cast out forever the Court of Chancery. It made judges elective by the people, and payable by fixed salaries. It abolished banking monopoly. It directed general incorporation laws to be passed, both as to municipal and private corporations. These vast and beneficent reforms remain to us out of its work, and long may they remain!

But it failed to deal with the monopolistic and capitalistic incubus of the future, which the foresight of no man then living was keen enough to discern. It did not forbid the legislative creation of additional State departments, such as now exist, dangerously free from the control of the ballot-box. It could not prevent the subsequent needless lengthening of the terms of governors and of judges. It could not reach forward and compel legislatures to obey it by providing a uniform organization of city governments. It did not suspect that surrogates would be perpetuated, nor that judges of courts of record, to whom it forbade "public trusts," would resume the sway of enormous patronage. It could not contemplate the future increase of crime, and the ever-growing population of State prisons, the horrible rapacity of prison contractors, and the wanton injury of convict labor to honest producers. It did not dream of vast consolidated corporations which would seize upon the traffic and transportation of fifty millions of people, and control them at their own will and for their own gain. It did not conceive that, in forty years, American society would be vibrating between the commands of monopoly and the threats of the proletariat.

In 1866, the people of the State (perhaps tired of voting on no less than eleven consecutive and inconsistent amendments), surprised and disgusted the partisan managers by demanding another convention by 100,000 majority. It was determined, however, to utilize the opportunity, and, lest it should be *too* popular a body, the Legislature of 1867 ordered the convention to be chosen, partly by Senate districts (four delegates from each district), and partly on a non-partisan ticket at large. When it was got together it was found to be an eminently respectable, conservative, selfish, and tedious collection of gentlemen. There was not a vested interest which had not its guardians, nor an abuse which lacked defenders. Half the judges in the State had crowded themselves in as delegates, with an eye chiefly to the elongation of the terms of the judicial offices. They succeeded in framing the present judicial article, which gave them the long terms so much desired; and, at the polls (such were the political methods of the day), every other and more tolerable portion of the proposed new constitution was sold and thrown overboard to save this one article. By this means, long judicial terms triumphed by a narrow 7,000 majority, in a poll of 488,000 votes. The rest of the convention's nine months' work was rejected.

But this was the only successful part of the reactionary programme. In 1873, the question whether the entire judiciary should be appointive or elective was again submitted to popular vote. The Bar Association declared itself boldly and confidently in favor of the appointive system, and an influential portion of the public press advocated it. A single meeting was called and held in the city of New York, to protest against taking away the election of the judges from the people. It awoke public opinion. The popular majority against returning to the method of appointments by Governor and Senate was 204,600.

In 1872, there was a constitutional "Commission," of very select materials, appointed by the Governor and Senate, pursuant to an act of the Legislature; four appointees from each judicial district. They were not in any sense delegates; indeed, the purpose seemed to be, as Dean Richmond remarked, on another occasion, to "dispense with the people, entirely." Among other changes made by this commission, was the removal of the State canals and the State prisons from popular control, as far as possible, by abolishing the commissioners and inspectors elected under the Constitution of 1866, and by the transfer of these great public properties to superintendents named by the Governor and Senate—not entirely without the advice of contractors.

Should the popular vote, next November, convoke a convention, it will be the duty of the Legislature, at its session commencing in January, 1887, to provide for the election of delegates in the spring of that year. Whether this generation has the capacity and integrity to rebuild the fundamental structure of its government upon the principle of "elective public servants and frequent elections," may be—considering our changing times and changed population—an interesting question for solution. Those of us whose faith is still firm in popular intelligence do not fear the result.

GIDEON J. TUCKER.

## IV.

### A DEFENSE OF ANARCHISM.

It is not correct to say, as Professor Ely asserts, that the International was organized in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, in the fall of 1883. The meeting held at that time was simply a congress of members and delegates. The society was founded in London, England, August 5, 1862, and on the 28th of September, 1864, the provisional regulations of the International Association were arranged. This was the first really important meeting of the society. As its name implies, the association is international in its character and purposes. It has now thousands of members in England, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Spain, and in the Netherlands; while the number in the United States of those who believe in the principles of the International is estimated at from 10,000 to 300,000. To this organization belong the philosopher and savant, Elisé Reclus; the geographer and scientist, Prince Krapotkine; the enthusiast, Louise Michel, and many others who are noted for learning and goodness.

It is not correct to say that Anarchists are materialists, or that they would put down, by force, the church and all family ties. An Anarchist may or may not be a destructionist—revolutionist—though most of them are. Still, many State Socialists are also revolutionists. No man can be a consistent Anarchist who would abridge the freedom of others. Freedom is the very essence of anarchism; therefore, it is not true that anarchism, *per se*, is synonymous with arson or murder. The study of anarchism is—or should be—a scientific one, entitled to rank with that of State Socialism.

WM. HOLMES.

## V.

### THE MISTAKES OF ANARCHISM.

The philosophy of anarchism, as explained by C. L. James, ignores the fundamental law of evolution. That law is not dissolution, but improvement. It is confessed that in every existing form of government there are numberless imperfections, but the statement that the very genius of human government is false cannot be admitted. The idea of law is too firmly established now for any one to disprove its necessity to the social organism. If the history of the world had not been a struggle to realize the most righteous form of authority, the time has come when our search for the secret of orderly and just association must take this direction. With evolution as the regnant law in every form of life, one can hardly expect to find society, which is the organism of all organisms, an exception to the universal rule. From the very beginning of segregation, when the organism was in its simplest form, the trend of the race has been not toward but away from anarchy, and not away from but toward the justest form of authority.

The very idea of organism carries with it the idea of law, and hence of authority also. Any *thing* is an organism only by virtue of an immanent law whose sanction is the authority governing its being. The progress of the organism neither destroys nor modifies the law, but is made in and under its operation.

Now it is impossible to conceive how government, or society, which is government, and is becoming so more and more, can be an exception to the universal rule of organic growth. One might as well insist there could be a Maud S. had the idea horse ceased with the eohippus of the eocene age, as to argue that there can be a society should the idea of authority or law become extinct. There may be some justification of the Anarchist's dissatisfaction with society, because society is far from being perfect; but there is certainly no ground for the pessimistic prophecy of these people, that if they are not able to foist their notions upon the world, the stern logic of history will come to their rescue in the complete dissolution of all existing forms and ideas of government.

I venture to say that anarchism has too long disappeared ever to emerge again, except as a temporary reversion to a former type; for the trend of history departs farther and farther from such a social idea. It is to be regretted that the American principle of government has been so misapprehended as to be placed as the nexus between despotism and anarchy, for a republic is as far removed from anarchy as is despotism itself. The only difference between a despotism and a republic is that in despotism the authority is centralized in one or a few, whereas in a republic it is diffused throughout the whole body politic; but anarchism denies this authority, and will not tolerate its presence anywhere. The sight of a policeman inflames the Anarchist because this officer stands for recognized authority.

But were not anarchism philosophical error, it is yet practical folly. Such pessimistic persons as Mr. James quite lose sight of all the ameliorating influences operating to uplift and improve the social organism. They fail to see in the history of the past few centuries, in which the idea of government has evolved from the form expressed in absolute despotism to that formulated in the free democracy of England or the United States, any prophecy of further improvement in the future. Government with them, whether it be the tyrannous cruelty of a Thebaw or the enlightened republicanism of America, is equally an unmitigated and intolerable evil. Are there no influences now operating toward the realization of a higher ideal still? No, say pessimists like Mr. James, there is no hope save in the complete abandonment of the dominant idea of society as now organized.

This is what anarchism seeks, and if anarchism as a social force doesn't accomplish it, history will. But the great majority of people think there is in the social organism the potency of universal justice, and that it is only a question of time when it shall be realized in spite of the gross injustices now inflicted upon some of its members. In the meantime strikes may still prevail, the caste lines of wealth may be more painfully drawn, political corruption may increase, but these things are only concomitants of an onward movement, and shall not discourage the hope of the future or destroy our faith in the eternal law of life. And in the conflict of forces by which all change is wrought, in the social as well as in the animal organism, the higher will win. The world grows juster as it grows older, and the uplifting energies of civilization have only begun their beneficent work. By the time Mr. James' predicted crisis shall have arrived, who can prophesy what education, art, science, and, above all, the gospel of Christ will have done for man? Can we not plainly see

that the growth of humanism is more rapid than the progress of industry? The most amazing advance of the last century is the evolution of the sense of brotherhood, though this may sound strange to one whose attention has been occupied with our marvelous material progress.

Mr. James' gloomy prophecy has no sufficient justification in contemporary conditions, but is rather the fancy of a morbid mind. The present troubled state of the social body is not the sign of dissolution but of growth, which in every organism is accompanied with pain and disintegration.

FRANCIS L. FERGUSON.

## VI.

### THE PANAMA CANAL.

STRAITS are defined to be narrow passages of water communicating from one sea to another. If ever completed, the Panama Canal will be such a passage; and the rules of international law which govern the navigation of straits in general will apply to the navigation of this artificial strait. The only modifications will be such as may be necessary to the recognition and protection of individual or corporate rights, incident to proprietary interests.

It is a rule, then, that when the navigation of the two seas is free, the navigation of the channel by which they are connected ought to be free. And this is true although the connecting channel be bounded on both sides by the territory of some sovereign, and so narrow as to be easily commanded by cannon shot from both sides. In such cases, the territorial jurisdiction of the sovereign is modified by the right of other nations to pass from sea to sea. But this right of other nations to pass from sea to sea is limited by the inherent right of the sovereign State through whose territory the channel passes, to prescribe such rules and regulations as may be deemed necessary to its safety. And this may, in certain cases, amount to positive prohibition. Thus, although the passage must remain free to private merchant vessels, it may, as a matter of right, be declared closed to all public armed vessels. And since this is a right incident to its sovereignty, the State owning the territory through which the channel passes may enter into alliances to enforce it.

Another rule is, that the State owning the passage may exempt its own citizens, and those of its ally, from all tonnage or other dues, without thereby invalidating its right to withhold like privileges from the citizens of all other nations. Thus, the Republic of Colombia, which owns the Isthmean Transit, has guaranteed "to the citizens of the United States all the exemptions, privi-"leges and immunities . . . . which are now enjoyed, or may hereafter "be enjoyed" by its own citizens; the consideration being the efficient guaranty of the neutrality of the transit, and of Colombia's dominion over the territory through which it passes. [*Treaty* 1846, *art.* 35.]

The Colombian Republic, in the legitimate exercise of its sovereign right in the premises, has even gone beyond this. In the treaty referred to, it "guar-"antees to the Government of the United States that the right of way or tran-"sit across the Isthmus of Panama, upon any modes of communication that "now exist or may be hereafter constructed, shall be open and free to the Gov-

"ernment of the United States." No conditions whatever are imposed. With respect to the United States *Government*, the right of passage is absolute; and the only condition as to its "citizens" is, that they pay the same dues, etc., as do citizens of Colombia [*Ib. Id.*].

If, therefore, our Government should claim the exercise of the right thus conferred, by claiming the absolute freedom of the canal for its war vessels, is is difficult to see upon what grounds a reasonable objection could be raised. And if, in virtue of this treaty right on the one hand, and of Colombia's inherent right on the other, the two nations should declare the canal closed, as a matter of right, to the war flags of all other powers, upon what principle of public law, or according to what international precedent, could European powers object?

It is wholly improbable that any formal protest would follow; because it would be not only an unwarrantable intervention in the affairs of the American Continent, but an open violation of European precedent. No two principles are more permanently incorporated into the public law of Europe than the one which excludes foreign war ships and the one which admits foreign merchant vessels to the waters of straits. This is illustrated by the diplomatic annals of Europe during the past half century. The Treaty of Adrianople, of 1829, distinctly proclaimed it. Russia, and the powers at amity with her, were admitted to the navigation of the Black Sea, while the entry of all foreign war vessels into the Straits of Constantinople and the Dardanelles was prohibited. By the Treaty of London, in 1841, the entry of foreign war ships into those straits was again prohibited, although the waters of both were declared open to merchant ships of all nations. By the Treaty of Paris, in 1856, when the Black Sea was made neutral, it was declared open to merchant vessels of all nations; but its waters and those of the straits leading to it, were declared closed to all foreign war vessels, except those of the allied powers. And again, in 1871, when this treaty was modified by the London Conference, "the principle of the closure to war vessels" was "maintained," and "the right of the allied powers to agree to the harmless use" of those straits by war vessels of other nations was conceded.

Nor would the exercise of this right by Colombia and the United States conflict with any vested rights of the Canal Company. In her concession to that company Colombia nowhere assumes an obligation that war vessels of other nations shall be allowed to pass the canal. It is merely stipulated that *when* such vessels are allowed to pass, the company may fix the rate of tolls; and it is competent to Colombia to declare that "when." [See Concession of 1878.] But suppose the contrary were the case, and that Colombia had obligated herself to the company to allow such vessels to pass, the grant would necessarily conflict with a prior concession to the United States, and would be, for that reason, simply null and void. [See *Treaty of* 1846, *New Granada and the United States, art.* 35.]

Again, our obligation to maintain the neutrality of the canal implies the right to the use of all the means necessary to that end; and this implies the right to establish naval stations and dockyards contiguous to the termini of the canal whenever, in the judgment of the two allied powers, that shall be

necessary. If, therefore, in contemplation of emergencies likely to arise, Colombia and the United States should enter into a supplemental agreement whereby the former shall cede to the latter, for a valid consideration, suitable sites for the purposes indicated, the transaction would be clearly within the scope and meaning of the existing treaty.

This treaty (of December, 1846), whereby we guaranty the neutrality of the Isthmus and the sovereignty of Colombia over it, was entered into by the United States with great reluctance. We were then in our national infancy, and fears were entertained by some of our ablest statesmen of that day that it might involve us in some vexatious international complications. So deep-seated was this feeling at one time that, even after the treaty had been ratified, the Executive Department, at the instance of the Panama Railway Company, committed the blunder of asking European powers to join in the guaranty. Fortunately, however, the proposition was rejected; nor is it likely ever to be renewed. Lord John Russell, speaking for the English Government, declared "the sole guaranty by the United States ample for any emergencies likely to arise;" and a similar expression was elicited from the French Government. If, therefore, our sole guaranty was deemed ample for all practical purposes thirty years ago, when our population and material resources were little more than half what they are now, it ought to be deemed ample still.

These are understood to be some of the salient points heretofore contended for by the United States Government, with respect to a water transit of the American Isthmus. They accord with European precedent in like cases, and are deemed essential to our safety against possible enemies. They are in perfect accord with our earliest traditions, and are supported by the concurrent interests and desires of our sister Republic of Colombia. We ought, therefore, to be fully prepared to maintain them at whatever cost.

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Miss KATE FIELD,

IN THE

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## "Ouida" on Female Suffrage

**In the September Number of the North American Review.**

## PROF. CHS. LUDWIG VON SEEGER,

*Professor of Medicine at the Royal University; Knight of the Royal Austrian Order of the Iron Crown; Knight Commander of the Royal Spanish Order of Isabella; Knight of the Royal Prussian Order of the Red Eagle; Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, etc., etc.,* says:

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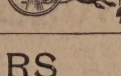

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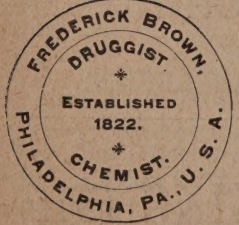

# LOTTA AND HER MOTHER.

A newspaper reporter recently passing along Broad Street, in Philadelphia, overheard the following dialogue between two coachmen, sitting in their coach boxes, whips and reins in hand, at the curb in front of the Lafayette Hotel:

"Did you see that little woman jumping into that coupé?"

"Well, what of it?"

"What of it? Why, that is the great Mrs. Crabtree, mother of the famous actress, Lotta!"

This brief conversation led the reporter to look in the direction of a vehicle rapidly moving along the center of the street, when a smile and nod of recognition came from the lady, to whom an introduction had once been given, but, without knowing the relationship or anything more of her than her name—the name had almost been forgotten. Now, there was a suggestion of a newsy article in the dialogue just listened to, and a call was at once made on one of the hotel attachés—one of the courteous kind—who, knowing many people and many things of interest about them, are always willing to communicate. Questions, the reporter's privilege, developed a series of facts of interest to the public, chief of which was that Mrs. Crabtree is a thorough-going business woman, and that her ability as a manager has been one of the chief factors in the phenomenal success which Lotta has attained. She is a lady of wide culture and intelligence, and, having spent much of her time in travel, she has broad views of men and things. Mrs. Crabtree is a woman of great wealth; she invests her means in all parts of the country. Just now she is investing a large amount of money about fifty miles from New York City, in the beautiful Highlands of New Jersey. The mansion and grounds are calculated as the home for Miss Lotta and her mother when they shall retire from public life. The long, low, rambling edifice is to be called "The Ranch," and will be furnished regardless of cost, every article to be of American manufacture. Lotta and her mother are devoted to each other, and they are each other's almost inseparable companions. They are great favorites among all the people about this hotel. As to Mrs. Crabtree's knowledge of the stage and its demands, she counsels with no one but Lotta, making good the reverse of the adage, "What is everybody's business is nobody's business." Her tactics are calculated to attract the attention of the public at all times in ways it least expects, and so she is constantly investigating new fields to further her work. One of her cardinal beliefs is that health leads to prosperity and wealth. When Lotta was indisposed, about two years ago, it was through the researches of Mrs. Crabtree that she was taken from her physicians in New York and brought for treatment to Philadelphia. She often speaks of the wonderful restoration of Miss Lotta, which prevented disaster to her company and a great pecuniary loss to themselves.

Thus much and more the reporter gleaned at the Lafayette Hotel, when the thought came, Why not go direct to Miss Lotta herself, and have a talk with her, for whatever she may be willing to say will at any time be welcomed by the newspaper-reading public, especially in this city, where she is a great favorite? So a call was at once made upon the little lady. This was excusable for the reason that it had been a two years' wonder to the amusement-loving public how Lotta could be so sick that while one of the theatres where she was engaged was compelled to close for one week, at the end of that time she was well enough to resume her play of *Nitouche*. More than this, it had been noticed that her voice had acquired fresh volume, and that in *Nitouche*, which is a singing play, she could be heard in ensemble as well as in solo.

It was at the residence of Mrs James H. Heverin (wife of the eminent counselor-at-law) that the little lady was found. She was spending the day there with Mrs. Heverin, who is one of her special friends. A cordial welcome was given, and in the presence of her hostess, after the usual formalities of a visit were complied with, the subject of her health and the means of its restoration were broached, and she was asked to tell the story.

"Oh! yes," she responded, "most gladly. You may remember the terrible sore throat I had two years ago—that it baffled the skill of my New York physicians? After burning my throat, and positively prohibiting my appearance before an audience for an unlimited time, I was promised great things if I would try the 'Compound Oxygen,' so I immediately came to Philadelphia, and put myself under the care of Drs. Starkey & Palen."

"Did you experience relief immediately?"

"It was evident from the first inhalation that I had done the right thing, for the Treatment seemed to bring the whole trouble under immediate control."

"Then you do not favor burning the throat or any of the methods usually resorted to?"

"No. I think it a harsh and cruel treatment, and it cannot be long before Compound Oxygen will come to the rescue of all the profession."

"Drs. Starkey & Palen claim that the health obtained by the Compound Oxygen Treatment is as genuine and permanent as one's original health. Does your experience confirm that opinion?"

"Yes, it most certainly does. I have not been sick an hour since I used the Oxygen. My mother has also been greatly benefited by the use of the Oxygen, and is as great an enthusiast as I. It seems to invigorate the whole constitution, and imparts fresh life to every part of the body. In my profession I am always studying from nature. I observe the expressions, gestures, and ways of the various people with whom I meet, and find that my power of observation has grown more acute and discriminating since my treatment with the Oxygen. In the voice alone there is a most perceptible gain. Long and sustained notes have become easy, and whether talking or singing I find it now no labor. Persons who sing or talk much on the stage or platform feel a certain amount of exhaustion at the end of the season, and to them the use of the Compound Oxygen would be of great value. I wonder these gentlemen have not brought it to the notice of the acting profession before. It is just what we all need."

"Do you think it would have the same effect on the system as change of climate?"

"Yes, and without the disadvantages of long journeys in pursuit of health, such as the loss of home comforts and the interference with regular business pursuits."

"Did you have any unpleasant sensations while taking the Oxygen?"

"No, on the contrary, the sensations were pleasant."

"Do you give your full consent to make this interview public?"

"I certainly do. You are at liberty to say I said so."

Among all the gifted ladies who adorn the stage Lotta is decidedly the pet and favorite. Her intense vitality, her beauty, and the versatility of her talents, and, above all, her nobility of character, draw all classes to see her. She is modest about her own merits. She believes the test of talent is public appreciation. Surely no one has passed this test with greater éclat than this gifted lady. Her wide travel and facilities for learning of the latest results of scientific research in the healing art make her judgment and her experience of the merits of Compound Oxygen a valuable guide to others who may need like aid. Some may wish to know something more of this new remedial agent, and may care to read what the physicians who administer it have to say about it. We find the following statement of the theory and mode of operation of Compound Oxygen in one of their recent publications:

"When the life-blood has made the circuit of the arteries and veins—before re-entering the heart, to be started on its circuit anew—it spreads over the surface of the air-cells of the lungs—a surface greater in area than the exterior covering of the body. Here the air inhaled by the lungs meets it, changing its color to crimson, and imparting to it new vitality. *Here kindly Nature has been ever a Healer and Repairer;* here modern science finds the proper place to help Nature in the most effective way. Taking the fact that the usual proportions of the mixture of the elements of the atmosphere are the proportions exactly adapted to the needs of the average body in health, and seeing that an extra effort is needed for the sick to repair the waste of vital force in the blood, a different proportion is made in a mixture of the atmospheric elements—a lesser quantity of Nitrogen is put with a larger portion of Oxygen. When this 'Compound Oxygen' is used, the blood enters the heart with increased vitality. That organ receives a portion of that vitality from the blood in its passage, and sends it forth with more force and less wear to itself; the vital currents leave on their circuit new deposits of vital force in every cell of tissue over which they pass, and return again to the lungs for a new supply. This simple statement is a rational explanation of the greatest advance that medical science has yet made."

"*Compound Oxygen—its Mode of Action and Results,*" is the title of a volume of nearly two hundred pages, published by Drs. Starkey & Palen, 1529 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa., which gives to all inquirers full information as to this remarkable curative agent, and a large record of surprising cures in a wide range of chronic cases—many of them after being abandoned to die by other physicians. It will be mailed free to any address on application.

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## BUSINESS ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Among the important essays that will appear at an early date in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW are :

**"An American Queen."** By GAIL HAMILTON. [In October.]
**"Female Suffrage":** A Reply to Ouida. By Mrs. MARY A. LIVERMORE. [In October.]
**"Cities of Italy."** By OUIDA.
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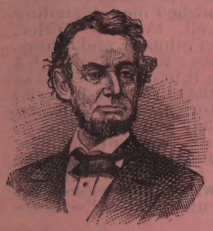

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No. CCCLVIII.

SEPTEMBER, 1886.


## PAYMENT OF THE NATIONAL DEBT.

It has become apparent that great interests are at work to prevent the payment of the national debt, and to permanently fasten upon us the British funding-system, of which, while it was yet in its small beginning, Lord Bolingbroke said, in 1748, that it is a "method" by which "one part of the nation is pawned to the other, with hardly any hope left of ever being redeemed." Of all the possible disasters which may happen to the country, the reversal of its traditional debt-paying policy will be one of the greatest. Nothing would more profoundly change for the worst all the principles and workings of the Government. The reasons for persevering in the extinguishment of the financial obligations of the Civil War are innumerable, but within the limits of this article, I can only notice briefly a few of them.

1. That debt-paying is our traditional policy will be more vividly realized from a recital of some particulars of our history in that respect. Our Government went into operation, under the present constitution, in 1789. In the enumeration, in that instrument, of the purposes for which Congress is empowered to levy taxes, the payment of the public debt comes first, and the history of that time shows that the restoration of the finances was a chief object of the new constitution. Quoting its language, the

taxing power was conferred "to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare." The conduct of the generation which framed the constitution, and first administered it, is a luminous commentary upon its true meaning and intent. Within forty-four years after 1789, not only was the revolutionary debt of $80,000,000, which was greater than that of the Civil War, with proper allowances for differences of population and wealth, paid off, but also the debt of the war of 1812 and 1815 with England, and the obligation for $20,000,000 incurred in the purchase of Louisiana and Florida. It might have been said, posterity should be left to pay for the lands acquired by these purchases, and falling to them as a vast inheritance, being fully one half of the present territorial area of the republic; but not so did the fathers reason. It was their pride and glory to remove all encumbrances from the patrimony of their children. "Not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear," is the grand and noble sentiment of Washington, in that part of his farewell address, in which he urged the earliest possible extinction of the debt.

In his second annual message, Mr. Jefferson advised "the payment of our public debt, and the emancipation of our posterity from that moral canker."

General Jackson, who had, in his first inaugural, declared that a national debt was "incompatible with real independence," assigned, in his fifth annual message, as a reason for rejoicing over its extinction,—"the satisfaction of bequeathing to the public servants who follow us, the rare blessing of a revenue unencumbered with any burden." In his message vetoing the United States Bank Bill, he said, "Pay the national debt. Let no surplus be allowed in the treasury. Practice the closest economy in the expenditures of the Government."

Of the seven presidents during the forty-four years which witnessed the complete discharge of the great debts of our two wars with England, and of our territorial purchases from France and Spain, five had borne conspicuous parts in civil or military life during the Revolutionary War. The last two, J. Q. Adams and General Jackson, both born in 1767, were too young to participate in that struggle; but they were close to the generation which carried it through, and thoroughly imbued with its hostility to perpetual debts and fund-mongering. All these seven presidents, in

their official addresses and in their private correspondence, insisted from first to last, in season and out of season, that a public debt was among the greatest of public mischiefs, and that no efforts and sacrifices to get rid of it could be too great.

President Washington, in six of eight of his annual addresses to Congress, and in his farewell address to the country, gave to debt-paying the most conspicuous place in his recommendations. The elder Adams urged the payment of the revolutionary debt, and especially warned the country against imitating the funding-system of Europe.

Jefferson, in seven of his eight annual messages, classed the early and complete discharge of the debt as among the first of public duties.

Both Madison and Monroe were equally strenuous and persistent on this point. The younger Adams insisted, in his inaugural, upon the duty "to discharge, with all possible promptitude, the national debt." In his second annual message, he urged "steady and inflexible perseverance" in that work, and in his third message he spoke "of the deep solicitude of our citizens of all classes" for its speedy completion.

General Jackson, who, as a candidate for the presidency, had declared, in his letter of April 26th, 1824, to Dr. Coleman, that a national debt was "a curse to a republic, inasmuch as it is calculated to raise round the administration a moneyed aristocracy, dangerous to the liberties of the country," remained steadfast in that opinion after his election to the chief-magistracy, and insisted that the tax on tea and coffee should not be given up until the payment of the debt was fully assured.

During the darkest days of our Civil War, the debt-paying traditions of the republic were never lost sight of. A sinking fund was provided for all debts created, and Secretary Chase of the treasury kept all the new and great obligations incurred within the reach of an early option of redemption, following in that the policy of Albert Gallatin, when he was at the head of the treasury during the war of 1812 and 1815. The debates in Congress, after the Civil War was over, upon the funding-act of July 14th, 1870, show that, even if there was then in some quarters a secret wish or hope that the debt might be perpetual, nobody ventured to avow any other policy than that of its steady reduction and final payment. It surely will not be an easy thing to persuade the

country to reverse precedents which have been unbroken for nearly a century, and to begin now, for the first time, in the midst of peace and abounding wealth, to enter upon the policy of debt-perpetuation.

2. The payment of the debt is the most effective method of preparing for war in time of peace. It is, also, the most direct means of avoiding war, since nothing can more plainly tend to dissuade foreign nations from making aggressions upon us, than to see that our finances are unencumbered and available for defense. If we were to-day involved in hostilities with a foreign country, we should be obliged, first of all, for the essential purpose of protecting our credit, to provide $48,750,000 annually, which is the official estimate of the interest on the debt during the current fiscal year. If free from debt, we should, with the same revenue, have $48,750,000 more in hand to expend every year in military and naval operations. Furthermore, as the enormous money-cost of modern wars always creates a necessity for loans, we could borrow more abundantly, and at easier rates, than if our credit was partly exhausted by obligations already outstanding. It was, "as a very important source of strength and security," that General Washington, in his farewell address, advised the country to "cherish public credit," and, as the best means to that end, to make "vigorous exertions in times of peace to discharge the debt which unavoidable wars have occasioned." He knew practically, as well as theoretically, that "money is the sinews of war," and with that sound sense which never failed him, he saw that nothing would more surely put us in a position to command the sinews of war, than to be free from the drain of interest and impairment to credit resulting from preëxisting debts.

The genius, traditions, and situations of the United States are all opposed to offensive wars, and no preparation for them need be made. Indeed, it would be injurious to make preparations for such wars, because nations which are always armed for a fight are like individuals in a similar case, always tempted to engage in one. For defensive wars, scarcely any other preparation is necessary than that of making our finances impregnable, by making haste in times of peace to relieve them of all encumbrances. With that preparation we shall, in all human probabilities, escape war for an indefinite period. Our last war with any of the European powers was finished seventy years ago, and the danger of a new

one decreases as their estimates of our strength increases. Nothing has so impressed them with our resources as the vigor and steadiness with which this country has thus far addressed itself to the work of making continuous payments on the principal of the debt of the Civil War. The London *Economist* of March 10th, 1883, said :

"The grandeur of the American Republic, considered in its external policy, has moreover been greatly increased by its debt-paying policy ; for it has been felt that a people which could raise four or five hundred millions sterling at three per cent. was, on that account alone, a great people; one which, on cause shown, could create fleets and armies almost out of the ground."

In the light of this extract from the *Economist*, we can better understand what it said on the 4th of October last in respect to the feeling of the French toward England. "A notion that England is bad to fight (a feeling akin to that of our own people about the United States) is very widely diffused."

Clearly, this country has no army or navy in existence of which foreign nations need be very much afraid. What they respect is our power to raise, equip, and maintain armies and navies, and they know that this power becomes greater in proportion to our progress in freeing ourselves from financial clogs and encumbrances. The London *Spectator* of April, 14th, 1883, said :

"The grand reason for paying debt is that we want to strengthen the credit of the State, as the cheapest and best of all insurances. If any one doubts that, let him look at the position of the United States. That grand republic has no fleet, and on the water could hardly fight Spain ; but she has reduced her debt by strenuous paying, and every one knows that if she wanted a fleet to blow Spain out of the water, or to contest the seas with us, she could buy and complete one in twelve months. Her payment of her debt is an insurance, not only against defeat, but against attack."

As freeing ourselves from the shackles of debt is the most effective preparation for war, and thereby the best prevention of war, so it is preferable, in many other respects, to the method of maintaining great armies and navies, which are not only extremely costly, but in many ways demoralizing, and certain to run into great abuses.

In navies, since the incoming of iron-clads, of iron and steel war-ships, propelled by steam, and of rapidly succeeding inventions in armaments, there has been a most deplorable record in this and other countries of untold millions sunk in experimental construc-

tions, all recommended as infallible instrumentalities of war, but all either proving useless upon trial, or soon superseded by something better. The British navy accomplished very little in the war of 1854 and 1855 against Russia, and the French navy absolutely nothing against Germany in the war of 1870 and 1871. Iron-clads, more than anything else, bankrupted Turkey, and now threaten Italy with financial ruin. There is not one of the great European powers the efficiency of whose naval establishments is not profoundly distrusted by their own experts. In contrast with the frightful expense of these doubtful methods of preparing for war, the payment of the principal of debts costs nothing. Unlike the payment of interest, it is not an expenditure, but for every dollar paid there is a corresponding reduction of the mortgage on the property and labor of those who pay. Instead of being expenditures, payments of principal stop expenditure by stopping interest, and it is to such payments that the French maxim, "Whoever pays, enriches himself," exactly applies.

3. The locking up of loaning-capital in public debt diminishes by so much the supply of such capital for other purposes, and thereby enhances the rate demanded and obtained upon all loans and investments of money. It affects, in the same way, the rents of houses and other structures, which in the large cities constitute an important item in the cost of living. Men will not erect buildings for renting unless the expected rental bears a certain relation to the interest on money. The payment of $600,000,000 of the principal of the national debt, during the six years ending November 1st, 1884, produced a decisive fall in the rates of loans to States, counties, municipalities, and railroads, and to individuals in good credit on good security. While this has been a great advantage to enterprise, it has been distasteful to lenders. This is the leading cause of the disposition to perpetuate the national debt, which is distinctly visible among powerful classes in the North-Eastern States, which are the great possessors of loanable capital, and the great suppliers of it to the South and West. It has been the leading cause, during this century of the perpetuation of the British debt, which would have been paid off in 1843 if Pitt's sinking-fund had been adhered to.

A writer in this country has collected the evidence from the British parliamentary debates, that in 1802, 1807, and 1813, the three first occasions when Pitt's sinking-fund was broken into, the

special reason assigned was that the effort of paying off debts injured capitalists by reducing the rate of interest on all loans. If that writer had continued his investigation to later dates, he would have found that the war upon the sinking-fund was persevered in, and upon the same ground, until its enemies were finally able to get rid of it, after the close of the Liverpool Administration, in 1827, which had held firmly to the debt-paying ideas of Pitt.

In 1826, with a debt of 840,000,000 sterling, the British sinking-fund was only about 5,000,000 sterling, or about six-tenths of one per cent., but the moneyed classes could not bear even that small payment, and, on the 17th of February in that year, in the House of Lords, the Earl of Louxderdale declaimed against the tendency of it to reduce the rate of interest, saying, among other things:

"The public had now to contend with an excessive capital equal to 5,000,000 sterling, thrown in annually to such employment in other interests. Must not this extraordinary supply of capital diminish the value? This it was that reduced the interest on fixed securities. They must see how the case stood with those who had disposable capital. Mortgages at five per cent. were, in hundreds of instances, redeemed in money at lower interest."

Professor Sidgwick is recognized in England as one of the ablest of living British economical writers. What is of equal consequence, he is very little chargeable with the besetting sin of men of his class, which is that of catering to such special interests as are most powerful. In his "Principles of Political Economy," published in 1883, he makes the following frank admission of the effect of national borrowings to so change the distribution of the annual aggregate productions of a country as to aggrandize capital and depress labor:

"There is another less obvious disturbance of preëxisting distributions which borrowing, whether for profitable outlay or to ward off calamities, tends to bring, namely, by raising the rate of interest, and thereby raising the share of the aggregate produce that falls to capital. The gain to capitalists from the rise of interest inevitably involves a corresponding loss to labor."

4. In addition to giving to moneyed capitalists, by raising the rate of interest, an increased share as against labor in the productive enterprises in which a part of their capital is engaged, public debts quarter them on the taxes, as to that part of it which is invested in such debts. A debt-roll, so far as the interest payments are concerned, is nothing but a pension-roll, the inscriptions on which are obtained, not by meritorious service in the field or in civil

life, but by purchase, and in the case of great war loans, almost always at very cheap rates. So long as the principal is not paid, the debt, in its full proportions, is immortal, and the tax-payers remain forever the tributaries of the holders of the debt—be they who they may, Jew or Gentile, aliens, citizens living at home, or citizens expatriating themselves to spend their pensions in enjoying the luxuries or vices of foreign cities. Such a roll, if it is a long one, must always contain the names of many of the most detestable or contemptible of mankind, to be tributary to whom adds a deeper tinge to the degradation of being tributary to anybody. It was a metaphor of the English courtiers, referred to by Lord Bacon as being old in his times, to liken taxes to the water which is drawn up from the earth to descend again from the clouds in fructifying rains. An enemy of Charles the First said, in the Long Parliament, that it descended then "in hailstones and mildews."

The theory of a good government is to be always economically administered, and to confine itself to the essential objects of public services. If that theory could be perfectly carried out in practice, taxes would not be a burden, but only a payment of fair equivalent for indispensable needs. The efforts of a wise people should always be to bring the practice of their government nearer and nearer to the point of theoretical perfection in the disposition of the proceeds of taxation. But it reverses the whole theory of a just taxation to permit the existence, for one day longer than is absolutely necessary, of an army of tax-devourers in the form of receivers of interest on public debts. Under that baleful system, taxes no longer "fall back to earth again in fertilizing showers" upon those who contribute them, but are diverted into rivulets and streams for the fattening of the fields of special classes; and this diversion is carried in modern times to an extent which leaves the fields of the non-favored classes so parched and barren that they yield little more than enough to keep soul and body together.

In England, for forty years after the battle of Waterloo, one-half of the taxes was paid over, under the name of interest, to the national debt-holders; and even now, seventy years after that memorable ending of the Napoleonic wars, one-third of the taxes goes the same way, the interest not having been lessened, but other expenditures having been increased. Since the surrender of General Lee, the United States have paid $2,200,000,000 as interest-

money, and it had been paid in gold at an appreciating value. If we pay no more of the principal of the debt until the four per cent. bonds mature in 1907, we shall by that time pay $1,045,000,000 more as interest-money. It is only the interest upon the four-and-one-halfs which we can reduce; if that is lowered to three per cent. in 1891, the earliest day at which it can be done, the saving will be $60,000,000 from 1891 to 1907; but allowing for that saving which may be expected to be made, we shall still have $985,000,000 to pay as interest-money between the present time and 1907, if we abandon the policy of making payments on the principal of the debt. And it must be noted that these $985,000,000 will be paid, not by posterity, but by this generation, and that it is this generation, and not posterity, which will enjoy the advantage of whatever saving of interest, between now and 1907, should be effected by adhering to the policy of reducing the principal of the debt.

5. The steady reduction—looking always to the early extinction of the debt—will remove causes of heart-burnings and jealousies between different classes and sections, and tend strongly to consolidate and animate the patriotism of the masses of the people.

The non-taxability of our government bonds, for national, State, county, or municipal purposes, is an odious feature, and, right or wrong, it can never be made otherwise. It may have been necessary and wise to make them non-taxable, although I do not believe it was. The British debt was never non-taxable, and to-day is paying a heavy income tax. It is, however, idle to discuss the question, as it is now the clear contract-right of the holder of our bonds to enjoy exemption from taxation, and there is nothing to be done but to do what we have agreed to do; but it is in a high degree expedient that the spectacle of a class of persons, enjoying the safest and most desirable form of property, while contributing nothing to the public charges, should be gotten rid of in any honest and lawful way as soon as possible.

Another source of discontent is the substantially exclusive holding of these bonds in a small section of the north-eastern part of the Union. Nobody is to blame for their concentration in that particular section. It has resulted from the fact that it is there that the loanable capital of the country is chiefly found, which is due to its having had a considerable density of population many years in advance of the other parts of the Union, and to the ad-

mirable industry, economy, ingenuity, enterprise, and thrift of the people who have occupied it; nevertheless, the West and South believe, and it is true, that the actual distribution of the holdings of the national debt make them tributary to the North-East. They will not be, and ought not to be, content to have a large part of the loanable capital of the North-East receive its income permanently from the proceeds of general taxation. It may be true that in territorially small countries, like England and France, with a general similarity of condition over their whole areas as respects accumulation of realized wealth, a national debt, held at home and kept within reasonable limits, may give stability to the existing forms of government, and to the dynasties actually in power, although it cannot fail to weaken such countries in their external relations. But in a country of vast extent, like the United States, made up of parts exceedingly dissimilar in financial situation, a few of them lenders of capital while the majority of them are borrowers, a national debt is a source of discontent and a constant temptation to disintegration.

N. P. Hill.

# RECONSTRUCTION DAYS.

## I.

THE July number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW contained a series of important letters bearing on reconstruction days. This series is continued here. Some of these letters recall the questions born with the closing days of the war. Some of them relate to questions a little later than the war days; but all are of interest in the sense of what somebody has called the "Broken Lights of the Foreground."

The burning questions of ante-bellum days were forever settled. The origin of them all was dead. The surrender of the South brought new questions—new experiences. Some of the war-leaders had laid down the sword only to mount the rostrum, and, with the assassination of Lincoln, the new war of ideas and words commenced. Was the South IN the Union, or was the South OUT of the Union? Should the black man be enfranchised, or should he *not* be enfranchised?

The two problems formed the basis of all other political problems of the day.

Possibly the very first to openly declare an opinion as to negro enfranchisement was Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury. He not only expressed his opinions—he urged his principles on the Administration. The fact lends a double interest to those of his letters here printed, though fragmentary, and, in a sense, private.

Of scarcely less interest are the added letters of Generals Sherman, Grant, Ord, and others, bearing, as they do, on questions that were "burning" fifteen to twenty years ago, and the outgrowth of a conflict that, in the words of President Lincoln, "no mortal could make and no mortal could stay."

S. H. M. BYERS.

## II.

The note below, from General Halleck to General Sherman at

Vicksburg, shows the confidence felt in Washington at that time in the judgment of men who had been successful at arms, and who might have opinions worth knowing on civil affairs.

*Private.*

WASHINGTON, *August* 27, 1863.

MAJOR-GEN. W. T. SHERMAN, Vicksburg, Miss.

MY DEAR GENERAL: The question of reconstruction in Louisiana, Miss., and Ark. will soon come up for the decision of the Government, and not only the length of the war, but our ultimate and complete success, will depend upon its decision. It is a difficult matter, but I believe it can be successfully solved, if the President will consult the opinions of cool and discreet men who are capable of looking at it in all its bearings and effects. I think he is disposed to receive the advice of our Generals who have been in these States, and know much more of their condition than gassy politicians in Congress. Gen'l Banks has written pretty fully on the subject. I wrote to Gen'l Grant immediately after the fall of Vicksburg for his views in regard to Miss., but he has not yet answered. I wish you would consult with Grant, McPherson, and others of cool, good judgment, and write me your views fully. As I may wish to use them with the President, you had better write me unofficially, and then your letter will not be put on file, and cannot hereafter be used against you. You have been in Washington enough to know how everything a man writes or says is picked up by his enemies and misconstrued. With kind wishes for your future success, I am yours truly,

H. W. HALLECK.

## III.

What President Johnson's and Mr. Chase's views were, as to the recognition of official bodies chosen in the South previous to the ending of the war, may be seen by the following letter from Mr. Chase himself. This was just after the death of Mr. Lincoln. It would seem that Mr. Johnson was then more willing to have the military attempt something in a civil way for the restoration of the South than had been the case in the Johnston-Sherman treaty, though Mr. Chase also disapproved the latter. Mr. Lincoln had assured General Sherman, but a few weeks before, that the rebel State governments in existence at the time of their laying down their arms should have temporary recognition.

Mr. Johnson had other views. Admiral Porter has put on record that the terms offered Johnston by General Sherman were, as a matter of fact, President Lincoln's terms. Only his death prevented their approval. President Johnson's retreat from his own policy, and his later denunciation of negro-enfranchisement as an "untried experiment," were the first rocks in the way to reconstruction.

U. S. REV. STEAMER, WAYONDA,
*May* 5, 1865.

MY DEAR GENERAL: You were kind enough to show me Schofield's telegram. That you may see what my views are, I enclose printed copies of two letters of mine to President Lincoln, written on Tuesday and Wednesday preceding the great crime. They have been printed—a few copies only—for convenience, *not* for publication.

I have some reason to think that the views they express will ultimately be adopted. Indeed, it seems to me certain that the logic of events will coerce their adoption.

President Johnson is clearly of opinion that no official body or individual, owing election or appointment to rebel votes or authorities, can be recognized by the National Government, but that reorganization should proceed from the people. He would be gratified to have *all loyal* citizens participate in this work without reference to complexion, believing that by general suffrage the best, safest, and most permanent reorganization would be secured. I have ventured to represent to him the importance of settling some policy—adopting this, if possible—and taking the initiative by proclaiming and recommending it. The matter was under consideration when I left Washington. I am sure that judicious steps taken in this direction by General Schofield, or any other general commanding in a State whose government is disorganized by rebellion, would not be disapproved.

I was glad to have your explanations concerning the arrangement with Johnston. I shared the regret it was made, and disapproved of its terms, which your best friends felt; but neither my confidence in you, nor my gratitude for your services, ever knew the slightest diminution, and I am now as I have ever been since knowing you, with the sincerest admiration and esteem, your friend.

S. P. CHASE.

Major-General W. T. SHERMAN.

## IV.

General Sherman's "harshness toward the blacks," referred to by Mr. Chase in the following letter, was more apparent than real. The charge that he looked upon them as a "sort of pariahs almost without rights," will sound amusing to many who knew Sherman's real sentiments. Sherman's mind was taken up, first of all, with putting down the rebellion. That done, he was as ready to protect the colored man as any officer in the country, regardless as to his own sentiments as to the propriety of this or that. On the occasion referred to, when he wished his camp to be cleared of "surplus negroes and mules," he only wished for room. There were too many wagons, too many mules, too many negroes, too many sick soldiers about the camp. They were in his way, and in his request to have them removed, he bluntly put

them together in a phrase, and without a thought of offense or of classing the negroes with the cattle. His later actions proved this.

WASHINGTON, *January* 2, 1865.

DEAR GENERAL: In common with all loyal men, I partake the gratitude and admiration inspired by the services of your army and yourself. My hopes of you at the beginning were great. They have been more than realized; and I trust that the country's debt to you is yet to be largely augmented.

But there is one feature of your military administration which gives pain to many, and I think I perform the part of a true friend, and infringe no rule of propriety, in mentioning it to you.

I refer to the apparent harshness of your action towards the blacks. You are understood to be opposed to their employment as soldiers, and to regard them as a sort of pariahs almost without rights. In your first report after opening communication with General Foster, you spoke of the necessity of ridding your camp of the surplus negroes, mules, etc. I do not remember the exact words, but I do remember the report. I felt that an expression classing men with cattle found place in a paper which cannot fail to be historical.

In my judgment, negroes as men have the same rights as other men. The President has, by proclamation and as a military measure, enfranchised those who were held as slaves in the Rebel States. The Attorney-General, in a well-considered opinion, has asserted the citizenship of those who are free. And it seems to me not doubtful, that in the political reorganization of the States in insurrection, political as well as natural rights must be conceded to a portion, at least, of the colored population. For myself, indeed, I freely say that I see no reason why all citizens may not vote, subject only to such restrictions as are applicable to all, irrespective of color. I feel sure that the justice and good sense of the people will, at least, demand the right of suffrage for all who are educated, and all who have borne arms in the service of the Union. Without this, at least, I see no security against attempted re-enslavement, against the most inhuman and cruel discrimination and treatment of the colored people as a class, or indeed, against the ascendency of the disloyal element in the insurgent States, as soon as the military pressure shall be removed.

Doubtless you have thought much on these subjects. But may I not ask you to take them again into your consideration? May I not ask you especially to avoid any appearance of harshness or severity which does not represent or express your real sentiments and convictions? You have a great and most responsible position. Your example, for good or evil, will be followed by officers of lower character and less discretion. Your action will influence largely the destinies of multitudes. It is my anxious wish that it may command for you the lasting gratitude of all good men, and the approval of Him who is no "respecter of persons."

With the sincerest respect and esteem, yours very truly,

S. P. CHASE.

Maj.-Gen. W. T. SHERMAN.

V.

This letter from Mr. Chase to General Sherman not only shows the high regard in which the latter was held by him, but his conscientious wish to smooth matters over after the outrageous action of both Halleck and Stanton toward Sherman, who had been branded almost as a traitor at the very moment he was receiving the nation's applause. Time and investigation, though, have pretty fully convinced the public that the action of Stanton and Halleck was not so much the result of enmity, jealousy, or malice as it was the consequence of a temporary stampede of political sense, following the assassination of the President. The second note below, from Mr. Chase, too, still bears on the enfranchisement of the negro.

[Morehead City, N. C.]
U. S. Rev. Steamer Wayonda,
*May* 6, 1865.

Dear General: I have always been thought a radical in principle, and never have disclaimed the name; but I have tried to be conservative in working, and have generally got along without breaking things. This morning, I met at Beaufort, Col. Taylor, a gentleman of ability, a holder of a hundred and twenty-five slaves before the war, and a handsome estate in lands. He has come to the conclusion that it is best to restore the *old* constitution of North Carolina, under which *all freemen* voted, and believes that the Union and Union men will be safest with *universal suffrage*. I met others with different opinions, but none manifested any such feeling as would lead me to expect any renewal of trouble from the extension of the elective franchise to *all loyal citizens*, and inviting all to participate in the work of reorganization.

The matter must be left to consideration and reflection. It is a clear duty to be frank and open; and this duty requires the National Government to say distinctly what, in its dictionary, the words "loyal people" mean. The most obvious signification should, in my judgment, be adopted. All *loyal men* must be taken as the synonymous expression. John Sherman has maintained this view, I am told, since the adjournment of Congress, in a speech in Ohio. But I will trouble you no further with these ideas. Time will try all opinions. Our ends are the same, permanent Union and permanent peace.

Let me, however, most respectfully, but very earnestly, advise against the publication of the general order you have sent me. I cannot see that any good will come of it; but I fear some evil.

My knowledge of the internal administration of the War Department for nearly a year past has been only that which all may gather from the journals, and, of course, I am not well enough informed to judge of the motives of recent action. I cannot believe, however, that it had its origin in any bad feeling towards you; so far as Randal, Johnson, or Secretary Stanton are concerned. Since my conversation with you, I have seen more clearly the motives and

views which governed you. I presume they do also, and will soon become more fully informed and more definitely impressed. I know what your feelings must be, but you are not required to do anything to ensure full justice to your acts and intentions both from the Government and the people.

I hope you will let time and reason do the work of your vindication, and put the order, at least, in abeyance.

Pardon this expression of opinion on a matter of which you are so much the better judge. Your kindness in permitting me to see the order seems to warrant it.

You are a native of Ohio, a State which adopted me and has dealt most generously with me. Your honor and fame are therefore especially dear to me. Besides this, your brother was my ablest and firmest supporter in my difficult financial administration, and my gratitude to him extends itself in some sort to you. So you must excuse my solicitude, not forgetting that it is that of one a good deal older than you are, who has had a large experience, though less varied perhaps than your own.

Very truly your friend,

Maj.-Gen. W. T. SHERMAN. S. P. CHASE.

## VI.

U. S. REV. STEAMER WAYONDA,
[MOREHEAD CITY, N. C.,]
*May* 5, 1865.

MY DEAR GENERAL: Thanks for your note: it is frank and to the point, and what you say shall be carefully pondered. All my opinions have been formed in the light of practical experience, and are subject to all the modifications and corrections it suggests.

You know that I have been long concerned in public affairs, and have had large interests to control and serve, both in Ohio and Washington. The lesson that is strongly impressed on my mind is that boldness and decision, guided by common sense and strict regard to rights, oftenest prove sure guides to safe results; and now my trouble in attempting reorganization without the loyal blacks, proved quite as much from the apprehension that it will work more practical evil than it will avoid, as from any abstract theory.

But you have my views and I have yours. Let us both reflect and observe. I will try to dismiss from my mind all mere preconceptions, and have no doubt you will do the same, and may God guide our country right.

Thinking it may be of some interest to you, and finding one among my papers, I send you a copy of the order to Gen'l Shepley. As I have only one, please return it. Yours most truly,

Maj.-Gen'l W. T. SHERMAN. S. P. CHASE.

# SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND.

"SOCIALISM has no chance in England. English workingmen are far too sensible to listen to the wild nonsense of continental revolutionists. Trades-unions, mechanics' institutes, coöperative stores, building societies, temperance lodges, savings banks—talk to them of these and they will give you a good hearing, but to lecture them on socialism is merely to waste your time and energy. No, depend upon it, socialism, scientific socialism, as you call it, will never take root here. The people are far too sturdily independent, and have too much faith in individual energy and self-help. Besides, wherever your schemes have been tried they have turned out failures. The whole thing is a dream, an unrealizable Utopia. Give it up, and devote yourself to practical politics : then you may do some good in your day and generation, and help the working classes, whose interests you wish to serve, far more than they can possibly be benefited by these crazy theories."

I wonder how often this, or something like it, was said to me when first I devoted myself to speaking the truths of socialism in England, more than five years ago. Those who called themselves advanced men were at that time specially incredulous as to any possibility of success. I remember dining one night about that time with my friend, Mr. Borlan, at the Windham Club, the other two guests being Professor Thorold Rogers and Mr. W. T. Marriott. All three then were extreme Radicals. With one accord they declared—and the last-named two had some experience of trade-unionists and political working-men—that first principles, and theories based upon history and economics, would never commend themselves to the English democracy ; that the day would never come when a genuine Social-Democratic Labor Party would get a footing in their islands. The same with the trade-unionist leaders, who all held similar language, though some of them had been members of the council of the old "International," and

had worked under the guidance of the celebrated Karl Marx. If prophecy of evil could have discouraged men, the little band of enthusiasts who have struggled on under the banner of the Social-Democratic Federation would have given it up long ago. It seems strange now, when we are the only growing party in Great Britain, the only one which has genuine faith in its principles, and can afford to be poor by reason of the extraordinary vigor and self-sacrifice of its members, to look back upon that day of small things. Some there were—and the late Lord Beaconsfield was among them—who said even then that our efforts would ere long bear fruit, and that, amid the break-up of our party ties and the decay of the middle-class parliamentary system, men who knew their own minds, and had a definite economical and social creed which they believed in, could not fail, sooner or later, to produce a deep impression on the minds of the people.

Readers of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW may read that, in October, 1882, I ventured, under the title of "The Coming Revolution in England," to urge that much was going on below the surface of English politics which pointed to a complete change as likely to take place within a comparatively short time; that our position was in many respects exceptionally favorable for the rapid development of social-democratic opinion; and that we were assuredly at the commencement of a new epoch in domestic affairs. All my prognostications are now manifestly in course of fulfillment; but I confess that I did not then think that events would march so rapidly as they have done, or that a combination of economical causes would help on our propaganda so effectually. At the commencement of a movement, it is, however, natural that those who are most active in the work should have an inclination to exaggerate somewhat the progress which is being made. If any of us ever did so, in order to keep up our own spirits and those of our fellow-workers, it is assuredly quite unnecessary to draw in the least upon imagination now. Socialism has become as familiar in Great Britain as radicalism, and is advancing among the working classes, in particular, almost too fast for our organization to keep pace with it.

This perhaps it is difficult for Americans, at first, to believe. They are kept admirably informed by their active and enterprising newspaper correspondents on matters which concern the surface of society; they hear all about home rule, political intrigues, and

lobby gossip; the prospects of the latest play, the details of the freshest (and nastiest) scandal, the chit-chat of the fashionable salons—all these things are cabled across the Atlantic with accuracy and are read with interest. But of the serious changes in the condition and opinions of the English working classes and wage-earners—of the overwhelming majority of the nation that is—of the movements below, which will probably make the history of England at the end of the nineteenth century far more interesting in every way to the student of social development than the history of France at the end of the eighteenth, they hear little or nothing. Unless, indeed, the fringe of a London mob chances to break windows or loot shops, when, for want of previous information and the means of understanding what has really taken place, the most absurd and inconsequent nonsense passes muster as sober truth.

Yet, surely, it is of the highest importance, in view of the threatening social difficulties which have to be dealt with in the United States as well as in England, that the educated classes in both countries should have a thorough understanding of what is going on among the workers in the two freest communities on the earth; and that each nation should see how far it is possible to learn from the other's experience the best way to give outlet to the demands of the class which now clamors for complete economical as for complete social and political enfranchisement. That the combination of the workers must eventually be international and world-wide is the conviction of Socialists of all schools. But two nations which have the same language, religion, and political traditions have a common groundwork to begin with, which is lacking in other cases.

Little more than five years ago, socialism in England may be said to have been confined to a few students and a little knot of working-men, who, without any deep knowledge of the question, constituted the English section of the Socialist Club—now dispersed—in a back alley near Soho Square. Organized Socialist agitation in any serious sense was unknown. The attempt to form vigorous Socialist centers, after the downfall of the Paris Commune, had proved a complete failure; and even Karl Marx, the founder of the International himself, had become hopeless, as he more than once told me, of any great movement in England, unless in response to some violent impetus from without. This was

the more remarkable that, at the beginning of the century and for fifty years afterward, the socialism of Robert Owen—materialist, but not historical or scientific—had been very widely discussed, and had gained many followers, not a few of whom are still living. Almost simultaneously the practical socialism of the Chartists, embracing as it did nationalization of the land and the advocacy of national coöperation, attained great popularity, owing to the vigorous, self-sacrificing efforts of Ernest Jones, Henry Vincent, George Julian Horney, Bronterre O'Brien, and others, whose writings are far in advance of the rubbish written by so-called Radicals to-day.

The very name of Social-Democrats, which some think we have imported from Germany, was used by Bronterre O'Brien nearly fifty years ago, long before the influence of Marx or Engels or Lassalle, to whom we now owe so much, had been felt in England at all. Moreover, Socialist tendencies, as it is the fashion to call them, may be traced in the English statute-book for centuries in succession, from the Poor Laws of Queen Elizabeth to the Factory Acts and Employers' Liability Acts of Victoria. But soon after the collapse of the great Chartist agitation—the first really important and organized upheaval of the proletariat in modern Europe against the bourgeoisie, for the attainment of definite class objects—after the breakdown of that effort in April, 1848, a period of apathy fell upon the English people, during which, so indifferent were the workers to any real improvement in their social condition, that the episode of the Hyde Park railings in 1866, now twenty years ago, is reckoned an important event in their history. It is not surprising, therefore, that in 1880, after a general election in which no serious question was put before the electorate and yet none appeared the least dissatisfied, it should seem hopeless to begin a Socialist campaign even under a political cover.

At the present time, however, there is already one powerful and rapidly increasing Socialist organization—the Social-Democratic Federation—with fifteen active branches in London alone, besides those in the principal industrial centers throughout the provinces. Not only are these branches supported by active, self-sacrificing men and women, who carry on the propaganda vigorously in their immediate neighborhood, and prepare for action at the polls in municipal, parish, and parliamentary elections, but they form clubs and centers, which in several instances are absorb-

ing the more active Liberals and Radicals, besides giving to those workers who had no definite political creed a means for combining with their fellows to attain an improvement in their social condition. Many circumstances have of late helped on the growth of this Social-Democratic Labor Party, which is alike the oldest and by far the most active body of Socialists in Great Britain. Our success in maintaining the right of public meeting in various open spaces, and afterward in East London; the vigorous agitation which we carried on in the metropolis and many other cities for three successive winters, in favor of giving useful work to the thousands of unemployed who here, as in the United States, had been thrown out of work by no fault of their own; the riots in Pall Mall and Piccadilly, with the great demonstration in Hyde Park which followed, and the acquittal of our three comrades, Burns, Champion, Williams, and myself, of any participation in the disturbance—all these matters have given the federation great advertisement, have secured for us definitely the lead in all working-class agitations, have led the workers throughout Great Britain to regard the Social-Democrats as men who, without any personal ends to gain, are ready to risk a good deal for their sakes, and have convinced even the well-to-do classes that a body of men who go on steadily agitating, year after year, in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, with ever-increasing success, must have *some* basis to their propaganda beyond mere spouting and stump-oratory.

Not only are our actual numbers of registered and paying members increasing daily, but thousands who dare not openly join our ranks gather round us gladly in any emergency and show at all our great meetings. We are, in fact, voicing a general and deepening discontent with the present state of society among the working classes, and giving a form to those aspirations for better things, which, but for us, would infallibly break out in sheer destructive anarchism and revenge at the critical moment. What renders our movement the more serious is the undoubted fact that the army-reserve men everywhere sympathize with us, owing partly to the inconsiderate manner in which they have been treated, and partly to the fact that they share the bitter feeling which is growing among their own class.

Evidence that we shall ere long be able to do something at the polls, in spite of the expense of English elections and the still limited nature of our suffrage owing to limitations of the register,

has been given by the candidature of John Burns in the most unfavorable division of Nottingham, by our success on the school boards at Manchester and Sheffield, and by the election of our men on the vestry in one of the principal metropolitan divisions. But we are only at the beginning of organization and electoral work. Hitherto we have devoted ourselves almost exclusively to education and agitation, delivering more than 2,000 lectures and addresses on socialism last year in London alone. In this I am speaking only of the work of the Social-Democratic Federation and of Social-Democratic candidates.

But the Socialist League, an offshoot from the Social-Democratic Federation about eighteen months ago, though of course a much smaller and less active body, is likewise doing good work. The difference between the two is, unfortunately, more personal than anything else. Socialists have, we must bear in mind, been brought up in an individualist school—but they have so far decided to take no part in politics or electoral work of any kind, and most of their lecturing and writing is done by able men of the middle class. Since the split, both bodies have, I think, been more active than they were when together, and there is certainly room enough for the two.

In addition, there is a body of Christian Socialists, who deal with social difficulties from the Christian point of view, though in effect they are driven to rely for the economical basis of their work upon those who refuse to mix up any religion with their propaganda. There are, too, other bodies, such as the Febrian Society, where men and women meet to discuss socialism from a theoretic rather than a practical stand-point, taking little or no part in the work of agitation among the laboring class, but nevertheless helping to spread our views among the well-to-do, who from sheer ennui are ready to look into any new proposals, political, scientific, æsthetic, or what not.

The Anarchists are, and in my opinion always will be, a small minority in England, nor do I think that Anarchists of English blood at all approve, so far as I understand them, of the furious incitements to individual revenge and personal injury which have done so much to discredit their cause in other countries. At present they have made no attempt at organization, though their criticism is perhaps useful as a warning to other Socialists that authority and dogma have had their day.

The growth of the Socialist press by itself is a testimony to the work done and evidence of the amount of education already achieved. The *Christian Socialist* has the honor of being the first definitely Socialist organ which appeared in England of late years. It is a monthly publication, and has maintained its place steadily as a well-written little sheet. Those who first started and kept it going, Messrs. Champion, Frost, and Joynes, seem to me to deserve the thanks of all Socialists. *Justice,* the weekly organ of the Social-Democratic Federation, has been in existence for more than two years and a half. It belongs to working-men, is edited by a working-man—H. Quelch, an unskilled laborer—is largely written by working-men, and is wholly independent of capitalist support or capitalist advertisements in any shape or way. That a journal of this kind, which never shrinks from making the most fierce attacks upon the landlord and capitalist class, and sets forth the principles of socialism without any concealment, should have maintained its position for upward of two years and a half, and be now self-supporting, is a remarkable thing in England. Such a success has never before been achieved in this country by any journal of the proletariat, and it is a special satisfaction to the present writer, who founded and edited the paper for more than two years, that it has been possible to do this, without ever bending the knee to any faction or relying upon ordinary police news or scandal for a circulation. *Justice* has from the first been widely quoted by the labor press throughout the United States, and has printed a number of Socialist works which are now published in a pamphlet form.

The *Commonweal,* the organ of the Socialist League, began as a monthly paper more than a year ago, and has been issued weekly since last May. Though its circulation is small, it contains some excellent articles, while the poems which William Morris contributes to its columns give the paper an air of high literary distinction. It can, however, lay no claim to being a journal of the workers, as not a single working-man is on its staff, nor is it in any way self-supporting. In addition to these, there are the *Anarchist*—expressing views similar to those of Most, Tucker, Schwab, etc., in America—the *Practical Socialist,* the *Church Reformer,* which all take practically the same economical view of the present social arrangements, and have a fair circulation.

When also it is alleged that Socialists are wild, foolish men,

driven to advocate nonsensical remedies for existing evils by fatuous ignorance, envy, disappointment, or ambition, it is allowable to point out in reply that some of the most distinguished and successful scientific, literary, and artistic men of the period are numbered in our ranks. The proletariat of Great Britain, in the coming struggle against landlord and capitalist anarchy, will not want for leaders whose reputation has been made even under the present chaotic state of things. Let us see. John Ruskin, William Morris, Burne Jones, Walter Crane, J. L. Joynes, H. S. Salt, E. Belfort Bax, St. George Lane Fox (the electrician), Simon Shuttleworth, the Rev. Stewart Hedlam, the Rev. Stopfford Brooke, Professor Russell Wallace, George Bernard Shaw, H. H. Champion, Mrs. Eleanor Marx Aveling, Mrs. Wilson, Mrs. Edith Blunt. I venture to think that no body of reformers or revolutionists ever numbered in its ranks a more brilliant band—all belonging, be it remarked, to the upper and middle classes. Of two of the younger men, Belford Bax and G. B. Shaw, it will hereafter be said, unless I am greatly mistaken, that the former was one of the most brilliant philosophical writers, and the latter one of the most brilliant *litterateurs*, of his day. And I say this with the more freedom that neither belongs to the organization which leads the Social-Democratic movement in Great Britain. But, in another direction, we are gaining recruits still more rapidly. Since my debate with Mr. Charles Bradlaugh on the question, "Will Socialism Benefit the English People?" on the 19th of April, 1884, all that vigorous Secularist's ablest supporters have become Socialists of one school or another. Mrs. Annie Besant, Dr. Edward Aveling, John Fielding, John Burns, and very many more, have given up the propagandism of a barren atheistic negation, to take up with the solid work of scientific socialism. Nay, it is even said by some who know him well, that Mr. Bradlaugh himself is looking around for a means of retreat from his present hopeless isolation, notwithstanding his recent bitter denunciations of socialism in the House of Commons and elsewhere.

Yet more striking, if possible, is the progress we are making among trade-unionists. This is most difficult ground, and it has taken us a long time to stir it with any effect. For the trade-unionists form an "aristocracy of labor." They look down upon men and women outside of their ranks with something not far removed from contempt; and it is no easy matter to persuade

them that in view of the economical developments of modern society such narrow organizations as theirs can have no chance of making head against the capitalist class. Here, however, the course of events has again helped us hugely. In 1872, no fewer than 1,300,000 trade-unionists were represented by delegates at their annual conference; in 1885, barely 500,000 were so represented. A portentous falling off surely! At the Congress of 1885, the president, Mr. Trelfall, was a Social-Democrat and a member of the Social-Democratic Federation. His address, which was, of course, thoroughly Socialist, was reprinted by us at a penny, and has been very widely distributed.

The reasons for this steady decay of trade-unionism and advance of socialism are not far to seek; nor is it surprising, when the facts are looked into, that our most active working-class propagandists at the present time in London and the provinces, Messrs. Burns, Mann, Bateman, Culwick, Wallar, Henry, Stuart, Horrocks, Gauley, McCulloch, Hicks, and many more, should belong to the very highest class of skilled trade-unionists. The truth is that skilled artisans at the present time are feeling the pressure and the uncertainty of work more keenly even than the grades of labor immediately below them, and they have better ability and physical strength to understand and explain the economical causes of their enslavement. Nothing astonished foreigners, at the great demonstration of the Social-Democratic Federation in Hyde Park, so much as the reasoned, intelligent manner in which the workingmen dealt with the social problems, and expounded the reasons for the manifest and growing class antagonism. The facts have been forced home to them, not only by our teaching, but by the experience in their own trades.

The trade-unions of England are, actuarially speaking, bankrupt, and are wholly powerless to conduct a successful strike against the employing class in their respective trades. This was plainly admitted only the other day by John Burnett, the secretary of the most powerful trade-union in the world—the Amalgamated Engineers. This society had spent more than £40,000 in excess of what it had received during the past year. After reviewing the circumstances, therefore, Mr. Burnett plainly declared that his society is not in a condition to stand up against the employers, and—here is the important point—that the only chance for the workers lies in an international combination of all

grades of labor! But what is this but the first step toward organized socialism? This declaration, taken in conjunction with Mr. Threlfall's remarkable address at the Southfort conference, is the more significant, inasmuch as Mr. Burnett is by nature and disposition a Whig, by no manner of means a revolutionist; and—here again is a most noteworthy fact—only two years ago the English trade-unionists, at a great international gathering in Paris, refused with one accord to look at labor questions from an international stand-point, or as necessarily involving class antagonism. Verily, when such men as these move, the very stones will shortly begin to cry out for socialism!

With the mass of the workers outside of the trade-unions we have never had any difficulty. Their sympathies are with us from the first. Never, in the many years that I have now devoted to social Democratic propaganda, not once in the course of the hundreds, I may say thousands, of Socialist addresses which I have delivered in all parts of the country, have I been received other than enthusiastically by a working-class audience in any part of England or Scotland, while I know that our ideas are making way fast in Wales. Our difficulty here is not to get sympathy but to carry on organization. Working-men are poor, distrustful of their own powers, afraid of being discharged—the capitalist class boycotts Social-Democrats all over the country with relentless and most cruel persistence—if they become known as Socialists, and until lately they have been almost hopeless that any organization whatever could benefit them. A great change is, as I have said, taking place in this respect, though not until we have got universal suffrage, payment of members, and payment of election expenses out of the public funds, shall we be able to show effectively in the field of politics.

Meanwhile our propaganda goes steadily on in the open air, in factories, in schools, in mines, and in the agricultural districts. Even in "society" you commonly hear the conversation turn on socialism and its advocates. The home rule debates and Mr. Gladstone's vehement manifesto declaring that "the classes" are against the people; the land agitation in England, Scotland, and Wales, much influenced as it has been by Mr. Henry George's eloquent writings and speeches; the fair trade discussion, and the inquiry into the causes of the depression of trade, which turn men's minds from political to social questions; the complete failure

of the "Bitter Cry" balderdash, or the recent legislation in favor of sanitary dwellings for the workers; the many admissions made by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and other prominent politicans as to the advantage to be derived from "socialistic" legislation; and, lastly, the determination of the educated young men who are now coming out into the world from our Board Schools not to accept mere subsistence wages and a life of irksome toil as their only share in the future of the wealthiest country of the world—these things all help on the cause of Social-Democracy, independently of anything we can do ourselves.

In conclusion, men now see that ours is the only way out from an unbearable situation. Here in England, where 220,000 families own between three-fourths and four-fifths of the total realized wealth of the country; where the workers receive in wages but one-fourth of the total income of the nation, of which one-fourth they must pay from one-fifth to one-third back again for the rent of poor dwellings; where foreign competition is beating down the rate of wages in every trade—in this England of ours, I say, organized Social-Democracy is the truest and best conservatism. The economical development has advanced so far that the socialization of the means of production is now easy. From the company form of a few anonymous shareholders and a crowd of salaried wage-earners to the control of the democratic Commune, Muncipality, and State, is a natural and easy transition. The constantly renewing industrial crises, which now come oftener than heretofore and last longer when they come, show that the governing classes can no longer handle the machinery which gives them their profits. Railways, mines, factories, shipping are in the hands of a class which for the most part has become as economically and socially useless as the luxurious *noblesse* of the *ancien régime* in France. Individuality is stunted and progress checked by a system in which the capitalist appropriation is at constant war with the Socialist protection, in which competition for gain above, and competition for bare subsistence wages below, breed lust and excess, degradation and sinking at the two opposite poles, and adulteration, fraud, and swindling throughout society.

Of the manner in which the change to a better system, how this great evolution and revolution will probably be brought about, I have not left myself room to speak. The emancipation of the last slave class, the wage-slave proletariat of the great machine, in-

dustry, is the work of the immediate future: the control of production by the producers, the return to the laborers of the fruits of their labor, is that for which the noblest men of all nations are striving to-day. Three years from now we shall celebrate a great triple centenary, that of the successful rising of the Low Countries against the tyranny of Spain, of the consummation of the middle-class revolution in England by the coronation of William III., of the great French revolution against the worn-out feudal system in France. Let us hope that 1889 may witness the commencement of a reasoned, orderly, peaceful revolution in England, which, taking cognizance of the inevitable laws of human development, will hand on a better order of society to countless generations of the race.

H. M. HYNDMAN.

# LETTERS TO PROMINENT PERSONS.

## No. IV.—To Samuel J. Randall, M.C.

Sir: There is nothing in your life, character, or capacity to justify a record other than that found on the ordinary stone of a country grave-yard. Having said that you were an affectionate husband, kind father, and estimable citizen, the truth of history would be exhausted; and yet to-day you are one of the most remarkable figures of a political arena that covers a continent and includes in numbers some sixty millions of people.

The continuous representative of a navy-yard in Congress from a State that boasts of one great man, and that man an importation, you have never uttered a sentence which a thoughtful mind would read with interest, or care to remember, and have never advocated, let alone introduced a measure, that had in it a shadow of policy or the remotest suggestion of a principle. And yet, you stand to-day the truest leader, if I may use that word in such connection, of a party that for half a century controlled our government. You are fit to hold such prominence in either party. You are the embodiment of American politics, the central figure of the apotheosis of political commonplace, an animated platitude that emblems all platitudes.

On this account I am justified in devoting a few paragraphs to you, in a thoughtful, dignified Review. These paragraphs are not prompted nor influenced by any personal feeling. We are strangers to each other, and I am not aware that at any time in our lives we have crossed each other's paths. If there is a tone of censure in what I write, it originates in my regard for the situation, and not from any ugliness toward the representative, who is, in no respect, responsible for what I condemn.

You were born, Mr. Randall, some hundred years since, of the fathers of the government, when they undertook the impossible,

for finite minds, in an effort to make a written constitution, and legislate in that direction for all time to come. You are the net product and final upshot of that attempt, and you stand before us not in the light of a man, but of an institution. The notion suggests itself to the thoughtless that, if true, this is the most remarkable instance of a mountain's labor, and a mouse's birth, ever recorded. But it is not correct. The so-called mouse is the greatest evil with which we have to contend in this degenerate day of decline and fall.

How you came to be a possibility so disagreeable is found in the history of our government.

When the patriotic fathers undertook the impossible, they were embarrassed by a great fear that added to their difficulty. In creating a government that was to be exclusively for the benefit of the governed—in making, in Lincoln's words, "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people," they were haunted by a dread of the people, and sought to create a political structure that would be safe from the people themselves. The old style of government, recognized by the Almighty—for there is no republic in heaven—and practiced by Satan, not only in his own dominions but on earth, making one class control and, to a certain extent, own the other, had proved, in some degree, a success, upon the principle that it is easier for one man to govern another than it is for him to govern himself. The fathers were wise in their generation, and saw that all they gained in liberality they were likely to lose in stability and force, and so they sought to give to the office the power theretofore held by a class, and make the official a representative and servant of the people governed.

The subtle distinction was too nice for the comprehension of the masses taken into their confidence, and so difficult of execution that it failed of practical success from the beginning. The fathers, while fearing the impulses of the people, built too much on their virtue and intelligence, and, much as they relied on these, in their timidity they left very little to the discretion of the governed. Seeking to make the government solid, they made it immovable. It is cast-iron from end to end. They gave us an Executive elected every four years. Now an election means, if it means anything, an expression of the popular will, through the ballot. That this expression should occur only every four years is an absurdity. For any changes in the popular will, in the mean time, there is no provision

made. The result is that, after the exciting selection of Chief Magistrate, and the chief is inaugurated, the people may swing from under him to another side, but their Executive remains for four years. He cannot be touched save by death, or impeachment upon charges of malfeasance. Out of respect for the colonial superstition of chartered rights that grew into State sovereignty, a House of Lords, called a Senate, was created, as the half of our legislative departments that represents States alone, and the members of which hold office for the term of six years. To contend against these they gave us one democratic feature in a House of Representatives, that, against the veto power of both the Senate and executive, is, and has ever been, utterly helpless. Nay, as the government developed, the House became an humble dependence on the Executive. The result is a form of government called republican, that is further removed from popular control than any despotism of Europe.

The fathers meant well. It was their intention that the cast-iron Executive should be colorless. The incumbent, selected through an intricate and subtly arranged electoral college, was intended to be above all faction, and remain through his term of four years, the Chief Magistrate of all the people, executing such laws as Congress might pass with calm impartiality. This arrangement lasted intact through the administration of George Washington, and after that went rapidly to pieces. From a government of the people we passed to that of a party until the administration of Andrew Jackson, when Secretary Marcy's axiom that said, "to the victors belong the spoils" overrode all the wise saws of the framers, and left our government as it is to-day, one of parties and not of the people, in which the unhappy minority finds it has no rights that the party in power is bound to respect. In other words, the constitution which was framed to benefit the citizen, and protect the minority, is used for the sole advantage of the political organization that, through brute numbers, gets possession of the governnent.

This is not all, nor the worst. We are a republic in form, and a despotism in fact, and, while apparently a government of parties like the governments of Europe, have parties only in name, that exist without that difference of policy and principle that would justify the contention. This last comes from the fact that our cast-iron government cannot be moved by an assertion of opinion, and so all agitation of measures among the people has ceased, and while

communities of Europe are excited in the most violent manner by grave questions affecting the good or ill of humanity, our elections turn on personal abuse, and a contention that has justification for its existence only in a struggle for office between two parties that differ one from the other in nothing save names.

The evil effect of such a condition cannot be overestimated. It made you, sir, a possibility. The popular agitation of great questions educates the people, not only to a knowledge of those questions, but to recognition of statesmanship. Without such knowledge the people are blind, and fail to discern the difference between the man who leads and teaches, and is marked as a statesman, and the man who follows and flatters that he may be fed, and is, in fine, a mere politician. To use a homely comparison, it is the difference between the driver of the wagon and the little dog under it. The driver directs, the dog follows, and he dare not swerve to the one side or the other lest the wheels crush him: he dare not rush forward for fear the horses' heels may dash out his brains.

You, sir, coarse, ignorant, cunning, and conceited, are the embodiment of the popular politician. If you ever had a generous impulse, you have kept it under remarkable control. If you are possessed of a conviction, you have concealed it so effectually that no one ever suspected you of the possession. To the mere politician, impulses and convictions are dangerous attributes. With the people nearly equally divided in two hostile camps, there is illustrated a peculiar weakness of humanity that loses in an organization itself the purpose for which it was organized. In this way sects fight to the bitter end for a religion they no longer understand or believe in, and while an average Republican cannot tell you why he is a Republican save that he is not a Democrat, and a Democrat will make the same reasonable response, the two parties have been on the verge of civil war, and may yet destroy, through violence, the government for which they contend. The great effort is to gain votes, and, as opinions are apt to offend, there is a careful avoidance of their expression. Delegate Flanagan embodied the fact in one sentence, when, with much profanity, he asked the Chicago Convention, "If we are not here for the offices what in the —— are we here for?" At the convention which nominated McClellan for the Presidency, after the late Vallandingham, of Ohio, had spoken for an hour on the principles

of democracy, a shrewd politician said: "Mr. President, I have been in politics all my life, and I have learned that principles are very good when we can make votes by them, and—bad when we cannot, and, sir, democratic principles just now are unpopular."

As there is no other difference between the parties than that made by possession of the offices, there is no reason why a party once in power may not remain in power through all time. It may put in practice any policy; sustain any measures without question. There is not, for example, one principle recognized by the Republican Party that has ever been submitted to the people, or been discussed from the stump. Money has come to be the main factor in elections, while an army of office-holders reinforced by a like army from the State organizations, contend against an army of office-seekers, reinforced in like manner, and the party which is deposed from power goes out through some convulsion quite beyond the control of the politicians. Had not the South appealed to arms in 1861, the democracy would have continued to possess the government. That appeal made the people of the North the Republican Party, and had that party in its reconstruction measures appealed to the governing element of the South, that happened to be the enlightened whites, instead of to the ignorant and debased slaves, that party would be in power to-day. As it was, the carpet-bagger, bayonet and negro, made the solid South democratic, and the hard times of '73 wrested so many northern States from the Republicans that the Democratic Party was amazed to find itself with a two-thirds majority in the House—elected its president, and now has House and Chief Magistrate its own.

When this change occurred it was hoped if not expected that the party, so called to power, in the House, would attempt, at least, to reform the abuses practiced by its predecessor. Possessed of the House with a two-thirds majority, it was thought by men yet troubled with a belief that parties are based on certain doctrines, or as they are popularly called principles, to sanction which they were organized, that a demonstration made in the direction of reform would be a powerful appeal to the people in behalf of the democracy. This was met with a clamorous warning that it would not do to threaten the business of the country. The business thus threatened meant the class legislation that, without sanction from the people, had fastened itself upon the

vitals of the country. It was an ingenious process through which, under a thin pretext of fostering home industry, capital alone was fostered—a proceeding that brought the heavy weight of the government into the field of private enterprise, and while favoring a few oppressed the many. This business of the country meant a recognition of monopolized wealth that has put all the transportation of a continent into the hands of a few men; the telegraph into the hands of one man only; farmed out the financial agency of the government to two thousand corporations, to use as their selfish greed might dictate; turned our public domain over to other corporations, and in a word established a process through which the infamous relation between capital and labor that has cursed Europe for centuries became the rule at home, and, while widening the gulf between the very rich and the very poor, starved millions while it fostered millionaires.

Among the members of Congress who cherished the fond belief that the democracy had in it yet the old spirit of life that made its traditions famous; that told of Jefferson, its father, and of Jackson, its patron saint, was Michael C. Kerr, of Indiana. A hard student, of more than ordinary intellect, and with a courage sustained by the most ardent enthusiasm, he was a reformer. His election as Speaker stimulated to active life the few members who believed that the signal for a fresh departure had been sounded, and war against legalized wrong begun. Alas, it was soon learned that Kerr owed his success to the fact that he was the choice of Indiana, and the solid South recognized in Indiana a necessary ally to it in wiping out the infamous reconstruction policy that was meant to make an Ireland, or a Poland, of that section. It was soon demonstrated that the democracy of the House meant only the democracy of the South, and, reasonable and praisworthy as its action was, it stopped far short of the reform called for by the sufferings and necessities of the country.

You, sir, identified yourself with this South, and headed the mass of democratic imbeciles who trembled at the mere term, "business interests." On the lamented death of Michael C. Kerr, you were made Speaker, and organized the House in a manner to stifle all investigation, and choke down any utterance sounding in sympathy with the people, or showing discontent at their suffering condition. It was a reign of fear, and the Democratic members walked the floor, speaking with bated breath, like a convoca-

tion of undertakers, afraid to speak lest a noise might disturb the proprieties that rule about a corpse.

The democracy continued the work of its odious predecessors, while the government, put on a war footing during the struggle of a great civil conflict, remained as the war made it. You kept up a vociferous cry of economy, which meant cutting down appropriations at one term to be supplemented by a deficiency bill at another, and, while apparently restricting these appropriations, you left the expenditures precisely where you found them. When all was done, the net result was the utter starvation of a few wretched clerks.

To hold you responsible for this result, the natural outgrowth and development of a government so far removed from popular control (as I have shown) as to cease to be at all representative, is not just. But an event occurred during your reign as Speaker, at once grave and deplorable, for which you have more individual responsibility than any man engaged in the treason. Samuel J. Tilden, democratic candidate for president, was elected over Rutherford B. Hayes, his republican opponent. The shot-gun at the South had more than balanced the corrupt use of money at the North, and the democrats carried the electoral vote. To one who considers the facts, and the reasons for the same, there was not much significance in the vote or the count. In the eyes of the people, however, these had an importance that went, in its consequences, to the very foundations of our Republic. The masses believed then, as they believe now, that Samuel J. Tilden was fairly and honorably elected President of the United States. Not to sustain that result was, in their eyes, not only treason to the party, treason to the country, but a death blow to all confidence on the part of the people in their republic.

The republicans in power did not see fit to accept the result of the election, and cooked up enough bogus returns to give Rutherford B. Hayes a majority of one.

In the contention that followed, and for a brief space threatened civil war, an electoral commission was devised to adjudicate upon the issue. After a protracted hearing this court returned a judgment in the nature of a *non-suit*, that, saying the commission had no power to go behind the fraudulent returns, sent the case back to the House of Representatives as it found it.

In this way it came to you, sir, and to the body over which

the Speaker has, through its organization, such extraordinary control. Instead of counting the vote and declaring the result, at your suggestion probably, certainly through your consent, a bargain was made with the defeated party which, ignoring the voice of the people, inaugurated as President the candidate of the minority. The southern democrats saw that they could do better in a bargain with the defeated candidate than through anything the man elected could accomplish were he duly installed.

We sacrificed a million of men, devastated a large part of our vast territory, and burdened our people with a great debt in vindication of a national life that you, sir, sold not for a mess of pottage but for the mere scrapings of the pot. A confidence in the ballot is the foundation stone of our political fabric, and you and your confreeres in this iniquity destroyed this foundation. The South, under your lead at Washington, did more to break down the Union than Jefferson Davis and all his hordes of armed confederates in the civil war. The self-government of the fathers, the cherished republic of the children, died in that vile trade; for contempt has followed the loss of confidence, and the people see unmoved the reign of money and the swift rot of corruption rolling over all once revered because sacred.

And what is it all worth when done, even when done honestly and in accord with law? "Men may come and men may go but this goes on forever." The change of parties brings no change in the dull unmeaning conservatism of the so-called leaders, nor any change in a policy that made them possible. We cannot say in the language of the old diplomat, "Come hither my son and see with how little wisdom the world is governed;" for our world is governed by corporations and monopolized wealth, and the son can only see the dull conceited ignorance in office that holds our political structure to a protection of their abuses.

Finally, and to sum up, the sudden cessation of the noise and excitement pertaining to a presidential contest, when it comes to an end in the count of the vote, makes it belong to the *opera boufe*. One day we have the entire population on the eve of war. The air is heavy with imprecations, and fingers tingle to get at throats. Business is suspended, and all amusements are forgotten for this saving of the land through the freeman's exercise of the ballot. The next day the frightful tumult has subsided, and the dazed

looker-on can scarcely realize that he is among the same people and in the same land.

With the stilling of this tumult, all interest in the government seems to subside. Save among the office-holders and office-seekers there is no anxiety whatever. Let either party win, and its administration rolls on in the old ruts of its predecessors.

This is life and eminence to you, sir. What need of thought to be eminent in a government that lives without thought? What call for study of progress under a cast-iron structure that cannot move? What demand for eloquent utterances in a deliberative body that never deliberates? How eminently well fitted for leadership where no leader is required! "Among the blind the one-eyed man is king," says the old proverb. With that one eye, however dim, kept on the main chance, the king is a great success. Elected by a party that had its origin in human rights, and still retains its interest in behalf of them as against the party of privileges, you hold with the few in their plunder, temper the fierce democracy with the conservatism of wrong, and pose as a political hermaphrodite, having all the worse qualities of a man balanced on the weakness of a woman, found in that high regard for the mysterious business interests of the country.

It is an easy role to play, when once the trick is caught. It all lies in deportment. Length of legs and solemnity of countenance are the main ingredients, and when to these is added the faculty of treating opinions as deep convictions, and uttering worn-out commonplace with the earnestness of fresh discovery, we have Randallism in perfection.

> A stolid Casius, solemn, slow and vain,
> Who makes in cunning all he lacks in brain;
> And shilds his weakness with a poor pretense,
> Whose owl-eyed silence covers owl-eyed sense.

It is one of your larger virtues that you seldom speak; but "me thinks," as the poet expresses it, I hear you, after rising with grave deliberation, solemnly say to a listening House with a conviction of tone that defies contradiction, "Mr. Speaker, the ocean is a magnificent object, sir,"—and the announcement carries a heavy appropriation for Mr. Roach the ship builder.

ARTHUR RICHMOND.

# STUDY IN CIVILIZATION.

Two books could hardly be more unlike in apparent purpose and character, than "Ramona," the latest work of Mrs. Jackson (whom the past knew best as H. H. and whom the future will know better by her thought than by her name), and the recent volumes of the "History of the Pacific States," by Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft. The thoughtful reader, however, will not find it difficult to trace a peculiar harmony between them, and will be apt to note in both an especial timeliness in directing public attention, at this juncture of affairs, to certain phases of American life which have hitherto been usually deemed hardly worthy of the little consideration they have received.

"Ramona" is unquestionably the best novel yet produced by an American woman. It is doubtful whether in clearness of conception, depth of coloring, purity of tone, individuality and pleasing contrast of characters, and intensity of emotion, it is excelled by any American writer. These are moral elements, but the work is not at all inferior in its literary qualities. The setting of the scenes, and the surroundings of the characters, mental, moral, and physical, are not vaguely sketched or dimly hinted at, but are painted in with a touch as firm and colors as strong and harmonious as are to be found in any literature. In expression it is characterized by the unconscious vigor and perfect lucidity of style which always distinguish the author's work. One never thinks of her sentences as especially fine, because they betray no trace of effort. Her work is so thoroughly done that the hand of the artist is never seen in it. Her language is as natural as her thought, and always in perfect harmony with the subject under consideration. The story is laid in California, but it is not altogether a tale of *our* California. The discovery of gold has indeed brought in the Anglo-Saxon invaders before the period at which it opens. Inflamed with lustful greed they have dammed the rivers, tunneled

the mountains, and chained the torrents to the unseemly task of leveling the hills and scarifying the valleys. The adventurous hordes have already founded an empire facing the western sea, and bound it to the East with bands of iron along which civilization—*our* civilization—throbs and pulses like a mighty fever. Towns and cities are builded almost between sun and sun. A new people spread over the land.

> "Gold! gold! gold!
> Hard and yellow and bright and cold,
> Easy to get and hard to hold,"

is the impulse of its life. It has little regard for othser' rights, and looks with infinite scorn on all that was before it came. When the mines fail it turns its greedy eye upon the soil itself. It represents not only a conquering power but an alien people, a strange and hostile impulse. It construes the rights of the conquered by the laws and maxims of the conqueror. Prescriptive right is flouted with contempt. Titles confirmed by two hundred years of use and occupancy are nailed down to the strict requirement of English law, with its stern demand of "visible marks and boundaries." The lust for gold is succeeded by the lust for land. The land-grabber follows hard upon the footsteps of the prospector. On the heels of both comes the railroad, and that mighty, indescribable marvelous force—a grasping, arrogant, self-worshiping multitude—the American people—a people as jealous of their own rights and privileges, as defined by their own laws and customs, as they are heedless of all other claims to consideration,—a people who boast of religion and morality, yet are exceptional in the world's history as unscrupulous robbers of the poor and oppressors of the weak. We are conscious as we read "Ramona" of this mighty presence—this modern miracle which we call California. It is not with this greedy, glittering fact, however, that the story chiefly concerns itself.

Two hundred years before, the civilization of New Spain had extended itself to "Las Californias," not only attaching itself to the soil, but fastening in a peculiar manner upon the native life which it found there. The relation between the aborigines and their conquerors was curiously marked by subservience and antagonism. The religion of "the good fathers," however profitless it may have been in some of its aspects and results, fixed itself with

singular power on the native mind, constituting a common tie between the races, which all the arrogance of the Spanish character could not entirely efface, and which the presence of the Anglo-Saxon invasion served to strengthen with that pathetic force which community of misfortune always brings.

It is this curious story of a land of miracles which "Ramona" tells, and tells so well that no other pen will ever attempt its depiction. A young girl with a taint of Indian blood in her veins, unknown and unsuspected by herself, lives at the *hacienda* of the Señora Moreno, the representative of one of those haughty Spanish families who still refused to yield to the tide of American conquest, who despised the life which swirled about them, threatening daily to engulf and overwhelm. The relation actually existing between the stout-hearted old señora and her beautiful *protégée* was studiously concealed, because of this taint in the young girl's blood. The true story of her life was only known to the señora herself and an aged and devoted priest, being quite unsuspected by the other occupants of the *hacienda* where she had dwelt from childhood. By herself and others Ramona was accounted merely a dependent relative, who, by one of those mysterious family decrees which in Catholic countries offer so easy a way out of unpleasant domestic difficulties, was destined to the life of the cloister. A son of the señora, Felipe by name, and a young Indian, the son of a Christian chief of one of those strange mountain tribes whose life is full of the pathos of a forgotten lineage,—the trace of high descent showing in dimly comprehended tradition through the film of debasement which ages of darkness and misfortune have brought,—become at the same time her lovers. The story of the young girl's life, of Felipe's chivalric love and Alessandro's passionate devotedness, is told with exquisite pathos. She gives her first love to the young chief, and, after sharing the woes of his short life, rewards Señor Felipe's devotion, not only to herself but to her dead spouse, by accepting the headship of the family in which she had been reared as a dependent.

These are the characters of the story, which are given a setting of romantic incident altogether unique, and of unusual attractiveness. The relations of these contrasted lives are really the story of two decaying civilizations seen in the light of a fresher and stronger social, political, and religious development, which tramples them ruthlessly, because unconsciously, into the dust of

a new and but half appreciated realm. Hitherto, fiction has treated California only as the seat of a new civilization. It has been delineated as the gold-digger's paradise, the adventurer's Eden, the speculator's El Dorado. "Ramona" pictures it as the Indian's lost inheritance and the Spaniard's desolated home. The author's intimate acquaintance and perfect sympathy with the life she describes is only equaled by her subtle appreciation and thorough knowledge of the scenes she delineates. She sees nature with the eyes of her characters, and for the first time the scenery of California is made, not only the natural and reasonable habitat of a tender and devoted love, but a strong and comprehensible element of the lives which are portrayed. For the first time we see in "Ramona" what a wonderful setting the startling contrasts, fervid colors, and seemingly sterile aspects of California scenery constitute for a domestic life fashioned in harmony with them.

Our Anglo-Saxon idea of love is always projected on a verdant background. Green lanes and hedges, hawthorn and hazel, buttercups and daisies, orchards and meadows, bosky glens and greenwood aisles, are essential accessories of the English idea of love. So marked is this association of ideas, that we call a love-dream a pastoral. Our American ideal is, in effect, that of the mother country. Pure young love is still with us a white stone with an emerald setting. Our freedom of life and breadth of landscape has somewhat changed its tone. Forests have taken the place of fields, the mountain, the glen, and the tangled depths of real wildwood bring a deeper solitude ; but we retain the idea of seclusion beneath a leafy canopy and with soft, cool, verdant surroundings. It is true that the popular novel of the present day rarely exhibits any pastoral element. Indeed, it sometimes seems that the chief purpose of its creation is to satirize the conventional, old-fashioned "love-in-a-cottage" type of sentiment. But then it has eliminated the idea of love also, and has substituted a poor, petulant, selfish desire for possession, which fits the conservatory better than the greenwood and takes away from the sweetest nook the thought of shy seclusiveness, transforming the bower into a stage on which a pair of self-conscious actors perform a miserable comedy of self-deception. Surprised glances, analytic agony, and morbid self-anatomy have taken the place of honest love-making. No man woos in true manly fashion, no woman yields with tender trustfulness, in the modern realistic novel. Courtship has come to

be a war of wits. The wooer is transformed into a pursuer. Instead of seeking with that manly ardor which counts the bower where love awaits the holiest of holies, he coolly sets himself to worm his way into the resisting consciousness of the victim he has selected like a teredo boring through a ship's bottom. He frets, and worries, and persecutes, until the overwrought sensibility of the poor creature gives way, and she spitefully or tearfully capitulates, apparently for the mere sake of peace. Of course, this sort of love-making—if we may debase an honest word by applying it to a dishonest sentiment—has no use for green fields or tender blossoms. It toys with cut flowers and studies sage-green draperies. If it were ever found in real life, it would reveal a moral state greatly to be regretted. Fortunately, it is only a fashion modeled apparently upon modern naval warfare—an engagement between two iron-clads. In his desire to avoid unreal sentimentality, the modern American novelist has gone to the other extreme of a far more unreal and unnatural cynicism. All this has not changed our ideal of love and its appropriate surroundings, however, but is merely an attempt to eradicate the fact of love itself from English and American life. Finding no convenient substitute for passion, and failing to appreciate the moral grandeur of that underlying idea of devotion to duty, which has been the real inspiration of American life, the stock novelist of to-day contents himself with ridiculing all sentiment and sneering at every phase of the heroic.

Yet love, and honor, and self-sacrifice remain, despite the flood of unhealthy caricature that comes from the press of to-day. American gentlemen are honest wooers, and American women tender sweethearts still; while in American homes love does not die because the lovers have assumed the relation of husband and wife. Still, our Anglo-American idea of love is pastoral. Still, green fields awaken youthful memories, and clover and apple blossoms, the maple's sunlit leaves and the hemlock's tender shoots overhang the verdant carpet of love's ideal temple.

Mrs. Jackson was one of the few of our later novelists who did not believe that love was dead. She knew from the study of her own life that honest, healthful passion—that absorbing sentiment that makes one soul the all-in-all of another's aspiration, the inspiration of its noblest exertion or source of its most unutterable agony—is a universal and indestructible fact of human nature. Instinctively, however, she detected the incongruity between the

English ideal of domestic life and the types with which her story deals. It fell to her lot and came within the scope of her power, as it does within the opportunity of but few, to enrich our literature with an absolutely new study of that exhaustless theme, human passion and domestic love. With that unconscious art which characterizes true genius, she has fitted the lives of her characters and their contrasted passions to the scenes in which they dwelt so cleverly that each seems a part of the other. With any other surroundings, and especially amid the orchards and green fields where our Anglo-Saxon love delights to dwell, the love of Ramona and Alessandro—and especially the chivalrous devotion of Felipe—would seem as absurd and inconsistent as their personalities would appear inharmonious and out of place in our Eastern American life. But who that reads of the meeting of Ramona and the old priest in the thicket of wild mustard, of the idyllic days when the lovers hid from anticipated pursuit in the cañon, or the pathetic beauty of the rude mountain home, can fail to recognize how exquisitely the life portrayed harmonizes with the clear, dry air, the sharp outlines, strong colors, and hot, hardening sunshine of the region described.

Over all of this is a wondrous glow of perfect knowledge. One feels in every line that unconscious influence of unnoted surroundings which is the marrow of every life. Scenes, incidents, characters—all reveal the fact that the author has not only an intellectual appreciation of their existence, but that knowledge which comes from an observation so close and sympathetic as to amount almost to experience. We know that her study of the region she describes antedated the civilization which now flourishes on that westward-facing slope of our continent, and that she counted no element of its life unworthy of her sympathy. She was one of those, too, who did not believe that justice is circumscribed by racial lines, or that superior intelligence gave a divine right to rob and oppress. A strain of angry, tender, hopeless protest against wrong pervades the pages of "Romona"—the cry of the poor and the weak borne down by the rich and the strong—the cry of the half-converted Indian ground beneath the feet of civilized saints!

It is Mrs. Jackson's misfortune to be regarded as that literary atrocity of the present day, "a novelist with a purpose." Our literature is just now in those swaddling bands which a certain

class of theorists lately attempted to impose upon material art. It is but a brief period since it was accounted rank heresy to believe it any part of the function of art to tell a story. Only abstract ideas, beauty of form, and harmony of color were regarded as fit objects of artistic endeavor. Accuracy of detail was exalted into the first rank, almost to the exclusion of other artistic qualities. It mattered little what was the subject, save that it must have no historical or emotional significance. A boil or a rose were esteemed equally well adapted for artistic effect, and both required to be treated with equal minuteness of detail. The one essential prerequisite was that there must be no hint of a Job in the background of the boil, nor of sentiment in connection with the rose. Our literature has not yet broken the trammels of this curious theory. It is demanded by the critical guild of to-day that the novelist shall devote all his energy to the delineation of details. It is not enough that the artist in words should paint tree and flower, sentiment and emotion, in lines so true and colors so strong that they will live as types through the ages. Accuracy of delineation as an incident is not enough; it must be the end and aim of all effort. In the selection of types, the novelist of to-day is forbidden to follow the analogy of nature, and make the trivialities of life only the setting of grand effects. The accepted canons of criticism demand that he should not only note with accuracy the littlest and meanest characteristics of the lives he seeks to portray—but that he should studiously ignore the fact that, in what is curiously termed *real* life, anything but the petty and despicable is to be found. The most insignificant of imaginary distresses have usurped the place of tragic woes. Courtship has given way to endless jabber about contrasted national traits, love has yielded to refined ethical bickering, and remorse has been superseded by the agony evoked by bad grammar or inartistic hosiery. To print upon pure white pages a picture that shows at once the truest life of field and home, mountain and sea, coast and cottage, and which unfolds also, in natural progression, the movement of a great drama in which men and women move and act, think and feel, in harmony with their surroundings, instead of tracing with anxious care the little nothings, and retailing the silly twaddle that hides the truth, is now regarded as very bad form. To attempt to show how lives have been shaped by influences which are not yet extinct, it matters not how tragic or romantic

the work may be, is sneeringly termed writing "a novel with a purpose."

The idea is absurd beyond all parallel. The rise and fall of empires, the movements of races and peoples, the conflict of jarring civilizations, are the very things that most develop the elements of pathos and tragedy. Human nature is grandest and truest when at white heat. The man whose life would not be worth a pen-stroke from a penny-a-liner if he simply peddled figs and quarreled with his wife for half a century, put in the focus of a great thought, made the representative of some common woe or mighty aspiration, becomes at once a glorified being worthy of a place in Valhalla. It is such lives that are worthy of a master's hand. It may be common life, but it can never be commonplace. Life, whether of low or high degree, is never commonplace if we but reach its core. The depiction of the mere commonplace, therefore, however accurate, is not a true portraiture of life. The commonplaces of emotion, sentiment, and aspiration, are only incidents which sometimes reveal and sometimes hide the real life. One might as well call Washington's account of his expenses a history of the Revolution. It is a part of that history, but only the meanest part.

No doubt Mrs. Jackson's attention may have been drawn to the romantic contrasts afforded by the lives she has depicted in "Ramona," by her thorough and exhaustive knowledge of "the Indian question," as it is called. No doubt she wished to show these contrasts so strikingly as to awaken thought on the part of her countrymen. Why not? Does that impair the value of her work in a literary point of view? "Oh," we are told, "the object of fiction is only to interest and amuse." Who says so, and by what right? On what theory of humanity and literature is such dictum based? Has that been the office of fiction in the past? Was mere amusement the only merit of the "Iliad?" Were the Greek tragedies devoid of artistic excellence because they depicted human beings capable of emotions deeper than scabietic titillation? Was Virgil a failure because Æneas felt no unutterable agony at the misfit of Dido's robe, or the excruciating Phœnico-Tyrian mannerisms that must have marked her speech! Would posterity have excused his shabby treatment of the trusting queen if he had given as a reason for it her imperfect vocalization of the Trojan diphthongs? Were the Minnesingers unworthy to be ranked among

the guild of story-tellers, because they sang of love and war? Is "Don Quixote" less entertaining and admirable because it mocked at an effete and worthless system? Is Scott no longer to rank as a novelist because he portrayed the ideal, and lifted Scottish life above the realm of pettiness? Is Shakespeare a false exemplar because he exalts passion and delineates other woes than those which spring from poverty and self-consciousness? Is Victor Hugo not to be deemed a literary artist because he painted the motives and aspirations which underlay the mighty struggles which were of his time, or so near it that their influences were yet traceable in the life about him? Was the genius of George Eliot at fault in "Daniel Deronda" and "Romola"? But why inquire further? The theory of objectless fiction has been devised and advocated to justify, if not indeed to create, a special and enervating taste. There are a few great works of fiction that may perhaps be said to have no other object than to amuse the reader. Easily first among these may be placed the "Arabian Nights"; next perhaps would stand "Robinson Crusoe." It is just as impossible to explain the charm of either as it is of that greater and even more popular "novel with a purpose," the "inspired tinker's" story of "Pilgrim's Progress." Certain it is that none of them justify the theory on which the modern society-novel is builded, that meanness and pettiness, the base and the little things of life, are the only material with which the novelist can properly work.

At any rate, it is certain that, in the exquisite tale we are considering, the author has put before us a phase of that great struggle which we sometimes call the march of civilization, and has done it so truly and tenderly as to make the world mourn her loss more keenly than it would have done before. The relations between Spanish civilization and the aboriginal life, and between our Anglo-American development and both of them upon the soil of California, and wherever the two may touch or overlap each other, is put before the mind in a manner that cannot fail to command attention.

It is just here that the relation of this novel to the recent numbers of Mr. Bancroft's "History of the Pacific States" is apparent. This amazing series of laboriously prepared volumes has, for the first time, set before the English reader a history unquestionably reliable in its minutest details, of the growth of liberty and civilization in Mexico. It is a strange story to one whose ideas of

liberty and progress are modeled only on Anglo-Saxon ideals, or what are foolishly termed the classic models of antiquity. The truth is, that our ideas of human development, derived from guesses based on the imperfect data ancient history affords, are just about as reliable as our theories of life upon another planet. The real life of classic times can now only be vaguely guessed at, and in such guesses it is always impossible to say how much is fact and how much interpretation. The historian who undertakes the task of unraveling the mystery of ancient life can never know how much of his analysis is the result of knowledge and how much of imagination. When research fails, of course imagination takes its place, and we piece out the lives of other times and peoples with analogies from our own. We, of necessity, attribute to them motives, thoughts, and attributes which they not only did not possess but could not have known or understood, because they are the product of conditions which could not have existed at that time. Only since the invention of printing, has it become possible to trace, with anything approaching to accuracy, the growth of peoples and the progress of humanity.

One of the most interesting phases of this great evolution of the new from the old is that which has occurred, almost unnoticed and unappreciated, on our southern border, in the neighboring republic of Mexico.

Those who have entertained the belief that only Anglo-Saxons love liberty enough to fight for it—and such people are by no means rare even among the most intelligent—will be amazed at the record of the struggle for independence in Mexico. For fortitude and devotion in the face of almost inconceivable hardship, history has few chapters that excel the story of those partisan heroes who for almost a generation carried on the apparently hopeless struggle for Mexican liberty. Some of them were little better than freebooters, inflamed by the lust of spoil and plunder. Others were animated chiefly by ambition or revenge, but there were others whose names should be ever revered by the liberty-lovers of earth. Perhaps the story of no conflict of modern times is so rich in deeds of individual daring and emprise, while there were not wanting those who showed capacity as strategists as well as the courage of the soldier. Almost all were stained with the vice of cruelty, that seems inseparable from Spanish warfare; but few were worse than their antagonists, and the greater portion far better. Brighter

names than those of Hidalgo, Morelos, and Bravo are not found on any nation's roll of honor.

We brought the seeds of our liberty with us from the mother country. Whence came those which have blossomed, —aye, and borne goodly fruit of some sort, too,—on the soil of Mexico?

This question Mr. Bancroft's volumes have given us the means of answering with an accuracy which cannot be predicated of any other civilization. The history of the civilization we supplanted on our south-western coast is really the story of two entirely distinct and dissimilar types. In almost all essential particulars it is strikingly different from our Anglo-Saxon development. So far as it is of European origin it shows little, if any, trace of Teutonic influence or tradition. Mexican liberty has no European root. The elements which Spain contributed to the establishment of the Mexican nationality were the oppressive exactions laid upon the people of the colony, the foolish refusal to recognize as equals the American-born children of Spanish subjects (thence called Creoles), and the ambition of her officials. Indian hate, and the Creole sense of injustice of Spanish rule, were the real impulses that secured Mexican independence. Yet the chief promoters of the movement for independence, its most efficient leaders and devoted adherents, were found among the Mestizoes—that new race which holds out a hand on either side to two great but decaying civilizations. The Creoles, though yielding sometimes to the sway of just resentment, were unaccountably timid and irresolute until the result was practically determined. Perhaps the old Spanish pride and apprehension of the mixed bloods, who were so prominent in the movement, restrained them. So, too, the Indian population, though at times very active, and showing more than once the qualities of their sires, were as a rule sullen, and apparently suspicious of the Spanish element. From the moment this distrust was finally overcome, they became not only devoted but especially effective adherents of the cause of independence, thereby conquering for themselves a status they have never been granted under any other government. We who have never found anything better to do with our own Indians than to kill them, may very well pause to study the rise of a republic a chief support of which during its entire history has been the aboriginal element of its population. This, too, in the face of the fact that Spanish dominion for two hundred years seemed to

have little else to do but inflate the arrogance of the Spanish character, and seek to crush out and debase the aborigines.

It is the relations of these races and their admixture (with the resulting shades of color) and equality of privilege and opportunity, that makes the history of Mexico especially worthy of our consideration at this time. It would seem impossible that Spanish arrogance should have lent itself so easily to tolerance in regard to distinctions of race, while Anglo-Saxon liberalism stumbles always at the color-line. One reason is, no doubt, the fact that while we were killing our Indians the Spaniards were converting theirs. It is true they enslaved them at the same time, but, when the Church took them into her fold, one great step had been made toward the recognition of their equality. The road upward has been a hard one, watered often with tears and blood. Judged by our standard, it would seem as if very little progress had been made. The two races have not as yet so far amalgamated as to destroy the characteristics of either. On the whole, it does not seem as if the physical intermixture had been much greater than between the whites and blacks in our Southern States. It is the fact that it is tolerated and recognized that is significant. The two races have been merged, and neither has parted in any sensible degree with its original characteristics. There is no more arrogant, bigoted, cruel, treacherous, kindly, courteous, simple-hearted anomaly on the globe than the pure-blooded Mexican Creole. There is no meaner, more ignorant, unimpressible, and apparently hopeless creature on the continent than the lower forms of Indian life in Mexico. The grade that stands between touches both. The Mestizo and the mulatto—sometimes even the representative of three races—stand side by side with the purest Creole blood in rank, social position, and opportunity, as with the most abject of the aboriginal population. These races and classes live together in comparative harmony. Parity of right is readily accorded, and an admixture of blood is hardly to be accounted an obstacle, much less a bar, to either social or political advancement.

In the presence of the Anglo-Saxon, all these classes instinctively unite as against a common enemy. Identity of religious faith, no doubt, has something to do with this; yet it is a curious fact that the influence of the Northern Republic—where race-prejudice is so intense that no considerations of justice, humanity, or religion have hitherto been sufficient to compel us to

recognize the civil or political equality of the Indian—upon our sister republic tends directly and strongly to the harmony and unification of her people. The facts of this strange story have been most laboriously collected by Mr. Bancroft, while "Ramona" is an interpretation inspired by genius and tempered by a love of justice and a recognition of the difficulties that the future presents, as rare as it is beautiful. No brighter jewel crowns the brow of womanhood, in any land or clime, than this tender, sad, and beautiful tale, full of the woe of the past, and freighted with an unutterable appeal to the justice of the future. In this respect the two works are complementary of each other, and no one whose heart responds to the impassioned appeal of H. H. can fail to find food for profitable thought in the volumes Mr. Bancroft devotes to the reciprocal influence of the Spanish and Aztec civilizations upon each other, and the resultant of their coöperating impulses.

There is another view of this subject which ought not to be neglected. There are few intelligent Americans who do not look forward either with hope or apprehension to the future relations between the United States and Mexico. There are few who do not regard the movement which resulted in the acquisition of California and New Mexico as one of the most shameless and disgraceful episodes of our history. The marvelous mineral wealth of that region has done very much to hush the voice of reprobation. No doubt a considerable portion of our population would indorse another just such piece of international robbery. The events of the recent past indicate very clearly that a movement for a further acquisition of Mexican territory is something by no means distasteful to certain elements of our population, who seem to be preparing the way for its consummation by familiarizing the public mind with a supposed desire of the Mexican Government to sell one or more provinces, in order to relieve her financial condition. From time to time this rumor comes to the surface in a manner that would awaken suspicion, were it not that the desire to obtain a new El Dorado, where the spirit of adventure and the restless greed of a people who already begin to feel straitened for room even in our imperial domain, inclines them if not actively to favor, at least tacitly to permit, such a result.

American influence and American interest in Mexico are already very great. The system of railroads which permeates the northern provinces is built by American capital and controlled by

American influences. The concessions granted to these roads, as inducements for their construction, are not only of very great value, but are unquestionably burdensome to the Republic, and may be liable to revocation or diminution on a change of government. Because of the semi-international character of these works, an attempt to modify or ignore the contracts between the government and their projectors would afford a ready and plausible excuse for American interference. The "Duke of Sonora's" famous estimate of the marvelous wealth of the northern provinces, is, no doubt, below rather than above the truth. So, too, was his estimate of the number of adventurers who would flock thither upon the first assurance of safety in so doing, or even upon the hint of indifference on the part of our Government to any scheme of occupancy looking to its ultimate acquisition. Under these circumstances, a rupture with the Mexican Government can never be a matter at all unlikely to occur. The rumor of foreign intervention in Mexican affairs has already been repeatedly brought to public attention, during the past year, in a manner that points very clearly to its origin and purpose. The last time, it was alleged that the arch-disturber of European tranquillity, Prince Bismarck, who entertained serious notions of infringing the famous and convenient "Monroe Doctrine," which has more than once offered excuse for American wrong-doing. The inference sought to be drawn from this rumor is apparent. It is that we ought at least to be preparing Mexico for convenient deglutition at any moment, in order to save her from the hungry jaws of Germany. To say that the absorption of Mexico, in whole or in part, is actually contemplated by any specific element in the United States would, no doubt, be going beyond the present fact. That a very considerable moneyed interest would not be unwilling to witness such a result, and that an immense speculative element would look upon it with boisterous approval, there can be no doubt. That it offers a fascinating opportunity to break away from old political issues, to make new political combinations, and perhaps to strengthen and confirm political ascendency, is evident to even the most casual observer. The South has always been the home of the filibuster. Mexico and Central America have always been the regions to which its restless spirits have looked as legitimate fields for the gratification of their love of adventure and lust of conquest. Texas, New Mexico, Nevada, and California have been added to our territory by this im-

pulse. The public mind has been accustomed to the idea of its acquisition, by the extension of our south-western railroads into Mexican territory, as well as by our open and armed interference, by mere executive order, in the affairs of Central America, under the claim of protecting American interests in that quarter. There may have been no other method of accomplishing the object in view, and our treaty-right may fully have justified the course adopted; but the effect on the public mind has been to greatly lessen regard for the national rights of the Central-American Republics, and encourage the idea that we may do almost as we choose with the Spanish-Indian nationalities lying to the southward.

Before the War of Rebellion the North frowned upon all aggressive movements looking to the acquisition of territory at the South-west, on the plea that it was simply extending the area of slave territory and adding strength to that institution. This apprehension has now passed away, and it would be difficult to conceive of anything that would be more popular in the States of the North-west than the acquisition, by hook or by crook, of another slice of Mexican territory. The present Administration may not attempt it, but if its head has the nerve to undertake or even tacitly to encourage such a movement, he undoubtedly has, in his Cabinet and his party, the backing which would go far toward assuring its success. His party at the South would be not only "solid," but enthusiastic in support of such a policy, and no considerable element of it at the North would be heard to object. Both himself and his Cabinet need the *éclat* of at least a prospect of hostilities to becloud in the public memory the record they made, or failed to make, in the last war. It is quite possible that such a movement might command the support of enough Republican Senators to give the Administration a majority in that body, since it would undoubtedly receive the approval of a vast majority of the people, without respect to party, in at least four western States. Under these circumstances, it is only fair to regard it as one of the reasonable contingencies of our near political future. There are those having the most intimate relations with American interests and investments in Mexico who scarcely pretend to conceal their confidence in its early occurrence. The present complexion of political events, the peculiar relations of the President to his party, the race problem at the South, the attention that is being drawn by the utterances of such leading Republicans as Mr. Blaine, General Logan, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Hoar,

and others, to the practical disfranchisement of the colored race in the Southern States, all indicate the beginning of a period of intense partisan conflict. The forces now in control of the government have always been the boldest and most self-reliant elements of our national life. The President himself must either engage in conflict with his own party or devise a new policy by virtue of which he may hold its leadership. These are all matters which may well encourage schemes and acts, upon the part of persons unconnected with the Government, which shall not only point the way but perhaps even compel national interference in Mexican affairs. Should that occur, history shows unmistakably the result. Whenever our relations with Mexico are disturbed, a larger or smaller portion of Mexican territory will, of course, be appropriated as compensation for our insulted dignity, and to defray the cost of defending our national honor.

In addition to the question of international right and internal policy, which such an acquisition of territory would necessarily raise, it becomes a serious consideration whether we have a right to impose our national policy of debasement and extermination upon an aboriginal population before which a curious combination of circumstances has opened ever so little the door of opportunity. In other words, it becomes a question for every lover of humanity, whether it is better for the Indian element of the Mexican people to live in the hope of a better future under the Spanish Republic, or face hopeless degradation and inevitable extinction under the Anglo-Saxon democracy. This question there can be little doubt that the people of the United States will be called upon to consider in one form or another within a very brief time. It is hardly to be expected that we should act wisely when the lust of gain shall ally itself with political advantage ; but one thing is sure, the American people can no longer plead ignorance after the publication of the two curiously related works we have considered. If greed and ambition seek to lead the nation to commit an act of covetous rapacity, or, under the guise of extending assistance to a needy neighbor, to wickedly despoil his possessions, genius and industry, fiction and history have put in our hands the means of refuting error and rebuking wrong.

ALBION W. TOURGÉE.

# MORMON BLOOD ATONEMENT.

In the thirteen articles of faith of the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints," there is no mention of the doctrine of blood atonement, which Judge Baskin, counsel for the Gentiles of Utah, recently assured a congressional committee had been practically enforced during Brigham Young's reign. In replying, Mr. Jos. W. West, a Mormon, absolutely asserted that he "had never heard of such monstrous doctrine as that of blood atonement." Later on, Mr. John T. Caine, Utah delegate to Congress, indignantly exclaimed:

"A case must be desperate if such statements as these regarding blood atonement can be made. Mr. Baskin has said that Brigham Young was no fool. If you believe that Brigham Young was not a fool, you will believe that it (the doctrine of blood atonement) could only be taken in a figurative sense."

"Blood atonement? Ah, you fancy we mean something awful," once upon a time said a Mormon Elder to me, smiling. "This signifies that the blood of Christ atones for the sins of the world. Then again, the Bible says, 'If a man sheds blood, by man shall his blood be shed.' We don't believe in hanging. That is not shedding blood."

Let us investigate. In 1856 an awful so-called "reformation" took possession of Utah. The leaders under the influence of Jedediah M. Grant, one of Brigham's counselors, went mad on the subject of religion, and called everybody to repentance. All who were not married were hurried into matrimony, and those already married were forced into polygamy. "Blood atonement" was then announced from the pulpit by the prophet and his two counselors. For several years human blood was shed on the slightest provocation. Did one man bear a grudge against another, he died in some mysterious manner. A Mormon court of investigation could never discover how. Was a man obnoxious to any of the church officers, he disappeared, and was never heard of again. John W. Long, a clerk in Brigham's office, the only person who heard the conversation between Brigham and the messenger sent from George A. Smith, just before the Mountain Meadow massacre, and who wrote out the instructions which the messenger carried back, was found dead in a ditch, "drowned" in three inches of water, "accidentally," of course, since that was the decision of the Mormon jury.

"The time is coming," declared Brigham Young in 1856, "when justice will be laid to the line and righteousness to the plummet; when you shall take the old broadsword and ask, Are you of God? And if you are not heartily on the Lord's side, you will be hewn down."

It was preached throughout the wards that "the good sheep would know the good shepherd's voice, and would follow him, but the goats would not follow him, and they should have their tails cut two inches below their ears!"

The originator of this God-given principle delivered his first sermon on blood atonement on Sept. 21, 1856. After berating the saints in general, he turned his wrath upon "the old, hardened sinners." "They are almost, if not altogether, past improvement, and are full of hell; and my prayer is that God's indignation may rest upon them, and that he will curse them from the crown of their heads to the soles of their feet. I say that there are men and women that I would advise to go to the president immediately, and ask him to appoint a committee to attend to their case; and then let a place be selected, and let that committee shed their blood. We have those amongst us that are full of all manner of abominations, those who need to have their blood shed, for water will not do, their sins are of too deep a dye. You may think that I am not teaching you Bible doctrine, but what says the Apostle Paul? I would ask how many covenant-breakers there are in this city and in this kingdom? I believe that there are a great many; and if they are covenant-breakers, we need a place designated where *we can shed their blood*. . . . We have been trying long enough with this people, and I go in for letting the sword of the Almighty be unsheathed, not only in word but in deed. I go in for letting the wrath of the Almighty burn up the dross and the filth; and if the people will not glorify the Lord by sanctifying themselves, let the wrath of the Almighty God burn against them, and the wrath of Joseph, and of Brigham, and of Heber, and of high heaven. . . . Brethren and sisters, we want you to repent and forsake your sins. And you who have committed sins that cannot be forgiven through baptism, let your blood be shed and let the smoke ascend, that the incense thereof may come up before God as an atonement for your sins, and that the sinners in Zion may be afraid."

Listen next to Heber C. Kimball, another counselor to Brigham:

"If a man has done wrong, tell him to do right for the future and do a good work, and peradventure God will remit his sins and not require any more than a lamb, a pigeon, a calf, or something of that kind as an atonement. But it will require a great many heifers for some of you, and you will find your house left unto you desolate."

In February, 1857, thus spake Brigham Young:

"When will we love our neighbor as ourselves? In the first place, Jesus said that no man hateth his own flesh. . . . Now, if we do rightly love ourselves, we want to be saved and continue to exist. . . . Now take a person in this congregation who has knowledge with regard to being saved in the kingdom of our God and our Father, . . . and suppose that he has committed a sin that he knows will deprive him of that exaltation which he desires, and that he cannot attain to it *without the shedding of his blood, and also knows that by having his blood shed he will atone for that sin and be saved and exalted with*

*the gods*, is there a man or woman in this house but what would say, 'shed my blood that I might be saved and exalted with the gods?' . . . Will you love that man or woman well enough to shed their blood? That is what Jesus Christ meant. . . .

"I could refer you to plenty of instances where men have been righteously slain, in order to atone for their sins. . . .

"The wickedness and ignorance of the nations forbid this principle being in full force, but the time will come when the law of God will be in full force. This is loving our neighbor as ourselves; if he needs help, help him; if he wants salvation and it is necessary to spill his blood on the earth in order that he may be saved, spill it."

So much for Mormon history as reported by Church stenographers. Yet, no less an authority than George Q. Cannon, first counselor to the Mormon President, stated in an interview several years ago, that the "talk about the doctrine of blood atonement originates in the fact that we do not believe in hanging. We think that if a man sheds blood, his blood should be shed by execution." On Sunday evening, October 12, 1884, Elder Penrose, editor of the Mormon Church organ "The Deseret News," arose in the Twelfth Ward Meeting-House of Salt Lake City, and preached a sermon on Blood Atonement. He admitted that it was a principle of his religion, but that the time had not yet come to carry it out! The elder declared that it only applied to such as had joined the Church and apostatized. Why, then, did John D. Lee and the other murderers at Mountain Meadows call upon the Lord to forgive the sins of the one hundred and twenty Gentile men, women, and children, whose throats they were cutting as they called?

Here, Gentiles, is an admirable illustration of the devious ways of Mormonism. George Q. Cannon denied blood atonement five years ago. High priests repudiated the doctrine to me three years ago. For reasons best known to the Church, one of its cleverest elders publicly avowed the principle in 1884. Now before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, one Mormon Elder declares that he "never heard of the monstrous doctrine of blood atonement," and another Mormon Elder, the Utah delegate to Congress, having heard of it apparently, maintains that this doctrine "could only be taken in a figurative sense." An unprejudiced public shall decide whether such an expression as "spilling his blood upon the earth" can be construed figuratively. Mormons insist upon interpreting the Bible literally. They are the

most literal people on the face of the earth. Brigham Young and his holy counselors were the last men in this world to use figures of speech, and that they meant what they said is illustrated in the following story told me by a truthful woman during my residence in Utah.

"When they tell you that they have never blood atoned, they tell what is false," said one who for years was a Mormon, and whose life has been a prolonged struggle for existence. "Listen to a true story. In London I knew a Mrs. Mansfield, a friend of my mother, to whose boys I gave music lessons. Through Thomas Brown, a Mormon elder, Mr. and Mrs. Mansfield were baptized into what they believed to be the true faith, and Mansfield, when dying, made Elder Brown promise that he would take charge of his wife and children. Brown, who had said he was married, settled Mansfield's estate, and soon informed the widow that his wife had died. Within two years the elder married Mrs. Mansfield and brought her to Utah, where the poor woman discovered that Brown's first wife was still living. Taking Mrs. Mansfield down South, he finally brought her back to a broken-down place in Salt Lake City."

"One Sunday in 1861, on leaving the Tabernacle, I met Mrs. Mansfield in rags and tatters. In England, she wore satins. Mrs. Mansfield had a beautiful daughter 'Daisy,' whom Brown was determined to marry. 'I'd rather see her dead than married to that brute,' said poor Mrs. Mansfield, but her opposition only made Brown the more determined."

"'I intend to marry her, sick or well,' he declared, when Daisy fell ill, and called upon Heber C. Kimball to perform the ceremony, at which I was present. The unhappy girl was propped up in bed, and when asked whether she accepted Brown as her husband, never replied. A few minutes later Daisy died, and her mother thanked God audibly. Mrs. Mansfield's conduct was so rebellious that she made an enemy of Brown, and finally sealed her doom by revealing to her boys the secrets of the Endowment House. 'I shall not live to return to England,' she said, 'but I want you to go back and tell our friends, and warn people against Mormonism.' When Brown accused her of breaking her oath, she did not deny it, whereupon he ordered the boys to go with him to Brigham Young's for a settlement of the property."

"Soon after, the boys came to me with terror-stricken faces.

'Oh,' they cried, 'you can't imagine what we've got to tell you. We were deceived. Brown took us to a place where something was thrown over our faces. Then we were conducted down stone steps into a room lighted with candles. There they brought poor mother almost naked. We were asked whether she had told us about the Endowment House, and we said "no," but Brown contradicted us. They cut mother's throat and disemboweled her before our eyes, and then told us to leave the Territory in twenty-four hours, or we'd be treated in the same way.'"

"There was no time to be lost. I dressed the boys as country girls, put old sunbonnets on their heads, gave them a letter to an Englishman named Low, who had apostatized and lived on a ranch in Idaho, and had them safely conducted as far as the Warm Springs, three miles out of town. Those boys never were heard of. The next day ——, who had been concealed in the currant bushes about my house, said to me: 'It's a very good job for you to have let those boys go, for if they had remained over night you would all have been murdered.'"

"I came from England in 1860, when sixteen, because I had a sister here whom I wanted to persuade to return. I was fond of traveling, and I accompanied an English family I knew. We had a comfortable carriage, and had a splendid time crossing the plains. It was like a pleasure party. Once over, I found it almost impossible to get back. Brigham Young insisted upon my marrying—and in those days you had to do as you were told. I never was a good Mormon, and when I went through the Endowment House I kept my mouth shut. I was a second wife. My husband had been a Danite, and one night I followed him, and saw things I ought not. The Mormons suspected me. In 1872 I was invited to a surprise party, and made up my mind to go, when the wife of a leading man begged me to stay at home. 'If you go you'll never get home alive,' she said. The night was very foggy, so I dressed in father's clothes, took a stick and walked out. Presently in a dark place I recognized two men, one a relation. After going round the block, I returned home."

"In 1876, the Mormons were so afraid I'd help Judge Howard, in ferreting out dubious matters, that I was constantly followed when I went out. One day I met Judge Howard, and he wanted me to give evidence about some people in California. If they were implicated in the affair under consideration at the time, I'm

sure they obeyed orders from the Church, and left the country in disgust, and to escape detection. A man was brought back, gave the necessary information, and was sent home again. The Mormons didn't know what I'd say to Judge Howard, and wanted me out of the way. In July of '76, while visiting a friend, I was asked by her to try some water from her new well, which I did, but it had such a peculiar taste that I drank very little. That little, however, made me feel so ill that I went home and sent for the doctor. I had been poisoned with corrosive sublimate."

"The woman who had given me the water came to see me early the next morning, saying, 'I've been thinking about you all night.'"

"'Well you might,' I replied."

"Then she confessed how terribly she felt, and how she had been ordered to poison me. She was a good woman, and I'm sure she wouldn't do such a thing now."

"Besides owning property, my husband has an income of $250 a month. I don't live with him, neither does his first wife. He has a third, who was a hired girl. I am allowed one dollar sixteen cents and four mills a week for the support of my two children, whom I am educating out of the Mormon Church. We have relations in England of good position, and if we go back I do not want to be ashamed of my children. Most Mormons don't care how their children are raised; I do. Don't use my name; I've suffered so much that I have no more spirit to fight. I must earn my living, and I'll make no more sacrifices."

After these significant quotations, and after this equally significant sketch from life, I think the public will agree with me that either Brigham Young, the prophet, his counselors, and the editor of "The Deseret News," are liars, or blood atonement is a principle of the Mormon faith. Behold the two horns of the dilemma. To my way of thinking, "God's people" are impaled upon both.

KATE FIELD.

# LABOR IN PENNSYLVANIA.

## II.

Of the laws which have been enacted in Pennsylvania for the benefit of coal-miners, that which looks to the safety and sanitary condition of mines, and that which forbids the employment of women, have had the most satisfactory results—the former, because it provides for a corps of inspectors to enforce its provisions, and the latter, because the employment of women was confined to one class of immigrants and was opposed by a strong public opinion. As in the Clearfield case, the miners often complain that the inspectors have undue regard for the interests of employers, but I found no question among them of what is on every hand admitted—that the effect of the inspection law has been to cause the mining companies to pay much more regard to ventilation, means of egress, etc., and largely to diminish the loss of life—though that is still great. It may, however, be questioned whether the same end could not be better attained by making the companies pecuniarily responsible for loss of life or limb, except where carelessness on the part of the victim could be proved. There are other provisions of the mining law, such as that which requires that, when ten persons desirous of leaving the mine are collected at the bottom of a slope, they shall be hoisted up without delay; and that which requires that miners shall be furnished, free of charge, at the place where they are working, with such timbers as they call for—the object of the one being to prevent men being left in impure air and wet clothes while coal is being hoisted, and that of the other to prevent any temptation to push work ahead without proper timbering—which, not coming directly under the purview of the inspectors, seem to be observed or not observed, according to the disposition of the operators and the organization of the men.

So it is with the provision authorizing the miners in the bitu-

minous region to keep a man on the tipple to check the weighing of the coal. Where the miners have felt themselves strong they have taken advantage of this provision; but where they are weak it is of no use to them. The demands of miners for the employment of checkweighmen have in a number of cases led to contests, some of which have been carried into the courts, and some of which have caused strikes and lockouts. At the mines of W. L. Scott & Co., near Scott Haven, checkweighmen (which were one of the demands of a previous strike) have recently been put off the tipples, and the miners have struck again, and in several instances mines have been shut down to force the miners to give up their demand for checkweighmen. The opposition on the part of the companies to the employment of checkweighmen gives color to the miners' belief that they are commonly defrauded by light weight. In fact, there are cases in which operators have offered a somewhat higher rate of wages if checkweighmen were not employed than they were willing to pay if checkweighmen were insisted on.

As for the laws against the employment of children, they are a dead letter in Pennsylvania, except as they are to some extent enforced in the city of Philadelphia by the efforts of a Children's Protective Society, and I recently found in Pennsylvania papers, without any comment on the illegal age, an item recounting the cutting to pieces of a child of eleven in a Reading mill, by the starting of a machine it had been set to clean. In the coal mining region no one seems to pay any attention to the law prohibiting the employment of children under twelve, and boys of seven and eight may be found picking slate in anthracite coal breakers or trimming coke in the bituminous regions.

As to the work of these little slate-pickers this is what is said of it by Mr. Morgan Jones, formerly a mine boss in the Schuylkill region:

"I have witnessed the agony of wives and mothers and sisters, as victim after victim to the perils that constantly threaten the miner has been raised from the deadly depths, but the spectacle of a score or more of boys aged before their time, bent and stunted and worn, working their lives away in the black, dusty breaker, sweltering and suffocating in the summer and chilled to the bone in the winter, was something that brought perpetual heart-ache.

"In a room of these colliery buildings—not more than fifteen feet square—I have seen forty boys at work picking slate from the coal that passes swiftly down chutes in an endless stream. They are seated on hemlock boards

stretched across the room in rows. The windows are always open in winter and summer, in order that the dust may escape. In winter the wind whistles through the apartment, and the snow beats at the windows and doors. From seven o'clock in the morning until darkness compels work to cease, these boys sit on their benches, with backs bent almost double over the running coal, separating the slate from it. To do this requires great dexterity with the hands and a quick eye. The slate-pickers range from seven to fifteen years of age. At fifteen or sixteen they are old enough to enter the mines, and to reach that stage in their career is their only ambition. If any visitor will take the trouble to enter the miners' grave-yard near by he will not need to be told how many of these boys never reached the goal of their ambition. The tomb-stones are numerous, but the great majority bear the names of boys under the age of fifteen years—slate-pickers, who have succumbed to the overstrain of toil that has made them old, decrepit, and infirm before they had reached the freshness of youth.

"Sometimes these boys live long distances from the collieries where they are employed, and are carried to work in the morning and home again in the evening in the coal cars of the company. For this they are charged sometimes as much as ten cents a trip, the money being deducted from their wages. It is no uncommon thing for the boys to find, after reaching the colliery, that the works will be idle for some reason. In such cases they get no pay, and I have known it to happen that at the end of the month it would not only require all of a boy's wages to pay for his transportation, but that he would still be in debt to his employer. While I was in the coal regions I endeavored to awaken an interest among the miners on the subject of thus employing boys at collieries, but nine out of ten of them were willing to run the risk of their boys being equal to the hardship of the life of a slate-picker rather than lose the pittance each would contribute to the family income."

And here is what another well-informed man, a district master workman of Knights of Labor in the anthracite district, and who, though not now working at coal mining, has passed through all its grades, writes me on the subject:

"The lot of the slate-picker, though still hard, has been much improved in this quarter. Since the advent of organized labor, the slate-picker's task-master, the 'chute boss,' does not whip and abuse the children as was the custom before. There is more or less of the lash, the club, the fist and the boot administered to the slate-picker, in many places yet, but it is not so common a custom, and the practice of washing the coal, though adopted without intention of benefiting the slate-picker, works for his good by keeping down the dust. There are some places yet where the coal is not washed, and the life of a slate-picker there is indeed deplorable. Choking with dust, bending over the running coal, weak, weary and suffering from what we used to call 'heart-burn,' and emitting sour, bitter water-brash, the slate-picker is often unable to eat when meal-time at last arrives. That the coal breaker and the coal mine fill premature graves and make premature old men is true. Morgan

Jones has not put it too strongly. The grave-yards are overfull, and the numerous asthmatic consumptives abounding in these coal fields are walking corroborations.

"I went to picking slate when nine years old, and weighed thirty-five pounds a year after, and on the dusty breaker and in the mine did man's work for boy's pay for years, as hundreds of boys are doing it now. I will be thirty-eight next September, and am, as you know, gray and old. But though I have been myself a slate-picker, and filled all the grades of manual labor in and about a coal mine, I must confess I have given no thought before to the wrong done these boys; it is so common we have got used to it. But as I write my mind goes back to the hundreds of boys who with me were little slate-pickers. I recall lots of them who are in the grave-yards, and those yet among the living whom I occasionally meet are gray-headed, old young men, worn out before their time. Asthma, consumption, weak-back, gravel and rheumatism follow the breaker and mine work."

The Pennsylvania Bureau of Industrial Statistics has secured a photograph of the little slate-pickers of a typical breaker, seated at their work, the "chute boss" with his long stick in their midst. It is ocular demonstration of how the law concerning child labor is disregarded.

The difficulty with laws that prohibit the undue employment of children is that they are merely repressive, and do not touch the cause—the poverty of the parents. Where the natural bread-winner can with difficulty support his family, any pittance that the children can earn becomes important. Still more is this the case where the natural bread-winner is disabled or taken away, and many of the little fellows employed in the mines are the sons of such men. How little support the law against the employment of young children in collieries has in public opinion among the miners was illustrated by a miner who was complaining to me of the neglect of a mining company to perform some work required for proper ventilation. "They gave us to understand," said he, "that if we complained about it to the inspector, they would *retaliate* by enforcing the law against the employment of children."

The same day I met this man I read in a Pennsylvania paper "Twelve Reasons why we want a Protective Tariff," of which the sixth and seventh were as follows:

"6. Because children at a tender age and women of Europe are required to perform the servile labor in manufactories and out-doors at a mere pittance for pay, being degraded to the servile condition of prison labor of this country. Our aim should be to so protect the labor of America as to shield it from a like serfdom condition.

"7. Because desiring to set an example of universal education and prevent any growing up in ignorance, the wages of workingmen should not be brought into competition with the pay of children and women who work in Europe for a mere pittance."

One of the peculiar institutions of Pennsylvania is the Coal and Iron Police. These should not be confounded, as they sometimes are, with that private army organized by the Pinkertons, and sent hither and thither to the aid of those who will pay for their services. The Coal and Iron Police of Pennsylvania are not a force in the sense of having any organization, being under the control of nobody save the individuals, companies or combinations * who employ them. Under the Act of April 11, 1866, the provisions of the Act of February 27, 1865, relating to railway policemen were extended to all "corporations, firms or individuals, owning, leasing or being in possession of any colliery, furnace or rolling-mill within this commonwealth." Under this act any such firm, company or individual may apply to the governor to commission as a coal and iron policeman any person named by them. There is no restriction as to number, no examination as to character, no guaranty as to behavior, no requirement of report, no stipulation as to pay or employment. These private employees are clothed by the law with all the powers of a policeman of the city of Philadelphia, and the keepers of all jails and station houses are required to receive and keep all persons arrested by them; but they pass no examination, give no bonds, and are amenable to no discipline. The only requirement of the law is that they shall, when not upon detective duty, wear a badge marked "Coal and Iron Police;" but this, if worn at all, seems to be worn inside the coat. The Governor is empowered to cancel a commission for cause, or it may be canceled upon application of the owner or operator who applied for its issuance, but the commission bears no term, and practically once a coal and iron policeman always a coal and iron policeman, so long as the favor of the employer is retained. Thus the very largest powers with which the commonwealth clothes its peace officers are put at the unrestrained disposal of Pennsylvania coal and iron owners and operators. Whoever has

* In the case of the smaller operators the Coal and Iron Police are generally paid by the "coal exchanges," or other combinations of operators, an assessment based upon the amount of coal mined being levied for police protection.

realized what power may be exercised by a policeman among those too poor and uninfluential to easily appeal to the law will see what a weapon is thus placed in the hands of employers. The immunities, too, as well as the powers with which they may thus clothe their servants, are in some respects important; for, by having proceedings begun in the name of these policemen, responsibility for costs that would attach to an ordinary citizen is avoided, and a convenient instrumentality is created for making the law an engine of coercion and oppression.

Like other things in Pennsylvania, the coal and iron police are suggestive of Ireland to any one who has seen that unfortunate country while landlordism was yet in strength. Their functions on the coal estates are a combination of those performed for the Irish landlords by the "rent warner," the "process-server," the "emergency man," and the Royal Irish Constabulary. They are the spies, informers, collectors, writ-servers, and guards of their employers, licensed always to carry arms and make arrests. Measured by the miner's standard they get an easy living and high pay, and there is no inherent improbability in what the miners say—that the officiousness of these policemen is the cause of much of the trouble between employers and employed, since it is the natural disposition of every such body of men to furnish reasons for their own existence.

There is bitter complaint among the miners of Pennsylvania of what they call "the conspiracy laws." These are in reality the English common law modified by statute. In this there has been a progressive advance as the political power of organized labor has made itself felt. In 1806 several shoe-makers of Philadelphia were convicted of conspiracy for having combined to raise their wages and (as it would now be called) boycotted an employer who refused to pay the increased scale, and some workmen who continued in his employ.* The growth of public opinion gradually wrought ameliora-

* It is interesting to observe that the Act of Elizabeth cited in this case was aimed not only at artificers, workmen or laborers who conspired or covenanted not to do their work except at a certain price, but also at "butchers, bakers, brewers, poulterers, coster-mongers or fruiterers who shall conspire, covenant, promise or make any oath that they shall not sell their victual but at certain prices." Judge Agnew of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania some years since declared that combinations to restrict the production of coal were punishable conspiracies, but no one has ever been punished for engaging in them.

tion in the administration of the law with regard to the "conspiracy" of workmen, but it was not until 1869 that an Act was passed making it lawful for "mechanics, journeymen, tradesmen and laborers to form societies and associations for their mutual aid, benefit and protection, and even then the mining counties of Centre and Clearfield, where labor difficulties existed, were exempted from the benefits of the Act. By the Act of June 14, 1872, another step was made, and it was declared that from and after the passage of the act it should be lawful for laborers or workingmen acting either as individuals or as members of societies or associations to refuse to work for any person or persons whenever they deemed their wages insufficient, or their treatment brutal or offensive, or that such work would be contrary to the rules and regulations of any society or organization to which they belonged, "without subjecting any person or persons so refusing to work or labor to prosecution or indictment for conspiring under the criminal laws of this commonwealth," *provided* that the act should not apply to the members of societies and organizations whose constitutions, by-laws and regulations were not in strict conformity with the constitutions of Pennsylvania and the United States, and "*provided* that nothing herein contained shall prevent the prosecution and punishment under existing laws of any person or persons who shall in any way hinder persons who desire to labor for their employers from so doing, or other persons from being employed as laborers."

But after the passage of this act it was held by courts in the mining regions that even request or persuasion to stop work constituted hinderance, and in several cases miners were indicted and punished for conspiring when nothing more could be proved. The growing strength of labor organizations procured the passage in 1876 of an act explanatory of that of 1872, by which it was declared that the previous Act "shall be so construed that the use of lawful or peaceable means having for their object a lawful purpose shall not be regarded as in any way hindering persons who desire to labor, and the use of force, threats or menace of harm to persons or property shall alone be regarded as in any way hindering persons who desire to labor for their employers from so doing, or other persons from being employed as laborers."

This Act, which is the last upon the subject, has much curtailed the power to use the charge of conspiracy as a means of

coercing strikers and punishing their leaders, and under it it has in some places been held that the formation of strikers' camps, and the visitation of mines by bodies of strikers carrying banners and headed by brass bands, for the purpose of inducing men to quit work, does not constitute conspiracy when unaccompanied by violence. But how it is still possible to use the vague charge of conspiracy to punish men for striking is shown by a recent case in Washington County.

During a strike last fall on one of the pools* of the Monongahela river, a body of miners from one of the other pools came up in a steam-boat with a brass band and paraded around the mines while a committee urged the men who had remained at work despite the strike to come out and join them. During this demonstration some collisions occurred and a couple of the men who had refused to join the strike were assaulted, though, as it seems, without serious consequences. This was made a pretext for a charge of conspiracy against the principal men in the strike. Informations were sworn out by a coal-and-iron policeman, and a large number of the men who had been active in organizing the strike were arrested, and those who could not give bail committed to jail. The strike proved a failure, the men being finally forced to return to work at the old price. But the companies were determined to take the opportunity to punish the ringleaders, and virtually prosecuted the cases, employing three lawyers for the purpose. On their part the miners secured the services of W. J. Brennen of Pittsburg, and two lawyers of the county. The cases were tried at the county seat in the agricultural part of Washington County, in May. The only miner on the panel was peremptorily challenged by the prosecution, and the jury was made up almost entirely of farmers, who in this part of the country, if not throughout the State, have a class prejudice against miners and miners' strikes, which reduce the market for their produce, and, as some of them think, increase the tendency of poultry, etc., to mysteriously disappear. The cases as to some of the men indicted were dismissed by the prosecution, the real reason being, it is said, that the men were of use politically or owed money to the companies, and twenty-seven were put on trial. Against three of

* The term "pool" in connection with Pennsylvania coal mining does not refer to combinations like the railroad pools, but means the mining section between one river dam and another.

these no evidence whatever could be adduced, and in their cases verdicts of not guilty were entered during the progress of the trial by direction of the Court. One of the men thus released had already lain in jail for fourteen weeks, another for seven weeks, and in the case of the third it was shown that he had been working in Ohio for nearly a year, and had only returned to Pennsylvania a few days before the Grand Jury had found a bill in the case. Yet his name had been inserted in the indictment without any preliminary hearing, and he had been taken out of his bed at midnight on a bench warrant, and had lain in jail until the trial. Only two of the others were in any way connected by the evidence with the violence, but the theory of the prosecution, enforced in the charge of the judge, was that the violence was the result of a conspiracy in which all who took part in the miners' strike and meetings were concerned. It was proved as to some of them that they were not even in the neighborhood when the violence occurred, and that their counsels had always been against force or threats of force, and one of the things incidentally shown in the trial was that the strike in its inception had been encouraged by the principal mine-owner, who at that time had a considerable stock of coal on hand. The twenty-four were, however, all found guilty in a body, and with one exception were all sentenced to eight months' imprisonment with hard labor. The exception was in the case of a man who was evidently in the last stages of consumption, and who was condemned to six weeks' imprisonment in the county jail. Among the men thus sentenced were a number who bear the very highest character in their neighborhoods. One of them, a veteran of the war, in which he was wounded himself and lost his father and two brothers, and who has a wife and eight children dependent upon him, was connected with the conspiracy only by the making of a speech in which, while he supported the strike, he had been careful to warn the men against any infringement of the law; another is a Methodist local preacher, a devoted Christian and ardent temperance advocate. Such is the reputation of these men, that the deputy sheriff who took them to prison to serve out their sentences, allowed them while waiting for a train in Pittsburg to go about the town on their promise to return. What they were really convicted of was not violence or inciting to violence, but of participating in a strike, which by fiction of the old English conspiracy law is made to involve all who partici-

pated in it, in an offense which was only an accidental incident. After serving out about a month of their sentences a writ of *allocatur* was granted by Judge Clarke of the Supreme Court, which brings the case before that tribunal in October for review upon points excepted to by their counsel during the trial, and an order was made directing their release in the meantime upon $1,000 bail each. Bail, at the time I write, has been found for all but three. If the power lay in the hands of Governor Pattison it is probable that further legal proceedings would have been dispensed with by a prompt pardon; but any application must be passed on by the Board of Pardons, and they do not meet during the hot season.

In the meantime the anthracite coal carrying companies have limited the August output to 500,000 tons less than last year, without the slightest fear of the conspiracy law, the city of Philadelphia is compelled to pay black-mail prices for her fuel and gas coal, and the Standard Oil Company rolls up its millions and pushes out new tentacles.

But the Morrison bill has been defeated, and Pennsylvania yet rejoices in the protection of her industries from the pauper coal of foreign lands.

HENRY GEORGE.

*(To be continued.)*

# WHY AM I A METHODIST?

I CANNOT better begin this article than in the words of Professor Austin Phelps, of Andover Seminary, an eminent representative of orthodox Congregationalism: "The rise of Methodism was the birth of a spiritual reform of which all the Christian denominations in Great Britain and America were in desperate need. The Established Churches of England and Scotland were dying of spiritual *anæmia*. Dr. Blair at Edinburgh and Bishop Porteous at London were droning moral platitudes in the pulpits, while the masses of the people, especially in England, never heard of them or of the gospel they professed to preach. Never before, nor since, has the phenomenon been so signally developed, of Christianity gasping in the struggle to live on the religion of nature. Among the ruling classes religious convictions had no intensity, and religious life no reality. The chief power in saving to the future the old church of Cranmer and Ridley was the Methodist revival. It broke upon the kingdom in tongues of flame. Then was the golden age of field preaching. In the venerable cathedrals of England the magnates of the church on the Lord's day preached to a dozen hearers; sometimes to less; occasionally to nobody but the sexton and the choir. An audience of two hundred was a crowd. At the same time Wesley and Whitefield were haranguing ten and twenty thousands at a time in the open air. The wisdom of the city fathers of Boston had not then illumined the world. The Church of England could no more withstand it than she could have withstood the day of judgment. To her it *was* the day of judgment. English Christianity has never lost the elements of spiritual life which Methodism, by direct reproof and by the power of contrast, then put into it. Methodism saved the Anglican Church from extinction. It was a reënforcement of apostolic Christianity, also, in every other Christian denomination in the English-speaking nations and colonies.

We have all felt the throb of its pulsations. It has been what new blood is to falling dynasties and decadent races."

These are stronger terms than a Methodist could use with propriety, in giving to the readers of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW the reasons why he adheres to the faith and practice of John Wesley. Much is of course due to the conditions of birth and education in determining one's Christian associations. These conditions will at the least create a predisposition to accept for life one's hereditary faith. But no hereditary faith can permanently retain its hold upon a thoughtful man, unless it contains sufficient elements of truth to create positive convictions. It is a peculiarity of Methodists that they are what they are in religion *ex animo;* they are largely recruits to Christianity from the unchurched masses of the world. In the earlier days they were drawn also in great numbers from the other Protestant bodies. There has not been as yet, among Methodists, a sufficiency of time for the operation of the laws of hereditary influence to the extent which is common to other communions, whether Protestant or Catholic.

What, then, are the features of the great evangelical revival which endear it to all who have been brought by its power into the fellowship of the various Methodist churches? I think I may put in the forefront the fact that it draws so clear a distinction between opinion and religion. Here the Methodist would join hands with Edward Everett Hale in his presentation of the principles of Unitarianism in the March number of this REVIEW. When Mr. Hale writes: "A simple and probable theology is a very good thing; just as a simple doctrine of attraction, or of electricity, or of evolution, is a very good thing; but religion, the life of man with God, or his infinite and immortal life, is a greater reality, and is the only reality for which our churches care," he almost repeats John Wesley himself. Wesley's expressions on this point are so habitual that they may be accepted as representing the substance of his thinking. Some of them are memorable. "I make," he says, "no opinion the term of union with any man. I think and let think. What I want is holiness of heart and life. They who have this are my brother, sister, and mother." And, rising to a height which the Christian world has not yet reached, he exclaims: "I desire to have a league, offensive and defensive, with every soldier of Christ." To another correspondent he writes: "Ortho-

doxy, or right opinion, is at best a very slender part of religion, if it can be allowed to be any part at all." His impatience of the substitution of doctrine for piety comes to an extreme statement in his declaration often quoted: "I am sick of opinions." He showed his catholicity in the publication of a biography of Thomas Firmin, one of the early propagators of Unitarianism in England, saying, as he did so, that he could not accept Firmin's doctrinal beliefs, but that he saw in him an example of Christian excellence worthy of imitation. And it was in harmony with this large-hearted charity that he received, as his guest at his orphan house in Newcastle, a Roman Catholic priest, when Roman Catholic priests were, on political grounds, objects of suspicion. Not satisfied with this, he subsequently became the priest's guest, delivered a discourse in his chapel (part of an old Franciscan convent), and lived in friendship with him ever after. This habit of looking beyond opinion to the image of Christ in men was not only characteristic of Wesley himself, but became also one of the traits of the Methodist people. I cannot say, however, that they have always, in catholicity, quite equalled their founder.

Clearly, then, Wesley did not set out to found a church. If he had, he would have laid stress on opinions. He might then have defined and refined, until the substance of Christian truth had disappeared from ordinary human vision. Wesley's war was with practical ungodliness, and the simplest truths of the gospel were the weapons of his warfare. And what an England it was, into the midst of which he threw himself! One has only to read his journals to obtain a clearer impression of it than can be had from any historian of our day. Lecky tells us: "The passion for gin-drinking appears to have infected the masses of the population, and it spread with the rapidity and the violence of an epidemic. Small as is the place which this fact occupies in English history, it was probably, if we consider all the consequences that have flowed from it, the most momentous in that of the eighteenth century—incomparably more so than any event in the purely political or military annals of the country. The fatal passion for drink was at once and irrevocably planted in the nation. The grand jury of Middlesex, in a powerful presentment, declared that much the greater part of the poverty, the murders, the robberies of London, might be traced to this single cause. Retailers of gin were accustomed to hang out painted boards announcing that their

customers could be made drunk for a penny, and dead-drunk for two-pence, and should have straw for nothing ; and cellars strewn with straw were accordingly provided, into which those who had become insensible were dragged, and where they remained till they had sufficiently recovered to renew their orgies. The evil acquired such frightful dimensions that even the unreforming Parliament of Walpole perceived the necessity of taking strong measures to arrest it." Thousands of the baptized members of the Church of England were no better. Wesley himself calls them as he saw them : "Drunken Christians, cursing and swearing Christians, lying Christians, cheating Christians," and adds, "If these are Christians at all, they are devil Christians, as the poor Malabarians term them."

Having found persons who sought his aid in escaping from the contagion of this wickedness, he appointed one evening of the week for meeting with them. From this small beginning the Methodist churches arose. It soon became necessary to frame terms of union by which these associated seekers after Christian truth and Christian life could be held together. The terms of union are known as the "General Rules of the United Societies." They are doctrinal by implication, but very little so by any express statement. As the basis of a church, they would be pronounced by any theologian wholly inadequate, and yet they are the basis of Methodism. And they suggest the thought that, perhaps, the best way to found a church is to found it more than we do on practical Christianity.

As most probably many of the readers of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW have not met with John Wesley's General Rules, they are given here entire. The life-blood of Methodism is in them. "There is one only condition previously required in those who desire admission into these societies : a desire to flee from the wrath to come and to be saved from their sins. But, wherever this is really fixed in the soul, it will be shown by its fruits. It is therefore expected of all who continue therein, that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation : First, by doing no harm, by avoiding evil in every kind ; especially that which is most generally practiced : such is, the taking the name of God in vain; the profaning the day of the Lord, either by doing ordinary work thereon, or by buying or selling ; drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme

necessity; fighting, quarreling, brawling, brother going to law with brother, returning evil for evil, or railing for railing; the using many words in buying or selling; the buying or selling uncustomed goods; the giving or taking things on usury, that is, unlawful interest; uncharitable or unprofitable conversation, particularly speaking evil of magistrates or ministers; doing to others as we would not they should do unto us; doing what we know is not for the glory of God, as the 'putting on of gold and costly apparel'; the taking such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus; the singing those songs, or reading those books, which do not tend to the knowledge or love of God; softness, and needless self-indulgence; laying up treasures upon earth; borrowing without a probability of paying; or taking up goods without a probability of paying for them.

"Secondly, by doing good, by being, in every kind, merciful after their power; as they have opportunity, doing good of every possible sort, and as far as is possible, to all men; to their bodies, of the ability which God giveth, by giving food to the hungry, by clothing the naked, by visiting or helping them that are sick or are in prison; to their souls, by instructing, reproving, or exhorting all they have any intercourse with; trampling under foot that enthusiastic doctrine of devils, that 'we are not to do good unless our heart be free to it'; by doing good especially to them that are of the household of faith, or groaning so to be; employing them preferably to others; buying one of another; helping each other in business; and so much the more, because the world will love its own, and them only; by all possible diligence and frugality, that the gospel be not blamed; by running with patience the race that is set before them, 'denying themselves, and taking up their cross daily'; submitting to bear the reproach of Christ, to be as the filth and offscouring of the world; and looking that all men should 'say all manner of evil of them falsely for the Lord's sake.'

"Thirdly, by attending upon all the ordinances of God. Such are, the public worship of God; the ministry of the word, either read or expounded; the supper of the Lord; family and private prayer; searching the scriptures; and fasting or abstinence."

Men before Wesley have counseled their fellows to be good and have provided forms of discipline for making them better, and have conspicuously failed. Wesley was not so unschooled in the knowl-

edge of human nature as to attempt to work without means. A decided Christian, he relied upon Christian truth as the animating energy of his reform of the people. How, then, did he conceive Christian truth? After depreciating so energetically mere opinion in religion, what were his own opinions? To say that he was without positive theological convictions would impeach his intelligence. A more positive man in thought and act never lived in England. To answer our question, we must look for a few minutes at the theology and the preaching of the English clergy in the eighteenth century. The gospel of the English divines of that period was the gospel of moderation; the preaching was the inculcation of morals. The prevalent theory of Christianity was that it was a republication of natural religion, accredited by the historic evidence of miracles. Paley said, that the only purpose of Christianity was to afford men a more certain assurance of a future life. The Deists attacked the theologians by affirming that natural religion was enough, and pressed them very hard. As to the essence of religion, Deist and Christian were on the same ground; if the Deist did not care for the added evidence which Christianity was supposed to bring, he had no use for Christianity. As to the inner contents of religion he was as well off as priest, deacon, or bishop. Lecky, who is no evangelical, says that the theologians, who were contemporary with Wesley, "beyond a belief in the doctrine of the Trinity and a general acknowledgment of the gospel narratives, taught little that might not have been taught by the disciples of Socrates or Confucius." Then, again, the struggles between Churchmen and Dissenters had ended in weariness of all theological strife. The theological passions, which had displaced true religious fervor, had worn themselves out. The Puritans had been terribly in earnest, and had overthrown the monarchy; therefore the Churchmen studied all the more assiduously to maintain the golden mean. Moderation, the avoidance of over-much righteousness, the danger of religious enthusiasm, were the stock phrases of the clergy. John Locke's "Reasonableness of Christianity," exactly suited the temper of his generation. And the clergy were moderate, very moderate indeed, in every sense of that epithet. The church was dying of inanition, and the people were going from bad to worse. As there was nothing left of Christianity to preach but its morality, morality was the staple of all the sermons. Be moral, be moral, sounded from all the pulpits of England on Sundays, and

the answer came in the drunkenness and ferocity of the lower classes, and the gambling and fast living of the higher ranks of society. Bishop Butler's preface to his Analogy is one of the most melancholy passages in all eighteenth century literature : "It is come to be taken for granted by many persons that Christianity is now at length discovered to be fictitious; and, accordingly, they treat it as if, in the present age, this were an agreed point among all people of discernment, and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as it were by way of reprisals, for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world." And all he will undertake to show is that "it is not so clear a case that there is nothing in it." And yet Butler distrusted Wesley and Wesley's work, and believed his zealous contemporary to be a propagator of dangerous religious enthusiasm.

To this listlessness of the pulpit and ungodliness of the people, Wesley opposed three truths which he believed to be drawn directly from the New Testament : (1) Man is lost. (2) Man may be saved if he will. (3) He may be saved now, with a tremendous emphasis on the now. All this implies the mediation of Christ, and the direct action of the Holy Spirit upon the heart, applying and giving efficacy to the truths contained in the gospel. In other words, Wesley held that Christianity is a supernatural administration running through all ages, and that the administrator is the Holy Spirit. On this point he took issue with the theologians of England. He succeeded in indoctrinating his people with this thought, so that it has become and remains one of their deepest convictions, and as such is a vital force of Methodism. A Methodist is a supernaturalist of the most pronounced type. As it was said of the old Roman, *quod vult, valde vult ;* so it may be said of every Methodist who is true to the teachings of his church, that what he believes he believes with all his soul.

I must not, however, stray too far into the realm of technical theology. This much, however, needed to be said, in order to show the difference between Methodism and the theology of the eighteenth century. The marking of this distinction helps also to make the inner life of Methodism clear to those who are not familiar with its principles. In showing how directly Wesley's teaching antagonized the opinions of the leading theologians of the eighteenth century, I prefer to cite other than Methodist testi-

mony. I apprehend that Methodists are thought by many candid persons to claim too much for the revolution wrought by their fathers in the religious life and thought of the English-speaking race, and that, therefore, their assertions on this point are usually accepted with a good many grains of disbelief. I will, therefore, take Hunt, whose "History of Religious Thought in England" is eminently fair to all parties. Hunt makes the point that the English scholars having, with great difficulty, beaten back the Deists on the grounds of argument which they chose, found that "Wesley and Whitefield were attracting to the churches crowds of people who professed to realize in themselves the truth of that religion which the Deists were said to have assailed. Dr. Waterland was the first to see the danger of the rising sect. He did not condescend to name them, but wrote against them as the 'New Enthusiasts.' The Methodists really told the people that they must be born again before they could enter the kingdom of God, and Dr. Waterland proved that they had all been born again in baptism, and were already members of Christ and inheritors of His kingdom." Of course, the Methodist preaching was a scandal and offense to all refined England. The claim of the direct action of the Holy Spirit upon the soul seemed to men, who were undoubtedly sincere, to open the door to all possibilities of extravagance. "That the Spirit of God," adds Hunt, "had virtually departed from the world was a doctrine universally received both by Churchmen and Dissenters. The theory was that in the first ages of Christianity the Spirit had gone with the Apostles working miracles, and that in virtue of these miracles Christianity was believed. After a time the Spirit withdrew from the church and miracles ceased. The Bible, or according to another theory, the church, took the place of the Spirit." As this was the feature of Methodism which most aroused the opposition of English clergymen of the last century, it is well to accumulate evidences of their opposition. The doctrine of the direct action of the Spirit on man is connected in evangelical theology with the kindred doctrine of immediate justification by faith. The immediacy of pardon carries with it (according to this theology) the comforting assurance of peace through the gift of the same Spirit. Lavington, Bishop of Exeter, denied, as against Wesley and Whitefield, that men are justified by faith alone. "When our church," says this bishop, "affirms our being justified or saved by faith

alone, as distinguished from the works of the law, or mere moral righteousness, it means such a faith as worketh by love ; faith including good works, or in conjunction with them." Thus we have an English bishop who does not know better than to define justification in the terms of the Council of Trent. "For 'faith,'" says the council, "unless hope and love are added thereto, neither unites man perfectly with Christ, nor makes him a living member of his body." And a critic of Methodism, in the London *Examiner* of that period, bears testimony to the prevalence of this opinion among theologians. "It is not easy," says this writer, "to discern what any of the Methodists mean by the salvation of faith without works. The most learned theologians, in their explanation of the word faith, are generally agreed that there is no such salvation." And Warburton, scandalized by some alleged instances of conversion, says of them in his coarse fashion : "The devil was here only in the office of man-midwife to the new birth." This will do very well for "the book-laden Warburton," the most wooden of Shakespearean critics, who could twist the theology of Pope's "Essay on Man" into some sort of conformity with Christianity, but who certainly never comprehended his New Testament. And last of all, the *Examiner* critic, already named, lights up his censure of Methodism with a slight gleam of humor when he describes the Methodists as "the refuse of society, claiming familiarity with all the persons of the Trinity, and talking of going to heaven as they would of the one-shilling gallery."

Enough has been said, perhaps more than enough, to make it clear : (1) That original Methodism was in direct conflict with the theology dominant in England at the time. (2) That it was a restatement of the early reformation doctrine of justification by faith alone, and its effect upon the human soul, peace with God. Mr. Wesley persistently declared that these doctrines are contained in the articles of the Church of England, as they certainly were ; but they had been obscured, by the glosses of the theologians, till their meaning was lost. We can see, too, in what sense Wesley said that he was "sick of opinions." He was sick of opinions which were offered as substitutes for character, which were not used as means of carrying a new and divine life to men. His clear and logical mind could not be satisfied with less than precisely defined opinions. He first, however, submitted all his thoughts to the authority of the Bible ; and next he laid stress on those doctrines only

which in his view ministered to life. "Life is more than dogma" is the triumphing and triumphant assertion of Methodism. And in that, Methodists believe, is the beginning of the renovation of modern theology. Dogma is of importance chiefly as it ministers to life; beyond the sphere of life it is important mainly as opinion. As opinion, it may be inexpressibly precious to the thinking mind, but as such it ought not to be forced upon the consciences of all and sundry, at the peril of their salvation if refused. Methodism has a distinctly defined theology, but it is chiefly concerned with that part of theology which mediates salvation to the human soul. Yet in all its thinking, it submits every opinion, as Wesley did, to the authority of the revealed word. It does not make the Christian consciousness the judge of what is divine and what not divine in Scripture; contrarily, it makes Scripture the test of the purity and reality of the Christian consciousness.

It remains now to speak briefly of the effects of Methodism upon modern society, as reason, in addition to its spirit, why one is a Methodist. It is not necessary here to recount statistically its successes. For myself, I have a disrelish for the parade of statistics, which tell us of so many churches, so many ministers and members, so much of this and that, to the end of the chapter. Great aggregates are not incompatible with decay, as the condition of the Church of England at the time of the rise of Methodism shows. I will, therefore, turn aside from Methodist eulogy, of which we have an abundance in these days, and let others speak for us. Lecky makes for Methodism two claims: first, that it saved England from convulsion during the time of the French Revolution, and again that, in these days of vast aggregations of capital, it stands between the rich and the poor. These are important statements, if true; but let us hear our witness. After an eloquent description of the intoxicating power of French revolutionary ideas upon the masses of the English people, Lecky says: "England on the whole escaped the contagion. Many causes conspired to save her, but among them a prominent place must, I believe, be given to the new and vehement religious enthusiasm which was at that very time passing through the middle and lower classes of the people, which had enlisted in its service a large proportion of the wilder and more impetuous reformers, and which recoiled with horror from the anti-Christian tenets that were associated with revolution in France." And his testimony

on the next point, the widening chasm between the rich and poor, is most apposite to our own times. "Any change of conditions which widens the chasm and impairs the sympathy between rich and poor cannot fail, however beneficial may be its other effects, to bring with it grave dangers to the State. It is incontestable that the immense increase of manufacturing industry and of the manufacturing population has had this tendency; and it is, therefore, particularly fortunate, that it should have been preceded by a religious revival which opened a new spring of moral and religious energy among the poor, and at the same time gave a powerful impulse to the philanthropy of the rich."

I wish I could claim for Methodism in America all that Lecky here asserts of it, as a mediator between the rich and the poor. This much, however, may be confidently asserted, that should the supreme trial of our institutions ever come, it will be found that Methodism has done its full share toward preparing the people to meet the shock of the trial with the firmness of Christian men. It will be seen then, that the plain gospellers—Methodist and other—who have performed their work in obscurity, have trained the masses of the nation in moral thoughtfulness, in reverence for law, in the courage which counts no sacrifice too great for the maintenance of civil and social order. A church of the common people, Methodism will be found invaluable to the State here. I am a Methodist because I believe Methodism to be the recovery of the original spirit of the Protestant reformation. The feuds between Lutheran and Reformed on the Continent, and between Churchman and Dissenter in England, had changed the revival of religion, which Luther brought in, into a revival of theological polemics. The head usurped the place of the heart, the rage for orthodoxy drove out zeal for piety, and faith in the creed was made the substitute for personal faith in Christ. Methodism, as I believe, has brought the Protestant reformation to its true path again. I am a Methodist because I conceive that the true test of a Christian Church is its power with the common people; and Methodism bears this test. As the reformation of the individual proceeds from within outward, so the reformation of society proceeds from beneath upward. I am a Methodist, therefore, because I think that, in this regard, Methodism is in the right line of progress, and follows the procedure of original Christianity. The uncommon people in this world are a small

minority; what is needed is a faith that can sit down as a friend at the humblest fireside, that can be the companion of the lowly in their struggles with want and sin, that can bring cheer to souls that have little else to cheer them: and such a faith Methodism has been. I hope it will preserve this most precious trait of character; for it is a strong reason, why, passing by other churches in which I see so much to love, I am yet a Methodist.

GEORGE R. CROOKS.

# FEMALE SUFFRAGE.

It is a singular fact that England, which has been always esteemed the safest and slowest of all factors in European politics, should be now seriously meditating on such a revolutionary and headlong course of action as the political emancipation of women. It is a sign, and a very ominous sign, of the restlessness and feverishness which have come upon this century in its last twenty years of life, and from which England is suffering no less than other nations, is perhaps even suffering more than they, since when aged people take the diseases natural to youth it fares ill with them, more ill than with the young. There are many evidences that before very long, whichever political party may be in office, female suffrage will be awarded at Westminster, and if it be so, it is scarcely to be doubted that the French Chambers and the representative Houses at Washington will be loth to lag behind and resist such a precedent. The influence on the world will scarcely be other than most injurious to its prosperity and most degrading to its wisdom.

It is true that the wholesale exercise of electoral rights by millions of uneducated and unwashed men is a spectacle so absurd that a little more or a little less absurdity may be held not to matter very greatly. The intellectual world in political matters has voluntarily abdicated already and given its scepter to the mob. "Think you," said Publius Scipio to the raging populace, "then, I shall fear those free whom I sent in chains to the slave market?" But the modern politician, of whatever nation he be (with the solitary exception of Bismarck), does fear the slaves whose chains he has struck off before they know how to use their liberty, and has in him neither the candor nor the courage of Scipio.

Rationally, logically, political power ought to be allotted in proportion to the stake which each voter possesses in the country. But this sound principle has been totally disregarded in the

present political systems of both Europe and America. Vaporings anent the inherent "rights of man" have been allowed to oust out common-sense and logical action, and he whose contributions to the financial and intellectual power of his nation are of the largest and noblest order has no more electoral voice in the direction of the nation than the drunken navvy or the howling unit of the street-mob. This is esteemed liberty, and commends itself to the populace, because it levels, or seems to level, intellect and wealth with poverty and ignorance. It is probable that America will in years to come be the first to change this, the doctrine of democracy, as there are signs that the United States will probably grow less and less democratic with every century, and its large land-owners will create an aristocracy which will not be tolerant of the dominion of the mob. But meantime Europe is swaying between absolutism and socialism, with that tendency of the pendulum to swing wildly from one extreme to the other which has been always seen in the whole history of the world; and one of the most curious facts of the epoch is that both democracy and conservatism are inclined to support and promote female suffrage, alleging each of them totally different motives for their conduct, and totally different reasons for the opinions which they advance in its favor.

The motives of the Tory leaders are as unlike those of Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Garratt, and the rest of the female agitators as stone is unlike water, as water is unlike fire. The Conservative gentlemen wish to admit women into political life because they consider that women are always religious, stationary, and wedded to ancient and stable ways; the female agitators, on the contrary, clamor to have themselves and their sex admitted within the political arena because they believe that women will be foremost in all emancipation, innovation, and social democratic works. It is an odd contradiction, and displays perhaps more than anything else the utter confusion and the entire recklessness and abandonment of principle characteristic of all political parties in the latter half of the nineteenth century. It is very possible that as the English laborer obtained his vote through the confusion and jealousies of party against the sane, the serene, and the unbiased judgment of patriots, so woman in England, and if in England, ultimately in America, will obtain hers. Opportunist policies have always their sure issue in sensational and hurried

legislation; and in Europe at the present hour, in England and France most especially, an opportunist policy is the only policy pursued.

What is there to be said in favor of female suffrage? It may be treated as an open subject, since both Reactionists and Socialists can advance for it claims and arguments of the most totally opposite nature. Perhaps it may be said that there is some truth in both sides of these arguments and entire truth in neither. It is probable that female politicians would be many of them more reactionary than the Reactionists, and many of them would be more socialistic than the Socialists. The golden mean is not in favor with women or with mobs.

In England, both the Conservative and Radical intentions are at present limited to giving the suffrage to such women alone as are possessed of real property. But it is certain that this limitation could not be preserved; for the women without property would clamor to be admitted, and would succeed by their clamor as the men without property have done. No doubt to see a woman of superior mind and character, capable of possessing and administering a great estate, left without electoral voice, whilst her carter, her porter, or the most illiterate laborer on her estate possesses and can exercise it, is on the face of it absurd. But it is not more absurd than that her brother should have his single vote outnumbered and neutralized by the votes of the men-servants, scullions, and serving-boys who take his wage and fill his servants'-hall and kitchen. It would be more honest to say that the whole existing system of electoral power all over the world is absurd; and will remain so, because in no nation is there the courage, perhaps in no nation is there the intellectual power, capable of putting forward and sustaining the logical doctrine of the *just supremacy of the fittest:* a doctrine which it is surely more vitally necessary to insist on in a republic than in a monarchy. It is because the fittest have not had the courage to resist the pressure of those who are intellectually their inferiors, and whose only strength lies in numbers, that democracy has been enabled to become the power that it has. Theoretically, a republic is founded on the doctrine of the supremacy of the fittest; but who can say that since the days of Perikles any republic has carried out this doctrine practically? The lawyer or the chemist who neglects his business to push himself to the front in political life in France is certainly not the most admirable pro-

duct of the French intellect ; nor can it be said by any impartial student that every President of the United States has been the highest type of humanity that the United States can produce.

Alexander Dumas *fils,* the most accomplished, but the most rabid of the advocates of female suffrage, resumes what seems to him the absurdity of the whole system in a sentence. "Mme. de Sévigné ne peut pas voter ; M. Paul son jardinnier peut voter." He does not seem to see that there is as great an absurdity in the fact that were Mme. de Sévigné Monsieur de Sévigné, and were she living now, all her wit and wisdom would fail to confer on her more voting power than would be possessed by "Paul son jardinnier."

With all deference to him, I do not think that Mme. de Sévigné would have cared a straw to rival Paul, the gardener, in going to the electoral urn. Mme. de Sévigné, like every woman of wit and mind, had means of exercising her influence so incomparably superior to the paltry one of recording a vote in a herd that she would, I am sure, have had the most profound contempt for the latter. Indeed, her contempt would have probably extended to the whole electoral system and "government by representation." Women of wit and genius must always be indifferent to the opportunity of going up to the ballot booth in company with their own footman and coachman. To those who have a sense of humor the position is not one of dignity. Hypatia, when she feels herself the equal of Julian, will not readily admit that Dadus, however affranchised, is her equal.

Absurdities are not cured by adding greater absurdities to them ; discrepancies are not remedied by greater discrepancies being united to them. Whether women voted or not would not change by a hair's breadth the existing, and to many thinkers the deplorable fact, that under the present electoral system throughout the world, the sage has no more electoral power than the dunce, that Plato's voice counts for no more than a fool's. The admission of women could do nothing to remedy this evil. It would only bring into the science of politics what it has too much of already; inferior intelligence and hysterical action. No : reply both the French essayist and the conservative advocates of female suffrage. Not so; because we should only admit women qualified to use it by the possession of property. But it would be impossible to sustain this limitation in the teeth of all the leveling tendencies of modern legislation; it would speedily be declared unjust, intolerable, aristo-

cratic, iniquitous, and it would soon become impossible to deny to Demos' wife or mistress, mother or sister, what you award to Demos himself. If women be admitted at all to the exercise of the franchise they must be admitted wholesale down to the lowest dregs of humanity as men are now admitted. The apple-woman will naturally argue that she has as much right to it as the heiress; how can you say she has not when you have given the apple-man as much electoral voice as the scholar? It is idle to talk of awarding the female suffrage on any basis of property when property has been deliberately rejected as a basis for male suffrage.

The project often insisted on by the advocates of the system, to give votes only to unmarried women, may be dismissed without discussion, as it would be found to be wholly untenable. It would give votes to the old maids of Cranford village, and the enriched *cocottes* of great cities, and would deny them to a Mme. Roland or a Mme. de Staël, to Lady Burdett Coutts or to Mme. Adam. The impossibility of any such limitation being sustained if female suffrage be ever granted, renders it unnecessary to dwell longer on its self-evident defects.

Again, are women prepared to purchase electoral rights by their willingness to fulfill military obligations? If not, how can they expect political privileges unless they are prepared to renounce for them the peculiar privileges which have been awarded to them in view of the physical weakness of their sex? Dumas does, indeed, distinctly refuse to let them be soldiers, on the plea that they are better occupied in child-bearing, but in the same moment he asserts that they ought to be judges and civil servants. It is difficult to see why to postpone an assault to a beleaguered city because *Mme. la Generale est accouchée* would be more absurd than to adjourn the hearing of a pressing lawsuit because *Mme. la Jugesse* would be *sur la paille*. The much graver and truer objection lies less in the physical than in the mental and moral inferiority of women. I use moral in its broadest sense. Women on an average have little sense of justice, and hardly any sense whatever of awarding to others a freedom for which they do not care themselves. The course of all modern legislation is its tendency to make by-laws, fretting and vexatious laws trenching unjustifiably on the personal liberty of the individual. If women were admitted to political power these laws would be multiplied indefinitely and incessantly. The *infiniment petit* would be the dominant factor

in politics. Such meddling legislation as the Sunday Closing Act in England, and the Maine Liquor Laws in the United States would be the joy and aim of the mass of female voters. Women cannot understand that you can make no nation virtuous by act of parliament; they would construct their acts of parliament on purpose to make people virtuous whether they chose or not, and would not see that this would be a form of tyranny as bad as any other. A few years ago a State in America (I think it was Maine or Massachusetts) decreed that because Pomeranian dogs were given to biting people, all Pomeranian dogs within the State, ill and well, young and old, should on a certain date be killed: and they were killed, two thousand odd in number. Now, this is precisely the kind of legislation which women would make in their moments of panic; the disregard of individual rights, the injustice to innocent animals and their owners, the invasion of private property under the doctrinaire's plea of the general good, would all commend themselves to women in their hysterical hours, for women are more tyrannical and more self-absorbed than men. Renan in his "Marc-Aurèle" observes that the decline of the Roman Empire was hastened and even, in much, primarily brought about by the elements of feebleness introduced into it by the Christian sects' admission of women into the active and religious life of men. The woman-worship springing from the adoration of the virgin-mother was at the root of the emasculation and indifference to political and martial duties which it brought into the lives of men who ceased to be either bold soldiers or devoted citizens. I do not think the moral and mental qualities of the average woman so inferior to those of the average man as is conventionally supposed. The average man is not an intellectual nor a noble being; neither is the average woman. But there are certain solid qualities in the male creature which are lacking from the female; such qualities as toleration and calmness in judgment, which are of infinite value, and in which the female character is almost invariably deficient; a lack in her which makes the prophecy of Dumas, that she will one day fill judicial and forensic duties, a most alarming prospect, as alarming as the prediction of Goldwin Smith that the negro population will eventually outnumber and extinguish the Aryan race in the United States.

There are men with women's minds, women with men's minds; Mr. Gladstone's is a woman's mind, Mrs. Somerville's was a man's

mind; but these are exceptions to the rule, and such exceptions are exceedingly rare.

The Conservative or patrician party in England advocates the admission of women into politics for much the same motives as influenced the early Christians; they believe that her influence will be universally exercised to preserve the moral excellences of the body politic, the sanctity of the home, the supremacy of religion, the cautiousness of timid and wary legislators. The class of which the Conservatives are always thinking as the recipients of female suffrage would possibly in the main part do so. They would be persons of property and education, and as such might be trusted to do nothing rash. But they would be closely wedded to their prejudices. They would be narrow in all their views. Their church would hold a large place in their affections, and their legislation would be of the character which they now give to their county society. Moreover, as I have said, the suffrage once given to women, it could not be restricted to persons of property. The female factory hand in her garret would assert that she has as much right to and need of a voice as the female land-owner, and in face of the fact that the male factory hand and the male land-owner have been placed on the same footing in political equality, you would be unable to refute the argument.

The most intelligent and most eloquent of all the advocates of female suffrage is undoubtedly Dumas *fils*. No man can argue a case more persuasively; nor is any man more completely wedded to one side of an argument than he. What does he claim for women in his famous "Appel aux Femmes?" That not only should they exercise all political rights, but that they should be judges, consuls, and public servants. Yet he, her special pleader, Dumas *fils*, admits that she would bring to science the scorn of reason and the indifference to suffering which she has shown in so many centuries in the hallucinations and martyrdoms of religion; that she would throw herself into it with *audace et frénésie;* that she would hold all torture of no account if it solved an enigma, and would give herself to the beasts of the field "not to prove that Jesus lived, but to know if Darwin was right;" and he passes on to the triumphant prediction that in sixty years' time the world will see the offspring of men and female monkeys, of women and apes; though wherein this prospect for the future is glorious it were hard to say. But, stripped of that exaggeration which characterizes

all the arguments of a writer famous for anomaly, antithesis, and audacity, his prediction that his favorite client Woman will bring into her pursuit of the mysteries of science the same sort of *folie furieuse*, which Blandina and Agatha, and all the feminine devotees of the early years of Christianity brought into religion is a prophecy undoubtedly correct. She will bring the same into politics, into legislation, if she ever obtain a preponderant power in them.

The most dangerous tendency in English political life is at this moment the tendency to legislate *per saltum:* female legislation would invariably be conducted *per saltum.* The grasshopper-bounds of Mr. Gladstone would be outdone by the kangaroo-leaps of the female legislator when she moved at all. A "masterly inactivity" would not be understood by her; nor the profound good sense contained in the advice which is variously attributed to Talleyrand, Melbourne, and Palmerston: "When in doubt do nothing." There is the most mischievous desire in modern politicians to pull everything about merely to look as if they were great reformers; to strew the débris of the old order around them long ere they have even settled the foundations of the new; they do not consider the inevitable imperfection which must characterize all human institutions, they do not remember that if a system, whether political or social, works reasonably well, it should be supported, even if it be not symmetrically perfect in theory. These faults are characteristic of modern politicians, because modern politicians are for the most part no longer men trained from their youth in the philosophy of government, but opportunists who view politics as a field for self-advancement. Women will bring into politics these same faults greatly exaggerated and not balanced by that rough and ready common sense which characterizes most men who are not specialists or visionaries. Whether the female legislator would imprison all people who do not go to church, or would imprison all people who do not attend scientific lectures, the despotism would be equal; and it is certain that she would desire to imprison either one class or the other. Some writer has said: "I can as little understand why any one should fast in Lent, as I can understand why others should object to their fasting if it please them." But this would never be the attitude of the female politician in regard to either the fasting or the feasting of others. Sir Henry Thompson, in his admirable treatise on gastronomy, remarks

on the unwisdom of those who, because a certain food is palatable and nutritious to them, recommend it to every one they know, making no account of the difference in constitution and digestion of different persons. There exists a similar difference in mind and character, for which women would never make any allowance when forcing on the world in general their political or social nostrums. As we again and again see the woman expecting from her son the purity of manners of a maiden, and making no account, because she ignores them entirely, of the imperious necessities of sex, so we should see her in matters of national or universal import similarly disregarding or ignoring all facts of which she chose to take no note. She would increase and intensify the present despotisms and weaknesses of political life, and she would put nothing in their place, for she would have lost her own originality and charm. Science, indeed, presumes that in educating her it would strengthen her reasoning powers, and widen her mind into the acceptance of true liberty. But what proof is there that science would do anything of the sort? It has never yet showed any true liberality itself. Nothing can exceed the arrogance and the despotism of its own demands and pretensions; the immensity of its self-admiration, the tyrannical character of its exactions.

Dumas observes that happy women will not care for the suffrage because they are happy; he might have added, that brilliant women will not, because they have means of influencing men to any side and to any extent they chose without it. Who, then, would care to exercise it? All the unhappy women, all the fretful *déclassées*, all the thousands or tens of thousands of spinsters who know as much or as little of human nature as they do of political economy. What will such as these bring into political life? They can bring nothing except their own crotchets, their own weakness, their own hysterical agitations. Happy women are fond of men, but unhappy women hate them. The legislation voted for by unhappy women would be as much against men and all true liberty as Dumas himself is against them and it. Men at present legislate for women with remarkable fairness; but women would never legislate for men with anything approaching fairness, and as the numerical preponderance of votes would soon be on the female side, if female electors were once accepted, the prospect is alarming to all lovers of true freedom.

The woman is the enemy of freedom. Give her power and she

is at once despotic, whether she be called Elizabeth Tudor or Theroigné de Mirecourt, whether she be a beneficent or a malevolent ruler, whether she be a sovereign or a revolutionist. The enormous pretensions to the monopoly of a man's life which women put forward in marriage are born of the desire to tyrannize. The rage and amazement displayed by the woman when a man, whether her lover or her husband, is inconstant to her, comes from that tenacity over the man as a property which wholly blinds her to her own faults or lack of charm and power to keep him. A very clever woman never blames a man for inconstancy to her: she may perhaps blame herself. Women as a rule attach far too great a value to themselves; the woman imagines herself necessary to the man because the man is necessary to her. Hence that eternal antagonism of the woman against the man which is one of the saddest things in human nature. Every writer like Dumas, who does his best to increase this antagonism, commits a great crime. The happiness of the human race lies in the good-will existing between men and women. This good-will can not exist so long as women have the inflated idea of their own value which they now possess largely in Europe, and still more largely in America. A virtuous woman is above rubies, has said Solomon; but this depends very much on the quality of the virtue, and the idea prevailing among women that they are valuable, admirable and almost divine, merely because they *are* women, is one of the most mischievous fallacies born of human vanity, and accepted without analysis.

It has been passed, like many another fallacy, from generation to generation, and the enormous power of evil which lies in the female sex has been underestimated or conventionally disregarded for the sake of a poetic effect. The seducer is continually held up for condemnation, but the temptress is seldom remembered. It is common to write of women as the victims of men, and it is forgotten how many men are the victims in their earliest youth of women. Even in marriage the woman by her infidelity can inflict the most poignant, the most torturing dishonor on the man; the man's infidelity does not in the least touch the honor of the woman. She can never be in doubt as to the fact of her children being her own; but he may be perpetually tortured by such a doubt, nay, may be compelled through lack of proof to give his name and shelter to her offspring when he is morally convinced that they are not his. The woman can bring shame into a great race as the man

can never do, and oftentimes brings it with impunity. In marriage, moreover, the influence of the woman, whatever popular prejudices plead to the contrary, is constantly belittling and injurious to the intelligence of the man. How many great artists since the days of Andrea del Sarto have cursed the woman who has made them barter their heritage of genius for the "pottage" of worldly affluence? How much, how often, and how pitilessly have the petty affairs, the personal greeds, the unsympathetic and low-toned character of the woman he has unfortunately wedded, put lead on the winged feet of the man of genius, and made him leave the Muses for the god of barter beloved of the common people in the market-place? Not infrequently what is called with pious praise a good woman, blameless in her own conduct and devoted to what she conceives to be her duties, has been more fatal to the originality, the integrity, and the intellectual brilliancy of a man than the worst courtesan could have been. The injury which women have done the minds of men may fairly be set off against those social and physical injuries which men are said by M. Dumas to inflict so ruthlessly on women.

If outside monogamous marriage the woman suffers from the man, within it man suffers from the woman. It is doubtful if but for the obligation to it, which is entailed by property, and the desire for legitimate heirs, one man in a hundred of the richer classes would consent to marry. Whenever Socialism succeeds in abolishing property monogamy will be destroyed with it perforce.

In the lower strata of society the conjugal association is made on more equal terms: both work hard and both frequently come to blows. The poor man loses less by marriage than the rich man, for he has his comforts, his food, and his clothes looked after gratis, but the poor woman gains very little indeed by it; and if she got a hearing in the political world, she would probably brawl against it, or, which is still more likely, she would do worse and insist on marriage laws which should restrict the personal freedom of the man as severely and as tyrannically as the Sabbath observance laws do in Scotland, and as the Puritan exactions did in the early years of American colonization.

The net result of the entrance of the woman into the political arena can never be for the happiness of humanity.

"Prenant leur révanche de l'immobilité séculaire à laquelle on les a condamnées elles lent courrir par n'importe quels chemins

à côté de l'homme, devant lui si elles peuvent, contre lui s'il le faut, à la conquête d'un nouveau monde. En matière de sensation la femme est l'extrême, l'excès, de l'homme." Dumas recognizes the inevitable hostility which will be begotten between the sexes if they war in the same public arena, but he accepts it.

If female suffrage become law anywhere, it must be given to all women who have not rendered themselves ineligible for it by criminality. The result will scarcely be other than the emasculation and the confusion of the whole world of politics. The ideal woman is, we know, the type of heroism, fortitude, wisdom, sweetness, and light; but even the ideal woman is not always distinguished by breadth of thought, and it is here a question not of the ideal woman at all, but of the millions of ordinary women who have as little of the sage in them as of the angel. Very few women are capable of being the sympathetic mistress of a great man, or the ennobling mother of a child of genius. Most women are the drag on the wheel to the higher aspirations, to the nobler impulses, to the more original and unconventional opinions, of the men whom they influence. The prospect of their increased ascendency over national movements is very ominous. Is the mass of male humanity ready to accept it?

Women will not find happiness in hostility to men even if they obtain a victory in it, which is very doubtful. Women of genius have never hated men: they have perhaps liked them too well. To the woman of genius love may not be the sole thing on earth, as it is to Gretchen; it is only one amongst the many emotions, charms, and delights of life; but she never denies its attraction, its consolation, its supreme ecstasy, its exquisite sympathies. Heloise and Aspasia can love better than Penelope.

Who, then, will become those enemies of men to whom Dumas looks for the emancipation of the weaker sex? All the *délaissées*, all the *déclassées*, all the discontented, jaded, unloved, imbittered women in the world, all those, and their number is legion, who have not genius or loveliness, fortune or power, the wisdom to be mute or the sorcery to charm; women restless, feverish, envious, irritable, imbittered, whose time hangs heavy on their hands and whose brains seethe under the froth of ill-assorted and ill-assimilated knowledge.

"Quarry the granite rock with razors," wrote John Newman, "or moor the vessel with a thread of silk; then may you hope with such keen and delicate instruments as human knowledge and hu-

man understanding to contend against these giants, the passions and the pride of man;" or against the difference and the influence of sex.

I know not why women should wish or clamor at once to resemble and to quarrel with man. The attitude is an unnatural one; it is sterile, not only physically but mentally. It is true that the prejudices and conventionalities of society and the fictions of monogamy have stranded a vast number of women, undistinguished and unhappy, with no career and no interests, who would imagine themselves disgraced if they enjoyed the natural affections of life outside that pale of propriety which the conventions of society have created. These are the women who would care for political power and would be allowed to exercise it. What could the world gain from such as these? What would it not lose of the small modicum of freedom, of contentment, and of wisdom which it already possesses?

To most women success is measured by the balance at the bank, by the applause of the hour, and nothing is esteemed which has not received the hall-mark of the world's approval. There are exceptions, no doubt; but they have been and are, I think, fewer than the advocates of female suffrage would have us believe. Men too often are *les moutons de Panurge*, but women are so almost invariably. The Arab who weeps when a female child is born to him is perhaps more correct in his measurement of the sex than the American who is prepared to make her the spoiled and wayward sovereign of his household.

I have previously used the words "mental and moral inferiority;" it is perhaps necessary to explain them. By mental inferiority I do not mean that the average woman might not, if educated to it, learn as much mathematics or as much metaphysics as the ordinary man. I do not deny that Girton may produce senior wranglers or physiologists in time to come; it may do so. But the female mind has a radical weakness which is often also its peculiar charm; it is intensely subjective, it is only reluctantly forced to be impersonal, and it has the strongest possible tendency to tyranny, as I have said before. In public morality, also, the female mind is unconsciously unscrupulous; it is seldom very frank or honest, and it would burn down a temple to warm its own pannikin. Women of perfect honesty of intentions and antecedents will adopt a dishonest course, if they think it will serve an aim or a person they care for,

with a headlong and cynical completeness which leaves men far behind it. In intrigue a man will often have scruples which the woman brushes aside as carelessly as if they were cobwebs, if once her passions or her jealousies are ardently involved. There is not much veracity anywhere in human nature, but it may always be roughly calculated that the man will be more truthful than the woman, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred; his judgments will be less colored by personal wishes and emotions, and his instincts toward justice will be straighter and less mobile than hers. Were women admitted into public life bribery would become a still greater factor in that life than it now is, which is needless. All the world over, what is wanted for the health of nations is the moral purification of politics, the elimination of venal and personal views, the disinterested advocacy and adoption of broad, just, and magnanimous principles of action. Can it be said that the entry of women into politics would have this effect? He must be a sanguine man who can think that it would, and he must have but little knowledge of women.

*On a les defauts de ses qualités.* This is one of the most profound axioms ever evolved out of a study of human nature. And all which constitutes the charm of women, mutability, caprice, impressionability, power of headlong self-abandonment, mingled with intense subjectiveness and self-engrossment, would all make of women an inferior but a most dangerous political force. Where Mr. Gladstone has sent out troops and recalled them a dozen times, she, with similar but still greater oscillations of purpose, would send them out and recall them five hundred times. The *Souvent femme varie* of François the First is true to all time. But in all her variations it is the Sejanus, the Orloff, the Bothwell of the moment, whom she would wade through seas of blood to please. This makes at once her dangerousness and her charm.

As scientists look forward to the time when every man will be bald from boyhood, thus having outgrown the last likeness to the beasts that perish, so enthusiasts for female suffrage look forward to a time when woman will have shed all her fair follies and rectified all her amusing inconsistencies. What will she be like then? Very unlovely it may safely be predicted, as unlovely as the men without hair; very mischievous for evil, it may also be deemed certain.

A French physiologist, who lectured in Russia not very long

ago, was amazed at the howls of impatience and disdain which were aroused in the female students amongst his audience in Moscow by his simple statement that the claims of the arts must not be wholly lost sight of in the demands and inquiries of science. They would not tolerate even the mention of the arts; in their fanaticism they would only worship one God. The youths were willing to award a place to art; the maidens would hear of nothing but science. *"Une grande schéresse de cœur domine la femme qui se donne à la Science;"* and with this dryness of the soul comes an unmerciful and intolerant disposition to tyranny over the minds of others.

It can not be denied that the quality which in women bestows most happiness on those around them, is that which is called in French and has no exact descriptive word in English: *gaieté de cœur*. Not frivolous unusefulness, or passion for diversion and excitement, but a sweet and happy spirit, finding pleasure in small things and great, and shedding a light like that of Moore's wild freshness of morning on the beaten tracks of life. Where will this pleasant gayety and smiling radiance go when, harassed, heated, and blown by the bitter winds of strife, the woman seeks to outshriek the man on political platforms, or when with blood-stained hands she bends over the torture-trough of the physiological laboratory? The humanities do not harden women; erudition may leave her loveliness and grace of form and mind; though as proficient a Greek and Latin scholar as any of the learned countrywomen of the Renaissance, yet she may be the joy of her home and the angel of the poor. A love of learning, of art, of nature, keeps long young the heart in which it has a place. But the noisy conflicts of the polling-booths and the pitiless cruelties of the laboratories will not do so. There is in every woman, even in the best woman, a sleeping potentiality for crime, a curious possibility of fiendish evil. Even her maternal love is dangerously near an insane ferocity, which at times breaks out in infanticide or child-murder. Everything which tends to efface in her her gentler and softer instincts tends to make of her a worse curse to the world than any man has ever been. If, indeed, in the centuries to come she should develop into the foe of man, which Dumas *fils* wishes her to become, it is by no means improbable that men, in sheer self-defense, will be compelled to turn on her and chain her down into the impotency of servitude once more.

If she once leave the power which nature has given her over her lovers, her friends, her sons, to become the opponent, the jealous rival and the acrid enemy of men, then men, it may be with surety predicted, will not long keep the gloves on as they fight with her, but with the brutality which is natural to the male animal and which is only curbed, not effaced, by the graceful hypocrisies of society and of courtship, will with his closed fists send her down into that lower place of *la femelle de l'homme*, from which it has been the effort and the boast of Christianity and of civilization to raise her. Woman can never truly conquer man, except by those irresistible weapons which the Queen of the Amazons leaned on with Alexander.

Man has, I repeat, been very fair in his dealings with women, as far as legislation goes; he could easily have kept her for all time to the hareem, and it has been a proof of his fairness, if not of his wisdom, that he has not done so. I have little doubt but that, before long, he will cede to her clamor, and let her seat herself beside him or opposite to him on the benches of his representative houses. When he does, he will, I think, regret the hareem.

There is a lax and perilous inclination in the mass of mankind, in these latter days of the century, to give anything which is much asked for.

> "To yield to clamour and to pallid fears,
> What wisdom, temperance, and truth deny;"

to let the reins go, and the steeds, which draw the chariot of national fate, gallop headlong, whither they will, downhill if they choose. The pessimism prevalent in the classes which think, lies at the root of their indifference to change, and their apathy and indolence before fresh demands. Men who think at all, see how unsatisfactory all things are, how unreal all religions, how fictitious the laws of marriage, how mutable the laws of property, how appalling the future of the world, when there will be not even standing-room upon it for all the billions of peoples begotten. And they are, therefore, in that mood which makes them willing to try any new thing, even as men at death's door languidly affirm their despairing readiness to try any nostrum or panacea tendered to them.

Women may, will, very possibly, snatch from the nerveless hand of the sick man those legal and legislative rights which she

covets. The political movements of modern times have been always in the direction of giving unlimited power to blind and unmeasured masses, whose use of that which is thus rashly given them the boldest prophet dare not predict. Such movement will probably give political power to women.

I confess that I, for one, dread the day which shall see this further development of that crude and restless character of the nineteenth century, which, with sublime self-contentment and self-conceit, it has presumed to call Progress.

OUIDA

# NOTES AND COMMENTS.

## I.

### PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S LETTER TO GOVERNOR HAHN.

MORE than once it has been questioned whether Abraham Lincoln, had he lived, would have proved competent to deal with the problem of the reconstruction of the Southern States. But such questioners have forgotten that Lincoln did meet and solve that problem successfully, in at least one instance —and that, too, without undue interference with the reserved rights of the States. It was by his direct personal influence that civil government was restored to Louisiana. He and his Cabinet had, indeed, partially agreed on a plan for the rehabilitation of the South, and had he completed the term for which he had been elected, that plan would no doubt have been carried out. The scheme that he had sketched, his successor sought to follow; but the master was gone, and the apprentice blundered.

The movement toward reconstruction in Louisiana came earlier than in any other State. It was on May 1st, 1862, that General Butler became Commander of the Military Department of New Orleans. On the twenty-third of May, 1863, the various Union associations of that city applied to General G. F. Shepley, then Military Governor of the State of Louisiana, for authority to call a convention of loyal citizens, and the President was duly informed of the application. In June of the same year, a number of planters, desirous of the restoration of civil authority, yet not concurring in the policy of the previous applicants, requested the President to grant a full recognition of the rights of the State, as they existed before secession. These applications, and various other indications, had satisfied Lincoln that the time had come when the work of reconstruction might be safely commenced, and his message to Congress in December, 1863, and his proclamation dated December 8th of the same year, led to an extended discussion of reconstruction in the public press and by prominent politicians. In the meantime, on December 3d, General Shepley had ordered an election in New Orleans for members of Congress, and B. F. Flanders and Michael Hahn had been elected.

On the eighth of January, 1864, a very large free-state convention was held at New Orleans, and it urged measures for the restoration of the civil authority. On January 11th, General Banks, who had succeeded General Shepley as Military Governor, issued a proclamation appointing an election for State officers on February 22d, and another election, for delegates to a constitutional convention, on the first Monday in April. At the election of

February 22d, Michael Hahn was elected Governor; on March 4th, he was duly inaugurated; and, on March 15th, he was invested, by order of the President, with the powers previously exercised by the Military Governor.

All of Lincoln's writings imply a degree of culture in schools which he never had—none more so than the letter which, on the thirteenth day of March, he wrote to Governor Hahn. The phrase, "*keep the jewel of liberty in the family of freedom,*" will live forever, and will be a token of the eloquence of his pen, as the reconstruction of Louisiana is of his far-sighted and generous statesmanship.

Having obtained the original of the letter in which this famous phrase occurs, I take pleasure in reproducing it, in *fac-simile*, for the readers of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

EDITOR.

## II.

### THE NEWSPAPER HABIT AND ITS EFFECTS.

WHEN Dr. Benjamin Rush died, he bequeathed his books, with a considerable endowment, to the Philadelphia Library. This munificent bequest was made on the express condition that no part of the income of the fund should ever be expended on the purchase of newspapers. He styled them "teachers of disjointed thinking." Is this expression justifiable? Is the influence of newspapers actually detrimental to habits of consecutive thought?

It is somewhat singular that these questions should now be considered debatable; for journalists continually assert that every other form of literary activity is outgrown and doomed to speedy extinction. Libraries are to meet the fate of the Alexandrian, and we shall parody the Mohammedan conqueror by exclaiming, "If all this is not in the columns of the *New York Herald* it must be worthless, and if it is there it is useless here." Oratory is doomed; for the editorial article will have supplanted it. Our philosophy and our religion (if, in those days, we shall have need of either) are to come to us filtered through the reporter's Monday morning recollections of the clergyman's sermon of the day preceding.

If the truth of these estimates of the value of newspapers depended on the frequency with which they have been repeated, every one must long since have been persuaded. As it is, to a large majority of persons it is definitely settled that no literature ever was of such priceless value as the modern newspaper. Yet no proposition can justly rest on the universality of its acceptance. We may be almost inclined to say with Champfort that "all conventional ideas are to be regarded as *à priori* false." Even if we do not go to this length, we are certainly justified in questioning dogmas whose validity depends exclusively on the fact that they are universally believed. At least, it ought not to be a conclusive argument that newspapers are useful in exact proportion to the need which most persons feel for them.

For it might be plausibly maintained that the abuse of newspaper reading, betrayed in their inordinate consumption, is in the strictest sense a bad habit; that it is a mild form of mania which needs regulation and control as much as other petty vices of human nature. The daily experience of many persons will

Private

Executive Mansion,

Washington, March 13, 1864.

Hon. Michael Hahn

My dear Sir:

I congratulate you on having fixed your name in history as the first free-state Governor of Louisiana. Now you are about to have a Convention which, among other things, will probably define the elective franchise. I barely suggest for your private consideration, whether some of the colored people may not be let in — as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks. They would probably help, in some trying-time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty within the family of freedom. But this is only a suggestion, not to the public, but to you alone.

Yours truly

A. Lincoln

have enabled them to verify in this particular all the phenomena associated with the ungoverned growth of evil habits. This "Newspaper Habit" finds its precise parallel in the necessity so many people feel for hearing or telling scandal. There is, indeed, a closer alliance between them than is generally supposed. To prove it, compare the contents of the earliest newspapers with what may be imagined to have been contemporaneous village chatter, or contrast the country newspaper of to-day with the gossip of the vicinity. The simple truth is the newspaper is the lineal descendant of the town-crier, and it continually betrays evidences of its origin. If the scandal of "metropolitan journalism" is less provincial, it only follows in that respect the social tone of the metropolis. Observation will convince one that to those persons upon whom the "Newspaper Habit" has fastened itself, its greatest fascinations are, that it "kills the time," satisfies the thirst for scandal, and acts as a preventive to thinking.

The extent to which any literature is stimulating to thought can only be ascertained by inquiring how far its authors have kept this object foremost in their intention. How far would journalism stand such a test? What are its fundamental requirements?

Newspaper writing may be divided into two kinds—Editorial and Reportorial. The primary requisite in both is identical. A journalist, above all things else, must interest; he must attract attention, his work must act as an appetizing tonic. An "editorial article" must take a "decided position" on whichever side the policy of the journal demands. This is sometimes determined by the majority of its readers, but very frequently by private commercial interests. Of course, all discussion is worthless which aims at anything else than the truth for its own sake. But these writers' sole purposes are to defend positions which they have been instructed to take up. This must be done in the fewest words, with the greatest vigor, and always with such an assumption of authority as to forbid the suspicion that there are arguments to be urged in opposition. It is evident that no subject upon which there must be a conflict of opinion can thus be really discussed in newspapers. It is true that this is primarily the fault of newspaper readers. They all expect to purchase with their favorite journal its opinions on every question of the day, flavored precisely to their taste. It becomes, therefore, the first duty of an editor to his audience never to shock their nerves by presenting to them opinions other than those he has taught them to anticipate. If, for example, he should read in one of the organs of the "Jeffersonian Democracy" a touching tribute to the patriotic independence of the "Mugwumps," no one would imagine that the editor had experienced a "change of heart." We should merely infer that the previous owners had sold out to some capitalists who had hired a "Mugwump" editor. So, if we should discover in a certain distinguished metropolitan "organ of opinion" a brilliant and appreciative laudation of the President, we should not therefore infer that the popular editor had seen a new light as to the merits of our chief executive magistrate, but merely that with a change of proprietors had come a change of policy. Truth will never be elicited by such a course. It is based upon a radically false system.

Editorial polemics always distort or exaggerate. Opinions formed by

them become divided into but two classes, those who think as we and our newspaper do—the true believers; those who think as does the newspaper we do not read—the heretics. Practically, the effect of this dogmatic discussion upon the public divides it into opposing camps of offensive partisans. We find them sententiously emitting opinions whose sources can be infallibly determined. Who has not overheard the average well-fed citizen retailing them to his neighbor in the market-place? Our newspaper and his being the same, we are therefore certain that we are listening to the weak filtering through a feeble brain of the recollections of the contents of a favorite journal. These respectable, dull, worthy people give to modern society its tone. If, therefore, we illustrate the effect upon them of an "education by newspaper," we are not far from having found the secret of the superficial dogmatism of the age in which we live.

The essential solace of the daily journals to this kind of people is derived from the fact that they afford an immediate relief from the unaccustomed necessity of individual thought. How long can one remember an "editorial?"* The answer will afford some idea of the waste of time such reading involves. In these days of fierce competition most persons have little leisure to give to any intellectual pursuit. Inordinate newspaper consumption will readily absorb any spare hours we may chance to have.

But this wretched habit is infinitely more detrimental in its permanent effect, by reason of the indisposition and distaste created for any better reading. It has become nearly fatal to acquiring either a correct literary taste or the formation of sound habits of thought. The mental inertia caused by continued supplies of ready-made opinions deprives the mental machinery of its essential material. The human brain thus becomes a mere depository in which, nothing of permanent value being placed, the product must be from necessity equally worthless.

Thus far the literary division of the newspaper has been considered. How stands the account with respect to the reportorial department? This is popularly supposed to be the great device by which modern civilization is to hand down to posterity a plain, unvarnished, and veracious account of itself. Its measure of value is therefore neither an arbitrary nor an abstract criterion of truth. On the contrary, it is the simplest one conceivable—merely a comparison of the average deviation between the statement of a fact with a fact as it occurred.

Though we make all proper allowance for individual idiosyncrasies of observation, "the personal equation," we shall yet find a uniform percentage of divergence from facts in newspaper narratives for which this hypothesis will wholly fail to account. An almost universal experience proves how wide of the truth reporters' statements are. We shall easily discover the cause in the necessity for "embellishment" of their narrations, arising from that fundamental requirement of their profession—interest, *i.e.*, excitement. The editor is involved by this necessity, at the worst, in exaggerated expressions, in illib-

* At a recent meeting of the celebrated "Twilight Club" in New York, only seven persons out of thirty could remember the subject of a single editorial article which they had read within a week, and which had thus made even the slightest impression on their mind.

erality, and *ex-cathedra* assumptions of infallibility. When, however, sensationalism requires that solid facts be misshapen or distorted, the result is a system in absolute hostility to truth. It follows that persons whose store of facts is derived exclusively from newspapers must necessarily abide in an atmosphere of fictitious existence. If all events must be made to appear interesting (from a reportorial standard) then, truth must necessarily be sacrificed; for the most momentous occurrences of history have occurred most prosaically. If they are but the inevitable outgrowth of slowly ripening conditions, it is but what should be anticipated. The catastrophes of history, as of nature, are exceptional. It is in the development of national character, as in the maturing of climatic and geological conditions, that the great drama of humanity is to be interpreted. With justice has a great thinker said: "Sudden effects in history are generally superficial. Causes which go deep down into the roots of future events produce the most serious parts of their effect only slowly, and have, therefore, time to become a part of the familiar order of things before general attention is called to the changes they are producing; since, when the changes do become evident, they are often not seen by cursory observers to be in any peculiar manner connected with the cause. The remoter consequences of a new political fact are seldom understood when they occur, except when they have been appreciated beforehand." * But the newspaper reader is educated in the belief that facts are unimportant which fail to affect him by some degree of excitement. He has learnt to measure the importance of events by the size of the "headings" in which they are announced.

This is but one instance of a kind of error, of unconscious reasoning, to which a newspaper reader is peculiarly liable. His daily inference is that he has before him a miniature history of the world, while in fact he is being regaled on a collation of heterogeneous incidents selected by the "night editor" as likely to tickle the jaded palates of the great public. Another example of the same fallacy is evident when we consider the false views of morality and of obligations due to society resulting from this continuous daily diet of detailed accounts of all the crimes taking place throughout the land. The inevitable effect on the reader's mind is just what it would be if a newspaper (and this, in fact, has been done) should sedulously devote its columns to minute detailed narrations of every case of hydrophobia occurring anywhere in the world. It would be extremely difficult for its readers to escape the conclusion that this was one of the most frequent of occurrences (and such, as is well known, was the precise effect in the case of a recent popular panic).

Now, in fact, hydrophobia is not much more rare than is murder, in any given community. There are seasons of the year, however, when it must be difficult for the average newspaper reader to divest himself of the impression that a majority of the public are engaged in mutual assassination. At these seasons one may anticipate being confronted with head-lines of the fiercest type, with such re-assuring titles as "A Carnival of Crime!" or in such journals as affect the alliterative: "Bloody, Brutal, Butchery Booming!" Of course, in reality, crime is no more frequent than common, but newspaper space is much cheaper. It may be "every one is out of town," and it is consequently of even

* J. S. MILL on "Socialism," *Fortnightly Review*, January, 1879.

less than usual importance of what their journalistic pabulum is composed. Of course, any inferences based upon these collections of abnormal and exaggerated instances must naturally tend to involve readers in repeated errors of insufficient generalization; and this is exactly what happens. Of all conventional phrases none is more generally accepted, and, as we have shown, none more false than that "a newspaper is the history of the world for a day." It is needless to say much of the factitious personal reputations created by newspaper adulation. In the long run historical truth is its own avenger, though very often, how slowly! If we should be forced to believe, as the newspapers tell us, that our descendants would rely on the newspapers of our time as the basis for their historical truth, we could but deplore their fate. The plight in which they would be may be measured by the laborious processes we are now employing to excavate the truth about our civil war, by disencumbering its records of the accumulation of journalistic fiction which conceals it from view.

Nor is this surprising, if we take into consideration the fertility of imagination of the "war correspondents," and the necessity they were under of rivaling each other in the "interest" of their communications from the "seat of war." Sometimes their narratives, owing to "considerations of a personal nature," depended for their fidelity to fact upon the famous "intelligent contraband just from the front," at other times upon the "skedaddling soldier," whose story always furnished just the "local color" demanded at home.

The "newspaper habit" of to-day is least prevalent in two classes of society that in other respects have but little in common. The working-men find the journals out of sympathy with their aims and aspirations, and have learnt to regard them as hopelessly subservient to what they call "capitalism." The highly cultivated and educated few look down on the newspapers with the same contemptuous scorn as did Dr. Rush. They have found it easy to persuade themselves that all modern superficial thought is due to an omnivorous newspaper dietary. Between these extremes is that great mass of humanity whom popular education has at least taught to read, but has not been able to give to it either judgment or discretion in the selection of what it reads.

Some writers of the second class have expressed the judgment of their caste upon the intellectual accomplishments of the "educated masses" by declaring that if our common-school system has only succeeded in cultivating a taste for newspapers, and if its highest literary standard is the novel of Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth, it were infinitely better those educated masses had never learnt to read at all.

The decline of journalistic influence and the wane of the "newspaper habit" is at present most plainly evident in these two flanks of society. It is a phenomenon destined to afford the sociologist of the future room for many curious speculations.

In conversation with one of the clearest thinkers of our time (himself a journalist), he said to me: "The age of newspapers is nearly over; the people are fast losing their reliance on them, at least for opinions; the age of pamphleteering is approaching. This is not strange; for pamphlets have always been the mediums of information in eras of transition and revolution such as we are entering."

AUGUSTUS A. LEVEY.

## III.

### ORIGIN AND PURPOSE OF THE VETO POWER.

THE frequent recurrence of presidential vetoes, and the advocacy of a proposition to enable the executive to veto parts of bills, recalls to us the origin and purpose of vetoes in the American form of government. In an absolute monarchy the ruler was supreme, and made the laws he executed until this function was encroached on by parliamentary growths. Under the American Constitution the law-making power, which is supposed to be of the people, is supreme. The President, with his subordinates, are designed faithfully to execute the law; and the third department of the government, the judicial arm, construes the law and passes judgment on individuals and property under it. The highest tribunal, the Supreme Court, can set aside a law it holds to be unconstitutional. The founders of our Government strove to preserve the distinct and independent powers of these three departments. Giving the veto-power to the President was the most noted exceptional feature in this policy.

In the colonial governments, the royal governors could negative legislation. The exercise of this authority does not seem to have been of a kind to commend it, for we find in the Madison papers that Franklin, who opposed the veto in the old Convention, stated that under the proprietary government of Pennsylvania, the negative of the Governor was constantly made use of to extort money, and that it had even become the regular practice to have orders on the Treasury in favor of the Governor presented with the bills to be signed. He mentioned one case in which a colonial law for the defense of the settlers, in an Indian war, was not signed until another was passed exempting the Governor's property from taxation. Among the fifteen propositions of Mr. Randolph there was one to create a "Council of Revision," composed of the President and selected judges. This was overruled, and a proposition at first agreed to, conferring a temporary negative on the President, allowing Congress afterward to pass the bills. Mr. Wilson and General Hamilton moved to strike out the latter proposition, and to give the President an absolute negative. The conservative element claimed that this was a necessary check; but it is noteworthy that Hamilton endeavored to show that the negative authority would rarely be exercised, and instanced the fact that the negative of the King of Great Britain had *not* been exercised since the revolution. Hamilton's proposition was rejected by ten States, Sherman, Gerry, Franklin, Butler, and Mason taking strong ground against it. It was finally agreed, on the suggestion of Mr. Madison, to give a negative which might be overruled by a certain number in each House. This, at first was fixed at a three-fourths vote, afterward changed to two-thirds. It was a sort of compromise, and the debates show that it was not popular.

There was no proposition made or entertained at that time to permit the President to veto parts of bills. To do so would practically confer on him nearly the whole of the legislative power. He could select from the bills sent to him such propositions as he favored, and veto everything else. Congress in such a case would become a merely advisory committee, to collate and submit propositions to him. Not only would this increase in very great degree the powers of the President, but would almost annihilate the power and independ-

ence of the legislative branch of the Government. No intelligent advocate of representative government will favor the exercise of legislative powers by the executive ruler of a nation. Those who seek it are usually men who dread the exercise of popular power; and also property interests, which always seek a stronger and more despotic form of government.

Many men are inclined to overlook the fact that all legislation is a species of compromise. Gentlemen holding widely different views on political questions, varying local interests, and clashing property interests meet in Congress. Out of all these conflicting elements it is the task of statesmanship to strain and perfect what may receive the approval of the majority. It will easily be seen that in order not to mar this political autonomy the President's vetoes should be as little as possible the reflex of his personal political opinions. Some of our wisest constitutional authorities hold that a veto should not be a parliamentary act. Many of our presidents have limited their vetoes to acts they held to be unconstitutional, or measures framed so hastily as to afford grounds for the belief that unintentional mistakes had been made. The extreme caution with which the veto-power has been exercised in the past shows that it was not conceived to be its intention to throw the legislative power into the hands of a minority. If a president vetoed bills because he differed from the majority of his party, the party would not sustain him, and if he vetoed bills from purely partisan motives, the country would not sustain him. With few exceptions this has not been the practice of the Government. A disposition to invoke the veto-power is simply an expression of distrust with the law-making branch of the Government.

WM. A. PHILLIPS.

## IV.

### INDIFFERENCE: A POSTHUMOUS FRAGMENT.

SOMETIMES one is led to believe that indifference is an attribute greater than virtue, and that it should be so recognized, cultivated, and developed. If, however, one is possessed of a conscience—that rare factor which so seldom enters into the problem of life—indifference is impossible. But since there are so few whom this proposition affects, it need scarcely be considered. It is, of course, fullest in man, since woman's nature, being more exquisite, emotional, and impressible, is incapable of entire and unalloyed indifference. A woman, if she is cunning and shrewd, may *seem* more indifferent than the most indifferent man, and yet, all the while, be suffering the extremest torture. By this, I do not wish to insinuate that woman is more conscientious than man, for that would be declaring man the less moral of the two sexes—a thing which there is much reason for doubting. Man is strong, and morality—when it exists in a degree beyond the sweep and sway of sense—must, necessarily, be an attribute of strength. So its opposite, or, perhaps I should say, its counterpart, immorality, standing in the same relation to weakness that morality stands to strength, is most likely to be a part of woman's nature; far too often her chief trait. The peculiarities which make woman the peer of man in religion, make her also his peer in immorality. She is a bundle of contradictions and inconsistencies, and has a million chords, which, if touched, vibrate in her heart; and therein lies her peril. Heart and soul are more to her than brain and conscience. In fact, when the two first are stirred, the others are

forgotten. Nay, even more, they are stifled and crushed out, for the time. She acts independently of them, without the power of resistance—without knowledge or volition. Alone, by herself, she does bravest battle against that which is at once woman's bliss and her destruction; but to turn her back upon the man she loves—if she does that, she is too inferior a woman to be worth any man's thought or love. A true woman—one in whom there is genuine nobility—finds more sweetness in trusting than in doubting; and to doubt her lover, when all the vehemence of her heart and soul are stirred, is to her the greatest and the most damning sin she can commit. She may doubt the propriety of a thing, and argue against it mentally, but set her pulses throbbing, and then—away with rationality! Repentance may be and nearly always is hers, but resistance—never! Woman plunges into sensuous sin with all her faculties dulled and blunted, save those which impel her on. She does not act indifferently, but unconsciously. Man, in this, is directly her opposite; he acts recklessly, and regardless of consequences. With woman, there are for the time no consequences. Every fiber of her being has been set vibrating, and, no longer a rational, reasoning creature, she goes on as if swept forward by a resistless stream, into the very thing from which her delicacy shrinks in her calmer moments. Man sins voluntarily and against the constant admonitions of his conscience. Indifference is the same to him that tenderness and quivering sensibilities are to woman: only, in the end, she weeps bitter tears of woe and repentance, while his indifference still stands him in good stead. It is generally the nature of man to be indifferent. That is the reason why man's love seldom lasts beyond his honeymoon. And perhaps it is wisest so. If man's nature was as tender, clinging, and sympathetic as woman's, commerce would have never been organized; because, with the propensities and finer sensibilities of the two sexes alike, man could never tear himself away from the recipient of his caresses, and so the great world of business would stand still. Those whose glimpses at life are wholly superficial, cannot, of course, understand this; but no man or woman with enough courage to look below the surface can fail to see that I have spoken the truth. I do not believe that it is conscience which keeps woman from or makes her regret excesses, mental or otherwise, but that it is the same exquisiteness of soul which ever sends her in the direction which the world calls wrong. She sins and she suffers, and both from the same cause. She suffers because the sin she does shocks and hurts the same sensibilities whose pulses tempt her into sin. Man stifles and smothers his conscience willfully—premeditatedly. It is a hard battle for him, but it is one which he never has to fight the second time. With the first blow, his conscience is wounded past healing, and each succeeding shock but dulls and blunts him the more, until his indifference is as complete as a piece of fine art. With woman no such thing is possible: at the first plunge, she resolves herself into two distinct and separate personalities. One is seeming indifference, the other is a perfection of misery and degradation which deepens and increases with each new sin—almost with each successive breath. From this she never redeems herself; suffering becomes a part of her existence, and the clashing continues upon the tender, sensitive, and vibrant chords of her heart until death breaks the last one.

GEORGE SAND.

## V.

### TWO PRIVATE UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF LINCOLN.

In looking over the papers of the late Hon. Henry E. Dummer, of Jacksonville, formerly Beardstown, Illinois, thirteen autograph letters of Lincoln were recently found, among which these two are of historical interest:

SPRINGFIELD, *November* 18, 1845.

FRIEND DUMMER: Before Baker left, he said to me, in accordance with what had long been an understanding between him and me, that the track for the next congressional race was clear to me, so far as he was concerned; and that he would say so publicly in any manner, and at any time I might desire. I said, in reply, that as to the manner and time, I would consider awhile and write him.

I understand friend Delahay to have already informed you of the substance of the above. I now wish to say to you that if it be consistent with your feelings, you would set a few stakes for me. I do not certainly know, but I strongly suspect, that Gen' Hardin wishes to run again. I know of no argument to give me a preference over him unless it be "Turn about is fair play." The Pekin paper has lately nominated or suggested Hardin's name for governor, and the Alton paper, noticing that, indirectly nominates him for Congress. I wish you would, if you can, see that, while these things are handed about among the papers, the Beardstown paper takes no stand that may injure my chance, unless the Conductor really prefers Gen' Hardin, in which case, I suppose, it would be fair.

Let this be confidential, and please write me in a few days. Yours as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

The Baker mentioned in the letter was the famous Colonel E. D. Baker, who afterward was Senator from California, and the General Hardin referred to, was John J. Hardin, who fell at Buena Vista, in the Mexican War. Lincoln was elected to Congress the year after this letter was written. It is a little strange to note the fact, that these three men, Hardin, Baker, and Lincoln, thus grouped together, represented the same district in Congress in the order named, their district being the only Whig district in the then strongly Democratic State of Illinois. Another singular coincidence is the fact that each of the three met with a tragic end; Hardin at the battle of Buena Vista, Baker at Ball's Bluff, and Lincoln at the assassin's hand.

The following letter marks a sort of epoch in the history of the Republican Party. Lincoln and his party moved on pretty rapidly from the position indicated in the letter! Neither he nor any one else could foresee the course events were to take in the next five years.

SPRINGFIELD, *August* 5, 1858.

FRIEND DUMMER: Yours, not dated, just received. No accident preventing, I shall be at Beardstown on the 12th. I thank you for the contents of your letter generally. I have not time now to notice the various points you suggest, but I will say I do not understand the Republican Party to be committed to the proposition "No more Slave States." I think they are not so committed. Most certainly they prefer there should be no more, but I know there are many of them who think we are under obligations to admit Slave States from Texas, if such shall be presented for admission; but I think the party, as such, is not committed either way. Your friend as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

It was less than five years from the date of this letter that Lincoln penned the Emancipation Proclamation.

C. HARRY DUMMER.

Seventy-Second Year. Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Vol 143: No

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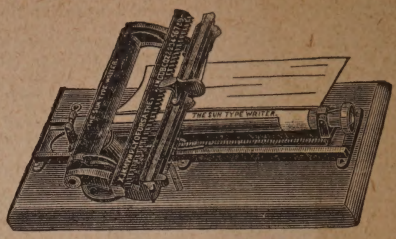

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# ARBITRATION.

FIVE years ago, a person who wrote on the labor problem was often criticised as one dealing with a product of pure imagination. "There is no labor problem" was the ceaseless refrain of those who did not have eyes to see phenomena transpiring all about them; and so confident was the faith of some of the more prominent among them in their own wisdom, so lofty their contempt for any who presumed to hold a different opinion, that their very arrogance carried conviction to many of our fellow-citizens. But the movement of social events has proceeded with such surprising, and to all unexpected rapidity, that the belief in the existence of a labor problem of ominous proportions is now generally as unquestioned as the confidence with which men admit the succession of the seasons.

There is still, however, an almost universal failure to understand the nature of the various social questions involved in the words, labor problem. People impatiently demand some quick and sure remedy for the disease with which we are beset. They desire a brief but clear and precise enumeration of things to be done, that they may take it, like a doctor's prescription, to our statesmen, with an order to apply the treatment at once to the patient—whom we may call "Industrial Society." There is and

there can be no panacea for the ills of the body politic, and he who comes forward with the claim that he has discovered one must be set down as a quack. The labor problem is scarcely more than another name for the larger half of that old mysterious problem of human life on earth with which men have been battling for six thousand years or more. It is the old problem in a new guise, because we have entered upon a new era in the development of the race. Yet it is not one problem, but many comprised under one term simply for convenience. Viewed from one stand-point, it is the temperance question; from another, the family question; from a third, the personal purity question; from a fourth, the wages question; from a fifth, the educational question; from a sixth, the international peace question; from a seventh, the protective tariff question; from an eighth, the municipal administration question, —and so on through the entire list of questions which concern the welfare of human society. The entire life of man in all his relations to his fellows is involved, and that includes—if the expression be allowable—his relations to himself, or his individual life. Thus we come back to the starting-point; we are dealing in the labor problem with the problem of human life. If the various problems of our time are more serious than those of earlier ages, it is because our opportunities are grander. A good time coming, a golden age in the future—this has been the hope of sages and prophets since the world began; it has been the faith which has inspired martyrs to God-like deeds. And it is no mockery! The progress of history brings us nearer and nearer the goal, and never before was the way open for such rapid movement in the direction of the attainment of the purpose of humanity. For this reason the pursuit of a wrong course may prove more disastrous than in the ages of the past. We again plainly approach a crisis in the history of mankind.

While there is no cure-all for the evils which are in society, particularly in industrial society—one aspect of society—there are a thousand and one things which people may do to prevent disaster and promote a sound development of our institutions. Many of these are very simple, yet far-reaching for good. One of them is arbitration, the peaceful adjustment of difficulties between wage-receivers and their employers. It is not radical, like coöperation and other reforms which contemplate a reconstruction of economic institutions. Arbitration recognizes the facts of the existing

wages-system, and endeavors to improve this system. Yet it works against no reform of more thorough nature, and retards no healthy growth. It is conservative in the best sense.

Arbitration appears so natural that one would imagine *a priori* it must ever have been a universal accompaniment of the wages system of modern times. Yet such has not been the case, and the reason for the absence of this simple method for the peaceful termination of controversies must be sought in the imperfect ethical development of the race. The original tendency of mankind is to fight for one's rights and to strike back when hit; but progress has been made exactly in proportion as Christian ethics have been received as a practical rule of life, and no one, whether a believer in a divine revelation or not, will be likely to deny this. Now, there has been a gradual, and, on the whole, a steady progress toward the ideal of Christian ethics; and the introduction of arbitration in political life and in industrial relations, at about the same time, has been an epoch-making event in the history of applied ethics. "Fools and dreamers" are now beginning to be a power in the world!

If arbitration is a simple matter, its story is a brief one. Its purpose is to do away with certain facts in industrial life, indicated by the words strikes and lockouts, or a suspension of production on account of differences between employer and employed. Strikes and lockouts have played a *rôle* in the regulation of the supply and demand of the commodity, labor. The situation is this: Capital and labor are indispensable factors in production, but they are supplied by different parties whose interests are parallel only to a certain point—namely, such a management and utilization of economic power as will secure, other things being equal, the largest possible product—after which they diverge more or less sharply—namely, when the product must be divided between those who furnish capital and those who furnish labor. If laborers demand a larger share than capitalists will grant, and refuse to supply labor under less favorable conditions, the result is a strike. When capitalists refuse to grant so large a proportion of the product for labor as the laborers have heretofore received, and will not continue to supply capital on any terms which laborers will accept, the result is a lockout.

Labor, it has been stated, is a commodity. This is true, but it differs in radical particulars from other commodities, like wheat,

iron, lumber, for example, in that it is inseparably bound up with a human personality. If I sell you a bushel of wheat, it is a matter of little concern to me what you do with it; but if I sell my labor, the manner in which it is used affects me most vitally. Again, sellers of labor have only their labor as a means of support, and they are forced to offer it almost continuously and unreservedly, particularly if unorganized, while those who sell other commodities have an option. The farmer may keep his wheat for a time, and support life from other resources; or, if it is more advantageous, he may offer his labor-commodity for sale. Most vital is this difference. Whether rightly or wrongly, there resides in nearly every human being the feeling that those who are willing to work for what are deemed fair terms have a right to the means of life, and within narrow limits, at least, the justice of this sentiment is recognized by the doctrines of the Christian Church and the laws of modern society. Now in these peculiarities of the commodity, labor, we discern those properties which lead to bitterness, and even bloodshed, in the economic warfare inaugurated by strikes and lockouts. A relation not merely of persons and things, but of persons and persons is involved, and with this relation there is necessarily given room for the play of all the passions of the human heart, with their almost infinite possibilities of good or evil.

We have thus an explanation of what we see going on about us continually, economic warfare. While that progresses there is vast loss, both directly and indirectly; and human suffering, blighted prospects, horrible crimes, and untimely deaths, are a terrible phase of the struggle. Yet each individual battle comes to an end sooner or later, and a result of some kind is reached. Rightly or wrongly, this is a fact. Now, would it not be better to reach this conclusion, whatever it may be, without all this loss and misery? Undoubtedly it would be gain for all parties concerned; and to do this, and this only, is the office of arbitration in its most conservative form. There is no Exchange for labor as there is for stocks, where news concerning transactions all over the world pour in, and where, in the light of this knowledge, the struggle between buyers and sellers terminates in a fixed price which equalizes supply and demand; but arbitration committees may, and actually do, overlook all facts accessible, gathering them from both parties to the controversy; and thus they fix a price for the commodity, labor, in

a given branch of production, and in a given territory of production. These committees establish peacefully a condition which is otherwise reached by war.

It often happens, however, that arbitrators are influenced by the ethical element expressed in OUGHT, and do not bring about quite the result which actual struggle would produce, although there is always an attempt to calculate what this would probably be, and this calculation serves as a basis for the conclusion reached. But there may be great advantage in a slight yielding either by one side or the other, to produce the conditions of a more permanent peace. In the meantime, production continues to the advantage of both labor and capital, for there is a larger product to be divided than would be possible if recourse were had to a strike or a lockout.

Arbitration has accomplished great things in industrial society in three countries—namely, France, Belgium, and England, and two distinct plans have been pursued; one, the legal, on the continent; the other, the voluntary, in Great Britain.

Arbitration was introduced in France, early in this century, by Napoleon the First, at the request of the working-men of Lyons. Tribunals called Conseils des Prud'hommes were established, and still exist. They consist of an equal number of representatives of each of the two parties most vitally concerned; that is to say, the employers and employed, and each party elects its own representatives.* Each tribunal has a president and vice-president, but they are appointed by the Government. On the application of either working-men or their employers, these councils may consider any controversy whatever between these two classes of industrial society, save that of future wages, which fall within their province only when requested to give an opinion thereon by both sides. The decisions are binding, like the decrees of other courts, and may be enforced in a similar manner.

The Conseils des Prud'hommes are divided into two bureaus —the Bureau Général and the Bureau Particulier. The former, consisting of at least five members, meets once a week; the latter, consisting of two members—an employer and a working-man—

* In Breslau and some other German cities another plan has been tried. The working-men and employers, to represent their respective classes, are elected by the municipal council; but the results of the experiment have not been at all encouraging.

meets daily to listen to complaints. The Bureau Particulier attempts to reach an amicable understanding between the parties by informal methods. This is called conciliation. If the Bureau Particulier cannot suggest some satisfactory escape from the difficulty in question, it must then go before the Bureau Général for authoritative decision by a more formal process, which, by way of distinction, is called arbitration. With us in America arbitration is popularly used in both senses, and thus includes conciliation.

Mr. Joseph D. Weeks, who has done more than any one else to make known the methods and benefits of arbitration in the United States, thus summarizes the work of the French Conseils des Prud-'hommes for 1878, when there were one hundred and fifteen of them: "Of the 35,860 cases brought before these conseils, 22,358, or 62 per cent., were relative to wages; 2,238, or 6 per cent., to defective work; 4,657, or 13 per cent., to discharge of workingmen; 1,525, or 4 per cent., to apprenticeship; and 5,082, or 14 per cent., are not classified. Of the total number, 10,192, or 28 per cent., were withdrawn before trial; 18,334, or 51 per cent., settled by conciliation, and but 7,210, or 20 per cent., were referred to the Bureau Général; and of these only 38.5 per cent. were brought to trial." There may be an appeal to the Tribunals of Commerce, and 18 per cent. of the decisions were appealed, and one-fourth of these decisions annulled.* It would be difficult to calculate the immense advantages which these Conseils des Prud'hommes have brought to France. In Belgium they have not been quite so successful, although they have in that country also done much good.

A permanent "Board of Arbitration and Conciliation" was first established in Nottingham, England, in 1860, in the glove and hosiery trade, and its founder was Mr. A. J. Mundella, one of those broad, intelligent manufacturers now found so frequently

* See the excellent little pamphlet prepared by Mr. Weeks, "Labor Differences and their Settlement," published in New York by the Society for Political Education. Valuable information will also be found in these works: "Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration," edited by Hon. Carroll D. Wright, and published by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor; "The Third Annual Report of the New York Bureau of Statistics of Labor," by Hon. Chas. F. Peck; Ryan's "Arbitration Between Capital and Labor," published in Columbus, Ohio, 1885.

in England, who have grasped the significance of their position in society as "captains of industry." These boards have brought peace to the glove and hosiery and lace trade in Nottingham, and have done almost as much for the iron trade in the north of England, while they have achieved praiseworthy results in mining and other industries. The favorite constitution of the boards is similar to that in France, save that an umpire is chosen by the representatives of the working-men and their employers, and no president or vice-president is appointed by government. The umpire is generally some one not connected with the trade, whose decision is final in case the representatives of the parties cannot come to an understanding without his aid. Men well known as umpires are Mr. Thomas Hughes, Sir Rupert Kettle, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, and Sir Thomas Brassey. As in France, there are minor subdivisions of the boards, usually called committees of inquiry, which endeavor to effect a settlement by the informal processes of conciliation before any difference can come before the full board. The trades-unions of the working-men and the associations of employers are bound by honor to accept the decisions of the boards of conciliation and arbitration. When trades-unions are strong enough to control labor there is rarely or never any difficulty in the enforcement of terms agreed upon. Sometimes it is made a condition of a labor contract that differences shall be submitted to a specified board. This plan is favored by Sir Rupert Kettle, one of the best English authorities on the subject.

One condition of the largest measure of success, as proved by all experience, is the institution of permanent boards with regular sittings. If they are not created until the difficulty arises which requires settlement, they will usually encounter such an embittered feeling that they will be able to do no good. Permanent boards, however, are able to adjust the grievance before it becomes serious. Apart from the permanency of the boards of conciliation and arbitration, an indispensable condition of success is either governmental compulsion or the existence of strong labor organizations. France has chosen the first alternative, but it has never been found practicable in England; nor is there any probability that it could be employed in this country. Government with us might encourage the use of arbitration in certain cases, but could scarcely do more than that. Congress might, for example, create a board of arbitration for railways engaging in interstate commerce,

granting it power to investigate grievances reported, and to express opinions at the request of either party, employers or employed. Something of the kind has been suggested, and, if honestly attempted,* it might do good. Experience would decide. The great obstacle would probably be the refusal of the railways to obey the laws, and we all know how difficult it is to force them to obey public authority.

Whatever success might attend efforts of Government to encourage the use of arbitration in a few specified cases, the only possibility of a general use of this method of peace in the United States is to be found in powerful labor organizations, strong enough to speak for the great mass of working-men involved in any particular difficulty, and occupying a really responsible position. It is only through these various trade societies that labor can be educated up to arbitration and effectively controlled.

The Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Works may serve as an illustration of the advantages of a strong union. For over twenty years this body has annually agreed with the manufacturers upon a scale of prices, and there has never been an instance of a violation of the agreement. The two cigar-makers' unions, the International and the Progressive, with the endless confusion that they have brought into the trade, show the disadvantages to every one of weak or hostile organizations in a trade. It is only strong and harmonious bodies of artisans which have been able to offer satisfactory guarantees of a fulfillment of obligations assumed, and it is so eminently desirable to have some association in a position to speak for labor, that manufacturers look with an increasing favor upon labor organizations, wherever they are really powerful. Unskilled labor has never been in a position to arbitrate heretofore, but the spread of societies like the Knights of Labor, will, it may be rationally expected, be able in a not distant future to introduce arbitration very generally for all classes of working-men.

It is to be noticed as a happy omen that labor organizations in America are increasingly inclined to favor arbitration. The fol-

* Our legislative bodies too often pass laws to please the laborers, without any idea that they will be enforced. One might almost at times suspect a secret conspiracy with the administrative authorities that labor-laws should remain a dead letter. Yet we talk about the moral depravity of the working classes!

lowing quotations from their constitutions may serve as an illustration :

"Whenever a dispute arises between an employer or employés and members of this brotherhood, the members shall lay the matter before the local union, which shall appoint an arbitration committee to adjust the difficulty."—*Constitution of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.*

The Constitution of the International Typographical Union contains these words : "Recognizing strikes as detrimental to the best interests of the craft, it (the International Typographical Union) directs subordinate unions not to strike until every possible effort has been made to settle the difficulty by arbitration."

One of the aims of the Knights of Labor, as found in their Declaration of Principles, is expressed in these words : "To persuade all employers to agree to arbitrate all differences which may arise between them and their employés, in order that the bonds of sympathy between them may be strengthened, and that strikes may be rendered unnecessary."

One obstacle to the general introduction of arbitration in America is to be found in the failure to understand the true nature of labor organizations, and the consequent violent opposition to them which has brought out all their worst qualities and has prevented the growth of their best features. It is time that this opposition ceased ; for labor organizations can never be suppressed, and there is no hope of a reign of peace in the United States until they receive full and free recognition. Pride and arrogance in employers have hindered the spread of arbitration among us. Some have been unwilling to recognize equal rights in their employés, but have called every attempt on their part to regulate the conditions of service, dictation. They overlook the fact that those who supply the commodity, labor, have as perfect a right to say, "under such and such conditions we will supply our commodity and under no others," as sellers of wheat have to name the terms of sale ; nay, a better right, because in the one case a human personality is involved, in the other only things. "These conditions may be and often are foolish," objects the employer. Then consent to committees of arbitration to determine what conditions are mutually advantageous, and what are harmful ; and receive any body of men who may represent labor just as courteously as you would any committee of men who desire to negotiate for the sale

of other commodities, like iron and lumber. It is to be greeted as a hopeful sign that employers are beginning to take this view more and more generally, as the organization of labor progresses. As Hon. Abram S. Hewitt has well said: "The great result is that capital is ready to discuss. It is not to be disguised that, until labor presented itself in such an attitude as to compel a hearing, capital was not willing to listen; but now it does listen. The results attained are full of encouragement."

The reader should not misunderstand what is said. It is not meant to imply either that capitalists are worse than other men, or that their employés are better. Both classes simply exhibit the traits of the human nature common to all. There is this difference, however. False pride and the failure to apply ethics to practical affairs lead the employer too often to look upon arbitration, which involves meeting his laborers on an equal footing, as a humiliation; while as matters now are, arbitration can scarcely be regarded otherwise than as a gratification to the feelings of employés. This is doubtless one reason why the employés are so much readier to arbitrate differences than employers.

With patience and tact in its application, arbitration can remove a large portion of our labor troubles, but too much must not be hoped from it. There are too many vast corporations which really manifest no desire to treat their employés like human beings, but seek only to convert their flesh and blood into gold. Nothing can be more disheartening than to contemplate the universal oppression of street-car employés in the United States for many years. If only a few exceptions could be found, it would be a relief, but when city after city is visited and the same conditions of service, without exception found, and those conditions so severe as to injure the health and to shorten the life of those subject to them—a cruel kind of cannibalism—it tempts one to become a pessimist; or at any rate, tends to confirm one in the old Calvinistic doctrine of total depravity of the natural man. There are many brighter features of the situation, but the fact of greed and rapacity must be recognized, and these qualities will never voluntarily yield to arbitration.

This is not the place to discuss the reason why otherwise good and humane men should be merciless in their corporate capacity, nor is it all necessary to demonstrate the fact that corporations are an indispensable condition of modern industrial

society; but attention may be directed to the undoubted right and obligation of those authorities granting corporate powers to include in their franchises such features as will render them most useful and properly amenable. It should be clearly understood that a corporation is an artificial person created by the State, and the creator may impose any conditions upon it which are regarded as desirable. It could, for example, adopt the universal rule to grant no charter for a railway without some provision for the arbitration of all difficulties with employés; it might even lay it down as a condition—though no one would rationally favor it—that hereafter all new corporations should disburse fifty per cent. of all profits among their employés. No one need accept corporate powers. It is a voluntary matter, and when a corporate charter is accepted, the conditions which go with it must be assumed likewise. This well-known general principle might in the future be applied, in many ways, more extensively and intensively than in the past, and that with great advantage. Even existing corporations are not beyond control; for in recent years the State has, as a rule, reserved the right to alter the terms of their charters, and whenever this has been done new conditions may be imposed on them for the public good.*

The chief advantage in arbitration in the United States would be the personal contact which it would bring about between the two great classes of industrial society; and surely some counteracting force is needed to the pagan exclusiveness which is spreading so rapidly in certain social strata among us. The great trouble is, men are getting so far apart that they do not understand one another, and consequently have no mutual sympathy and goodwill. It is a universal experience that even a slight personal contact will often remove bitterness of feeling which has been growing up for weeks, and even months. This has been proven by English experience in arbitration, and there is no reason to doubt that it would hold true in the United States. Working-men will learn, on the one hand, several useful lessons, such as these: that the vast majority of employers at the present time really wish them well;

* Should these amount to a practical seizure of private property for public ends, compensation for the injury would be a matter of course; but this would not often happen. If the inalienability of public right comes to be accepted as the doctrine of courts, some old charters may yet be found alterable. Age will not always save abuses.

that the number willing to make sacrifices for them is not small; that the idea of enormous profits on their labor is generally erroneous; that not a few of their industrial superiors are even more plagued and harassed to meet bills than they are themselves; that what we usually call the labor problem is at times equally an employers' problem. Captains of industry, on the other hand, in frequent and regular contact with their partners who supply the labor power, will learn such useful lessons as these: that the vast majority of working-men sincerely desire to do what is right; that they would not, if they could, pull all down to their own level; that they appreciate proofs of esteem and good-will; that they can be taught, even in our age, loyalty, if their employers earn the right to that tribute of homage; that they can be yet induced, as they have often done in the past, to make even heavy sacrifices to save an employer; finally, that the life of most working-men is at best not too full of sunshine, and that there can be no better employment of the time and resources of the more fortunate members of society than to attempt to render the existence of the great masses brighter, more refined, attractive, wholesome.

And, if honest employers and honest working-men are brought nearer together, we may hope that both classes will learn that their interests really run parallel in many respects—even if they are not always identical—and that they will learn that it will accrue to the decided advantage of both to unite all their forces, and turn them against the enemies of society: the robbers of all degrees; the pirates of every rank who prey alike upon labor and capital; the theoretical anarchists, in the lower walks of life, who would overthrow our institutions and demolish the accumulations of centuries; the yet more dangerous practical anarchists in the higher ranks, who actually do trample the laws and constitutions under their feet, and defile the purity of justice at its very source.

RICHARD T. ELY.

# AN AMERICAN QUEEN.

MANY years ago the hero of one of our native novels was sent on a long quest among the European nobility, to ascertain whether there be any real difference between the blood of an hereditary aristocracy and the blood of American democracy.

I approach the same problem, but from a different direction. I present herein a specimen of American aristocracy, and if the princesses and duchesses and countesses of the world would like to know whether they are of the true blood royal, they are cordially invited to examine these pages and ascertain for themselves by a careful comparison with the best standards.

The question is not insignificant. Aristocracy is inevitable. Wherever humanity gathers into society, an aristocracy rises to the surface as surely as cream rises on milk. And—not to continue the figure which might be awkward—the character of the aristocracy is at once determined by and determinative of the character of the democracy out of which it springs. An aristocracy is the embodiment of the ideal of society. While life is first emerging from its lower forms, physical strength, being its most available weapon, becomes its crowning glory. Our race still rising, lower phases of intellectual strength become dominant. In perfected development the spiritual forces will rule. We may thus always measure the advance of civilization by the qualities that are held in honor: therefore, to the classes and the masses; to the defenders of the old and the apostles of the new; to those who are prying open college doors to women and those who are striving to turn the feet of girls away from them; to the enthusiastic founders of women's colleges, and to all machinists who think the only good timber of which schools can be made is supervising boards; to those who advocate and those who fear woman suffrage; to the great raff of men who think they believe only in woman's frivolity, and to the great hosts of women who try sedulously to live up to it,—let me extend the invitation of Moses, the servant of God, to Hobab, the son of

Raguel, the Midianite: Come thou with me and I will do thee good.

The palace in which was born her majesty, the queen whom I celebrate, was a brown one-story house, in the hill-town of Norfolk, Connecticut, overlooking a wide stretch of slope and dale, rushing stream and silent pond, and many a palace of equally subtle splendor—for royal blood ran freely thereabout. Wealth did not attract the ambition or even the attention of these royal families. Independence they were born to, and virtue; but learning must each gather for himself, with the usefulness accruing, and what they loved and hungered and thirsted for was learning. Of the two families most nearly allied to the queen, and amid equally simple surroundings, six sons were graduated from Yale College, and all the daughters but one were sent away to the highest accessible schools.

The royal father, powerful in brain and muscle, was instantly killed by the fall of his own well-sweep when his child was but two years old. The royal mother was a quiet woman, untiring in work and wisdom and love; a woman who could repeat the whole of Dwight's "Collection of Hymns"; who in spinning kept always an open book at the head of her wheel; in ironing, one upon her table. So the daughter of Joel Grant and Zilpah Cowles could hardly fail to rise and rule.

Second only in importance to the hardy, upright, intellectual home, came the wholesome village school. Without globe, blackboard, or supervision, without register or gradation or mark, without exhibition, sometimes without examination or even recitation, the "district school" did a great work, because it had the two things indispensable to a school—teachers and pupils—teachers wise to teach, pupils eager to learn.

The district school Queen Zilpah left as pupil and entered as teacher while not yet fifteen. The first palace of her independent sovereignty was a log-cabin in the Indian district of Paug. It was furnished with one door, one unhewn stone chimney, four small half-sash windows, and a dungeon-hole for the refractory. In summers, she taught Paug schools. In winters, she read and spun by her mother's side.

Thus walked the queen in those early days: youthful but noble, a figure tall, erect, well-proportioned head, finely set on shapely shoulders, dark hair golden-brown, forehead high, features comely,

piercing black eyes luminous with life, an expression combined of kindness, dignity, and power, a composed and stately carriage, the dress always beseeming such a wearer, who bore ever and everywhere her long life through the indefinable air of distinction. Thus lavishly her royal blood endowed her. But let no vain American fancy that royal blood must always give the royal height, the regal figure. It is greatly to the credit of Queen Victoria that, with much to fight against in the way of native dower, she bears intact the majesty of her birthright, and stirs in all beholders the consciousness of imperial presence.

Come now, I pray, Matthew Arnold, gentlest and keenest of satirists who value but do not love the Puritans, and hear me while I admit, I avow, that my queen was a Puritan. Such a Puritan as this; that when she was only five years old, pangs of conscience wrung her because she had chosen not to go to an afternoon meeting with her mother. Such a Puritan as this; that at twelve, she had great solicitude regarding her guilt in the violation of perfect law. Such a Puritan as that when it was represented to her that the little neighborhood gatherings of the young people in each other's houses, closing the evening with a dance, would be inconsistent for one "seeking religion," she at once gave up the dancing of which she was fond. Such a Puritan, that her sense of sin was overpowering; she expected to sink by its weight to perdition; she felt that her guilt was too great to be forgiven; she sought aid from her pastor only because, in the world of woe to which she believed herself to be hastening, she would be spared the additional pang of reflecting that, during her probation on earth, she had failed to ask the prayers of one who had power to prevail with God.

Matthew Arnold, clearest and straightest of thinkers—up to a certain point—you cannot think this any more dreadful than it is. Innocent child, spotless maiden, beneficent woman—*guilt, probation, perdition* are grotesque words applied to her. Nearer the truth of things was that vivacious French wife of a strict Calvinistic pastor, who, kindly visiting, during her husband's absence, a dying parishioner, a poor seamstress, listened with astonishment to the distress of the sufferer over her sins, and presently broke out with the untheological but eminently humane and pertinent argument, "A great sinner! It is absurd! Why, you were never out of North Linebrook in your life!"

But we judge a tree by the fruit it ripens, not by that which is cast almost as soon as set. It is difficult to imagine by what process so clear a mind could reconcile itself to God on the sudden plea, "'How beautiful is that justice which has denied peace to such a sinner!' I became absorbed in the admiration of God's justice. It was infinitely lovely, and I must forever praise him in the world of retribution for not receiving so vile a being into the abode of purity and bliss." To me, I confess this seems hocus-pocus, abracadabra. But it is not hard to understand and reverence the royal delicacy, or was it the Christian unselfishness, or was it both, mingled with the grim Grant reticence which an illustrious example has made familiar to this generation, that led her, when at length, at the age of nineteen, she dared join the church, to stand up and receive, out of deference to her mother's supposed preference, the baptismal name of Zilpah Polly, without even mentioning her own wish to be called Mary—only to learn long afterward that her mother was quite indifferent! Zilpah Polly—nothing can give it a monarchical ring, but it never marred the royal audience.

When she was twenty-five years old, Rev. Joseph Emerson opened a girls' school in Byfield, Massachusetts. It was a new thing under the sun. Mr. Emerson had been tutor at Harvard, pastor at Beverly. Some divine revelation had given him a glimpse of the ideal woman in the ideal world, and thenceforth he knew his work. Queen Zilpah had met him. He was a brother of one of her own pastors, Ralph Emerson. This lover's gifts to his betrothed had been a Bible and a Euclid's Geometry—sweet food of sweetly uttered knowledge. He was a man after our queen's own heart. She craved knowledge. In her Paug and other schoolhouses she had amassed a fortune of fifty dollars, and she took the three days' journey to Byfield, and enrolled herself among his pupils.

Her fortune was well invested. Teacher and pupil were alike inspired with the enthusiasm of learning, and believed profoundly in each other. Here, too, she met that other "large-brained woman and large-hearted man," Mary Lyon, and the three entered into life-long friend-and-comradeship. "Has the woman nothing to do but to obey?" asked of his pupils this man with the Emerson insight. "Woman has far more of commanding than of obeying to do." And he lent himself to the divine purpose of teaching

the queens to command wisely. "Women are the foundation of society," he said. "They need sound judgment, energy, and vigor." "Logic," he taught them, in words that should be hung in golden capitals on every school-room walls, "the art of using reason well, is the parent of all other arts." "Even in so simple a thing as cutting a pencil I would have you exercise your reasoning powers."

With Mr. Emerson's school the queen's pupilage nobly closed. Thence she entered upon the full duties of her kingdom. Teaching awhile with Mr. Emerson, afterward at the head of her own schools, summoning Mary Lyon to her assistance, or dispatching her to enter alone the promised land which both had longed for, but which the feet of one alone could tread, her intellectual and spiritual elevation never knew descent. She did not talk of her mission, but she taught as one having authority. She did not talk of her rights; she exercised them. She looked upon the individual woman as an immortal being to be trained for eternity by service in this world. She looked upon women collectively as a fundamental part of the State, to be trained for its weal. She worked for the commonwealth. All her aims were great. Nothing petty ever came nigh her. Rather, small things were enlarged by being gathered into the upward movement of a large soul. "Do you not know, child," she would argue the duty of dressing prettily, "God is more honored and pleased when His creatures look well than when they do not?" She held ever in view the arbitrament of God.

Never was the watchword of her teaching to furnish occupations to women, but to prepare women for their work. Her keen perception saw the whitening, waiting harvests, and no man ever thrust in a sharper sickle with a stronger hand, but it was a woman's sickle and a woman's strength. She taught her pupils not so much knowledge as how to learn. She gave no prizes. She stimulated no rivalry. She appealed only to the highest motives. The formation of character, the attainment of the greatest possible individual power, the thorough acquirement of self-government—these were what she set before her pupils. Her simple test for each was: Is she doing as well as she can? Her final sentence upon the incorrigible was: You have not been doing as well as you can. And they were sent away on that one statement, with the avowed hope that after six months or a year of absence they might

rise high enough to return and spend their energies to advantage. All was done privately; every unnecessary exposure of the faults of her pupils was avoided. She guarded their delicacy with vigilance. "Speak of them as if they were your younger sisters," she directed her new teachers.

The lessons in reason which she had received from her teacher she faithfully delivered to her pupils. No Thomas Paine, no Red Revolutionist, was ever so true a devotee of reason as she. If but a new regulation were to be made, she not only announced and explained it, but grounded it on the principle eternally true, that "when people come into society each one must give up somewhat of his natural rights and consult the general good." Thus her pupils learned an intelligent respect for law. Charity, benevolence, beneficence, she taught as she would teach geography—systematically, not alone as a matter of feeding the hungry, but of elevating the world. She aimed to awaken in every girl a feeling of individual responsibility for serving her generation.

Patriotism was a constant underlying motive. She saw that the country was large, and she worked to make it great. She saw that the West was to be the center of empire, and she sought to make its foundations strong. She discerned that a religious intellectual education was the one thing needful. She knew, as few women know—as few men know—the power of organization. She saw it in the Catholic Church, and she desired as strong a Protestant organization for the utilizing of womanly power. Necessary to this, she held, were schools endowed, permanent, giving a systematic and severe education for girls as well as for boys. To this end she bent all her energies. Awaiting this end, she gave especial attention to training teachers. She held the profession high, but she demanded that it be worthy to be held high. In looking about for the location of a school, she observed of a certain town, "It is the only place in Ohio, off the Reserve, that I have seen or heard of, where the employment of teaching takes anything like its proper rank. I heard a lady, who justly ranks high for intelligence, refinement, and social standing, and who hopes, too, that she is a Christian, remark of a young woman who left her home, where she had lived in comparative inaction and uselessness, to engage in a school: 'That is really a great coming down for her; she has been quite a belle.' It is a specimen of a feeling greatly prevalent throughout this and the surrounding States. So

far as I can learn, nothing apparent has been effected to correct this sentiment by other schools."

So aware was she of the value of the living soul, that she counted nothing trivial which related to it. She required as much mind, she demanded as much judgment, in teaching an infant school as in addressing the Congress of the United States. She laid the foundation-stones along the line of reason.

The first legacy ever left for the academic education of women had been received at Derry, New Hampshire, in 1822. The trustees had built a new house and invited Miss Grant to be the principal of the new school. By their invitation she went to Derry and spent six weeks investigating plans and possibilities. She avowed frankly to the trustees that her aim was not only intellectual education, but the training of the character according to the word of God. They saw everything to desire in her complete mastery of the situation, and in her gracious and gentle fascination; and the first head of the first college for women in America was formally installed in a document whose significance is only heightened by the simplicity and modesty of the terms under its legal formality:

"To Miss Zilpah P. Grant:—The Trustees of the Adams Female Academy, reposing especial trust and confidence in your fidelity and ability, have constituted and appointed you the preceptress of the Adams Female Academy, hereby giving and granting unto you, the said Zilpah P. Grant, all the powers and authority given and granted by the Act of Incorporation and By-laws of the Trustees of the Adams Female Academy, to have and to hold the said office, with all the powers and privileges and immunities to the same belonging, during the pleasure of the Trustees, with the compensation of *Five Dollars* for each week the Academy shall be kept during the year, and board during the same time, and thirty-six dollars each year for traveling expenses. In Testimony whereof, the Trustees have caused the seal of the said Corporation to be hereunto affixed. Witness, Edward L. Parker, President of the Board of Trustees, this eighteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three."

Vassar, Wellesley, Smith, and all your heirs, successors, and enemies forever—never forget that the first president of the first college for women was a woman, and that she wrought in the love of God according to the straitest sect of old-fashioned Calvinistic orthodoxy. At her academy were given the first diplomas to girls. Miss Grant, aided by Miss Lyon, opened at Derry the first girls' school in this country, prescribing a systematic course of English

instruction similar to that of boys examining for admission, and giving a diploma for its completion; and each year the course was extended and elevated. So deftly works the Power outside ourselves that makes for righteousness.

Miss Grant's success was great—too great. The superior intellectual training attracted to her school increasing attention and increasing numbers from the best families. Her commanding intellect, her polished and winning manners gave her complete and easy sway over the fresh, noble young minds that flocked to her. But religion dominated everything, and her religion was orthodox. The majority of the trustees were liberal. This astonishing autocrat was stamping the image and superscription of orthodoxy on the mind and heart of the whole rising generation. True, she had said she would do it, and they had consented. She had stipulated at the outset that one-seventh of her time should be given to Bible instruction, and they had not objected. But they little knew what Bible instruction meant from her lips. They had been used to hearing Bible instruction one-seventh of the time all their lives, and nobody hurt; but this Bible instruction was like the coming of an army with banners. The Bible, real, living, touching every issue, guiding every judgment, turning orthodoxy from a dead skeleton to a beautiful, vital, eternal force—this they had not bargained for. They felt that they were being overpowered by the very one whom they had bidden as an ally.

Doubtless they were upright, gentle, pious men, but they were men and naturally timid, weak, at their wit's end before this female sovereign. But their money was a trust fund, therefore they must do something. Therefore they made a weak little insurrectionary flutter by suggesting at their annual meeting that music and dancing be introduced into the course! Even this feeble shot frightened them, and they instantly fled to cover by resolving three days after, that Miss Grant's salary should be doubled.

The queen declined the dance simply on the ground that "as she had a systematic course, and all parents would not wish their children to learn to dance, the introduction of the exercise would greatly derange her plans."

Then the committee plucked up heart, though still an indirect heart, and voted "that no teachers were engaged." Willing to believe that her exceptionally large salary was the stumbling-block, and eager to carry out her plans, she at once offered to relinquish

her salary and to take whatever they chose to give. Then as frankly as they could, but still in a private circular, they ventured to declare that "it was the original design of the trustees to establish this seminary on liberal principles. They regret that the institution has acquired the character of being strictly Calvinistic in the religious instruction. This character has grown up in opposition to the sentiments and wishes of a majority of the trustees. It is their determination to select persons who will not attempt to instill into the minds of their pupils the peculiar tenets of any denomination of Christians, but will give that general instruction wherein all Christians agree. The trustees give their preference to female teachers, if such as are competent can be obtained; if not, a gentleman must be employed."

Thereupon the queen took stage to Andover to consult Urim and Thummim, but behind Urim and Thummim was merely a man, and the sacred breastplate only rattled with his terrified palpitations but emitted no light. "Even Gamaliel," said the queen with one of her rare touches of sarcasm, "even Gamaliel was afraid to give direct counsel, and found it much easier to sympathize than to advise."

She needed no advice, and evidently took counsel with her subalterns only as queens use—for good fellowship rather than from any expectation or need of real help, for she seems not for a moment to have been at a loss what to do. She colonized. She withdrew and took her kingdom with her. Forty pupils, steadfast and true, accompanied her in search of other worlds to conquer. Whether the Derry trustees ever found their "gentleman" history does not inform us. What it does inform us is that they soon discovered they had lost a "female," and in two years they were at her feet again beseeching her to reign over them. Their very first article of capitulation was: "Miss Grant to take charge of and manage the academy in her own way." But Miss Grant had already established herself in her own way elsewhere too firmly to return to them.

If she had remained in the house of bondage where her first agony was endured, the fears of the trustees might have been well based. But not in vain had she listened to the divine voice of conscience and followed the divine light of reason—that true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. Guilt, probation, perdition disappeared with her early womanhood, not flung off

but lived above. No such motives are presented in her teachings to her pupils. The greatness, the justice, the love of God, the paramount claims of rectitude, the imperiousness of moral obligation, the blessedness of living for others, the misery of living for self—this was the essence of her matured Calvinism. Let Liberalism extirpate such Calvinism by bringing forth better fruit. It does not appear that she ever in terms, or to her own consciousness, changed her faith. Rather she clung to it to her latest breath. But so deep, so catholic, so Christian was her nature that she permanently assimilated only the truth of error. Her luminous intelligence flowed around every narrow dogma and widened it into an eternal principle. Her superb power of loving penetrated all hardness, and softened and mellowed to the core, releasing its hidden, pure, imprisoned soul of sweetness. By the natural growth of her own lofty personality, by the free play of her noble instincts, she divined the secret of heaven. Whatever was dark she, by adoption, transmuted into light. So there was never any revolution, only evolution. No epoch, no violent change, but the full assurance of a sane faith by the full activity of a sane life. She pressed her pupils into the kingdom of heaven, not for their own happiness, not to escape perdition, not because probation ends at death, but because the requirements of God are reasonable ; because his character is attractive ; because his service is perfect freedom ; because to do right and to bless the world are the best things.

To old Ipswich, then, the queen betook herself, with her trusty squire, Mary Lyon, and her forty faithful lovers, a devoted train-band, by whose loyalty her school was established as soon as it was in camp. And here, partly, perhaps, because there was no fund to impose a responsibility upon any committee, partly also, probably, becausage her clientelage was orthodox from 1634 down, and so deeply tinct with wisdom, she wielded a scepter more imperious than ever. The community fell as naturally under her sway as if it had waited for her coming. Full of gentle homes slept the old town hard by the sea, which had washed into many a wide-roomed, low-roofed cottage the treasures of the world—massive teak-wood chairs and tables heavy and hard as iron, and fretted with the carving of patient life-times, great pieces of cloisonné, brass-framed, easel-mounted, resting in cloistered corners more modestly than if they had been Prang's chromos, which many a millionaire longshoreman would have plumed himself on sailing around the world to

fetch—exquisite little decorated cups with tiny covers, which Beacon Street would carefully shield in antique cabinets behind glass doors, and which Ipswich matrons—yes, oh shuddering housewife!—set in the steamer over the range to steam their custards in—graven images and man-high jars and grotesque ornaments, or ever bric-à-brac was invented. Beautiful, dutiful, gentle women beneficent, loyal, gentle men—true gentlefolk all—the girls came to Miss Grant's school and she ruled them, and the mothers wrought at home and she ruled them, and the fathers went in and out of shop and ship, pulpit and farm and office, and she ruled them most of all, for they were under female sovereignty raised to the third power. And if any ever so much as thought resistance, he must have gone down into his cellar and grumbled it out alone, for light of day never saw nor softest breeze bore vestige of restlessness under her unwavering, exhilarating, womanly, sweet dominion. So founded was it on the nature of things that it penetrated to the will, and seemed to each one only the rule of the highest within himself. In all the region roundabout "Miss Grant" was a name to conjure by, and is still mighty to stir up pure minds by way of remembrance. Her wisdom and experience retain even for her memory the kingdom which her insinuating address, her dignified exterior, her polished and gracious manners captivated at the first onset.

Ten years she ruled at Ipswich; then in the full tide of success, without a chair in her seminary vacant, or an available boarding-place unoccupied, Miss Grant relinquished her school because of failing health. I half suspect that her womanly strength was veined with one masculine weakness, the solemn conviction that any slight ailment was the onset of deadly disease. Certainly against many solicitations from other quarters, and with great grief in her own heart, she resigned forever all official school connections. She had held steadily in view her plan of a permanent endowed independent school, but its actual establishment was secured to her long-time friend, Mary Lyon, who, on Miss Grant's plan, and with her continued and hearty coöperation, at length reared on a firm foundation the school of the prophetesses at South Hadley. But Miss Lyon died in middle life, and Miss Grant—resting for three years in the homes of welcoming friends—lived to a ripe old age.

If now, with infinite delicacy, one could offer a moment's con-

solation to those great-hearted gentlemen who from time to time mourn publicly the small number of girl graduates that, to use their own elevated diction, "marry off," perhaps the path of education might be smoothed. Whatever of personal attachments Miss Grant might have cherished, or whatever of courtesies she might have received from men, we are not told. A missionary is indeed referred to, who, in her very young life, "invited her to accompany him to a foreign field," but that ought not to count. The love of her life was absorbed in her work and her purpose. But it is to be noted that the moment she had time to look at a man the man was there! How many only tradition conjectures, but one the records speak, and he her peer. An Essex County lawyer, a Senator of the Great and General Court of Massachusetts, like herself a Puritan born, and born anew into the graces and enlargements of culture, a gentleman of an exquisite dignity and elegance to match her own, not afraid of her queenliness, because he also had royalty to proffer, William B. Banister asked her hand in marriage, and the queen became Queen Consort.

How did she accept subordinacy? Like a queen. I suppose the doctrine of woman's rights had hardly then been broached. Certainly Miss Grant had always theoretically received and prominently preached the lordship of the man, and it is always interesting to see the whole-souled enthusiasm with which women who rule every man that comes into their circle, with despotic sway, will still proclaim the eternal duty of woman's obedience to man. They are right and admirable, but they are above all things amusing. Their obedience is as entertaining as a comedy of Molière's. Mrs. Banister was one of these women. "Sarah, the wife of Abraham," she used to say to her pupils, "was praised for two things; her faith and her obedience to her husband." That was her orthodoxy. "Where there are only two there can be no majority, and the supremacy must rest on one." That was her masculine common sense. "Since the wife must see that she reverence her husband, she must see that she do not marry a man whom she cannot reverence." That was her sanctified common sense. "I know," she said to Mr. Banister on her marriage, "that you have a right to command, but I mean to be so on the alert that you will have no occasion." That was her feminine common sense. And just as the elevation of her nature transmuted her orthodoxy into the most real liberalism, so it wrought her obedience

into universal command. She seems to have insinuated her own way upon Mr. Banister in all things, under the prevailing impression, both in him and herself, that it was his way—as it certainly became. She ruled her house just as graciously and completely as she had ruled her school, and in the self-same spirit. And, let us mark, in seeking first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, the kingdom of wealth had also been added unto her. While as yet the "English craze" had not been dreamed of, this woman who united in herself every element of age and strong-mindedness and indifference to pleasures, which are currently supposed to make a woman unattractive, secured not only a loyal heart but a royal home—walked quietly in and took possession of a colonial mansion so spacious, so lordly in its appointments, that two English gentlemen, welcomed to its hospitalities, acknowledged publicly its colonial charm. "It is not only like ours," says their published "Narrative," "it is quite English, but English in the olden style—the forms, carvings, cornices, and patterns such as I have seen a hundred times; and the beautiful limes in the forecourt were literally brought from England." She would hardly have found more fitting garniture, nor would she have worn her honors more gracefully, even if she had shaped the efforts of her life to the acquisition of the one and to preparation for the other.

In this beautiful and happy home she presided for twelve years with unfailing generosity, courtesy, grace, and peace. The same integrity and intelligence which had made the little brown cot of her birth a palace, made palatial the ample home of her marriage. Her thrift and her hospitality were unwearying. Her hospitality was not for show but for service. Her thrift was not for hoarding but for using. She not only entertained the learned and distinguished, whose presence brought her intellectual revenue, but the unlearned and even the disagreeable, whose ministrations could be but of the most indirect service to herself. To the lively niece, remonstrating against "taking that disagreeable man," her only reply was, "have you been so long time with us, my child, and do not yet know that the reason we 'take folks' is not because they are agreeable?" Her guests were not simply for an hour or a dinner, but for days, weeks, months, years, according to their need. Now it was a widowed missionary tarrying with her children for the winter, then the son of missionaries Mr. Banister would receive and educate. Indeed, they were seldom without

some such beneficiary, of whom the one exaction made was that he should give to Mrs. Banister an account of every dollar received. This she considered a part of their training, and if they could not be brought into it she thought them hardly worth training! An invalid minister with his wife as nurse would be bidden to stay for months. A poor woman would be brought from her two small rooms to spend the winter in sunshine free from all care. A poor girl would be given a home while she was going to school. But the hostess saved her nutshells because they would feed a fire. And she saved her crumbs because they would feed a bird. And when the poor folks who had never learned to save came to her door to beg, she tried to help them by work and wages rather than by alms. If they went away muttering she helped them just the same, quietly remarking, "We can hardly expect such poor creatures to be reasonable." The General Charitable Society of Newburyport was formed in her house, and has resulted in the almost complete suppression of street beggary.

In all these matters, as in all matters, the heart of her husband safely trusted in her. His purse was open to all her draughts, his sympathy to her plans, his hospitality to her friends. Worthy to be numbered with the epistles of the olden saints is the one letter given us of this Most Christian King.

"My dear Mrs. Briggs: I am glad of a corner in this long letter that leaves me room just to put my veto upon all your apprehensions of being burdensome and troublesome with all the frolicsome mirth and gambols of Frank and Mary. I love to see and to make children happy, and much more do I delight in any offices of kindness and comfort to the mother of these above mentioned. So far as social sympathy and satisfaction are to be promoted by your residence in our family is for you and Mrs. Banister to consider and adjust, but so far as I am concerned the balance is all against me, I am debtor only. Should we attempt to make a monetary account of it, I should shrink from finding the balance, lest here, also, it should be against me. But in truth I do not mean to present either of these issues, but simply to dissipate, if I may, and prevent in future all such misapprehensions of burthensomeness, etc., as you hint at in your last letter, by assuring you that I shall consider your residence with us, so long as it can be pleasant and best for you, to be an obligation and favor conferred upon us and not by us. The addition of Frank and Mary but enhances the favor to us because it probably prolongs it, while at the same time it affords you the pleasure of their society and affords them the pleasure and profit of yours. Think, then, I pray you, no more of trouble and burthen to us, but only how, and how long, you and Mrs. Banister can most and best promote each other's comfort and happiness, assured that thus will be promoted that of....

Your friend and obedient servant,

W. B. Banister.

Twelve years of married life, as full as her earlier years had been of happiness, of dignity, of work for the world, of thoughtfulness for others—perhaps it may almost be said as full of solicitude for the education of the young and care in its accomplishment—were closed by the death of her husband. Under this shock she wavered just a little. For days her imagination and her sympathy overbore the loss, and she seemed to enter heaven with him and share the new joys breaking upon his new-born soul. Then coming back to earth, the loneliness and desolation appalled and nearly overwhelmed her. But she rallied herself with resolute will. The strong habit of her life, the strong conviction of duty to serve the world while she lived in it, held her steady above the storm, and gave her still one-and-twenty years—a man's majority—of busy, varied, not untroubled, but tranquil and beneficent work. To the clergy and the churches, to the girls' schools springing up through the country, often from the seeds she had sown; to every form of mental and moral growth, of helpfulness and philanthropy, whether of private individual or of public organization; she was a missionary-at-large, a female apostle, sympathizing, advising, consoling. She traveled through her own country and in Europe, and in both continents was ministered to by those whose youth she had helped and blessed. It was war-time, and on both continents she kept the flag of her country flying. The life was new to her, and she gave all possible strength to eager sight-seeing; but nature was strong within her, and the old fires never ceased to burn. Tuscaloosa negroes, titled English ladies, polite and cultivated Frenchmen gathered to hear her Bible expositions as gladly as used the Derry girls of old time. With the contributions of modern science to faith she made herself familiar, but was not troubled thereby. With all the movements of education she kept abreast, but never faltered in maintaining that character as well as intellect was the object of education.

In the seventy-fourth year of her age, a wicked man who, in the guise and disguise of a righteous man, was her business agent and held her property in trust, was discovered to have betrayed his trust, using her stocks without her knowledge to aid a member of his own family, who naturally became bankrupt. Her letter of inquiry to this wicked servant is most characteristic:

"Many thanks for your kind letter. May all your hopes for a favorable adjustment of your affairs be realized. I stand pledged to pay three hundred

dollars a year for the education of each of three half-orphan great-grandchildren of my parents. I expected to withdraw this from my principal and thus diminish it. Do you see any way in which this can be done? You will bear with me, dear sir, and allow me to inquire further against whom and with what securities do you hold the notes for one thousand dollars you transferred at my request to Mrs. P——, and the one thousand so transferred to Mrs. F——? You have been patient, kind, and faithful in advising me hitherto, but my own course is so interwoven with the bereaved, the desolate, and the destitute that I know not what to do without the light I seek from you. I want to know what is knowable about my funds. At what time or times were those funds loaned to ——? When it has been reported to me that you were largely aiding business men in trouble by loaning funds for which you were trustee, I have thought, if it be so, I see not that I have aught to do about it. If I failed in doing all I ought, I hope I may see and repent of it. I believe you will state to me the facts."

The facts were that every penny which had been left her by her husband was lost, and the unprofitable servant who had lost it had the assurance to congratulate her that she could bear her loss with resignation, having her treasure laid up in heaven!

Left thus with only the small sum which had been saved from her own earnings, she made no complaint, craved no sympathy, bated no jot of active beneficence, never explained even when browbeaten for alms, but wrapped close her royal mantle of personal reserve, while opening heart and hand to the needs of all her world, till, sustained by the generous legacy of one step-daughter and tenderly cherished in the home of the other, she fell on sleep. Superbly faithful in the few things of earth, she must have been made ruler over many things, for such is the divine law of succession, and by this token she reigns a queen of heaven.

GAIL HAMILTON.

"The Use of a Life: Memorials of Mrs. Q. P. Grant Banister." Compiled by L. T. Guilford.

# SILVER AND THE SAVINGS BANKS.

For the first time in their history have the savings banks of the State of New York taken joint action. As a unit they have memorialized Congress in protest against the continued coinage of the standard silver dollar. When the custodians of such a fund—themselves shut out by law from pecuniary interest therein—make common cause against any form of proposed legislation, the evils which it threatens must indeed be serious. These corporations hold in trust for 1,208,000 persons the enormous sum of $534,000,000. The amount held on deposit in like institutions in Great Britain and Ireland does not aggregate half that sum. It should not be forgotten that this sum does not represent large mercantile transactions, but, generally speaking, the slow accumulations from the pay given for services rendered by more than one-fifth of the population of the Empire State. The number of those interested indirectly in this sum is very much larger, because probably in a majority of cases these depositors represent families. In a practical way, the whole population of that State is interested in the stability of this fund. The coinage law of 1878, popularly known as the Bland Act, remonetizes silver and compels the purchase of silver bullion at its market value of not less than two millions of dollars worth each month, and the coinage of the same, as fast as purchased, into standard silver dollars; the holders of these coins may demand certificates of deposit for the same, which are made receivable for public dues.

The law of 1792 established a proportional value of gold to silver. It was then enacted that such value shall be as 15 to 1, according to quantity, in weight of pure gold or pure silver. This was changed in 1834 as $15\frac{988}{1000}$ to 1. In the year 1853, the gold dollar, weighing $25\frac{8}{10}$ grains, was made by statute the unit of value. An ounce of standard gold is worth $18.60, but, as the statutory

relative worth of gold to silver is as 15 $\frac{988}{1000}$ to 1, the coinage value of an ounce of silver is $1.1639, yet standard silver has been and can be purchased at about ninety cents per ounce, consequently, if the silver dollar of 412½ grains become the unit of value there will be a shrinkage from the present gold unit, a percentage that is indicated by the loss of 26 $\frac{39}{100}$ cents on $1.1639 or 22 $\frac{67}{100}$ per cent. The result will be that every savings bank depositor will, when paid in lawful money, receive in round figures twenty-two per cent. less than he at the present time receives, and the loss to the depositors of these institutions in that State alone will be $100,551,000, while all articles purchased by him will, however, necessarily be sold at twenty-two per cent. higher in silver than they now bring in gold, because tradesmen will not receive depreciated coin without protecting themselves. In other words, the premium on gold will at once be met by a rise in price. The pay given to labor is always slow to appreciate, and necessarily very gradually adapts itself to a new order of things. This injustice will be suffered by these depositors, the most deserving of encouragement of our citizens, to increase the fortunes of a few persons (comparatively speaking) who, it is believed, do not lack means nor deserve sympathy. If the silver interest is to be promoted at the expense of the whole people, then consistency demands that the coinage of the old-fashioned copper cent should be begun to aid the large copper interest.

As has been stated, silver has been remonetized, and standard silver dollars have the same purchasing power as gold dollars, not by reason of their equal worth, but because the act of 1878 made them "a legal tender at their nominal value for all debts and dues, public and private, except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract."

They are receivable for duties, and in time, if their coinage be continued at the present rate, the gold revenue of the United States will cease. The principal and interest on the whole debt must, therefore, be paid in silver, because any one who has silver dollars can get gold for them by using them to make payments at the Custom-house, or by exchanging them with somebody who has to pay duties there.

The United States, by the acts of 1853 and 1873, practically abandoned the double standard. In these laws nothing was said in reference to the standard silver dollar. By the latter law it was

enacted: "The gold coins of the United States shall be a one dollar piece, which, at the standard weight of $25\frac{8}{10}$ grains, shall be the unit of value." Other gold coins are then mentioned, and it is further provided "that the silver coins of the United States shall be a trade dollar, a half-dollar, or fifty-cent piece, a quarter dollar or twenty-five-cent piece, a dime or ten-cent piece," and the weight of each is then given, the standard silver dollar being thus eliminated as "a coin of the United States." After giving the weight of minor coins, the law enacts "that no coins, either of gold or silver or minor coinage, shall hereafter be issued from the mint other than those of the denominations, standards, and weights set forth in this title." Finally, the same law provided that gold coins of the United States should be "a legal tender in all payments at their nominal value, when not below the standard weight and limit of tolerance provided in this act for the single piece." Such silver coins were made "a legal tender at their nominal value, for any amount not exceeding five dollars in any one payment." It has recently been claimed that the silver dollar was omitted from this act surreptitiously; as a matter of fact, the bill was very elaborately debated, and was twenty-two times before the House and Senate before it became a law. It has also been alleged by the silver advocates that in 1873 the gold dollar of $25\frac{8}{10}$ grains of standard gold was substituted as the dollar of account for the dollar of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains of standard silver, because it was 3 per cent. cheaper money. When the act of 1873 was passed, there was no substitution; there was a mere recognition in law of an existing fact, that the gold dollar was then, and had been for nearly half a century, the actual unit of account throughout the country. The act did no wrong to any one. It forced no one to accept cheaper money in payment of debts due him than he had contracted to receive. There could have been no substitution, for at that time there were no dollars in circulation of either silver or gold, and the greenback legal tenders which replaced them promised to pay "dollars," by which word was necessarily understood such dollars as were paid and received in business transactions before the suspension.

The case of the silver dollar at present is entirely different; to accept that dollar as a unit of account would be a substitution, and at the same time a gross wrong.

The Government, in adopting the Revised Statutes in 1874,

made its choice between the two precious metals, and selected gold coin as the legal tender, at the same time demonetizing the standard silver dollar. These statutes provide: "The gold coins of the United States shall be a legal tender in all payments at their nominal value," etc. "The silver coins of the United States shall be a legal tender at their nominal value for any amount not exceeding five dollars in any one payment" (sections 3585, 3586, U. S. R. S.). It is further claimed that the demonetization of the silver dollar by this law was inadvertent, and that its language should have been more in accordance with the act of 1873. It is fair to state, from the writer's experience in preparing the revision of the banking laws of the State of New York, that this claim is plausible, because it oftentimes is with great difficulty that the intention of a legislature can be ascertained, if at all; nevertheless the view taken is the proper one. In October, 1874, the Supreme Court held that the basis of our dollar of account is the standard gold dollar of $25\frac{8}{10}$ grains (25 Wall. 259). This decision is not affected by the Bland Act, and remains in force at this time. In accordance with it, the director of the mint now estimates yearly the value of foreign coins by comparing them with the gold dollar.

By the act of 1876 the legal-tender quality of the trade dollar, which contained $7\frac{1}{2}$ more grains than the standard silver dollars, was annulled. From 1793, the time of the first coinage, to 1806 but 1,439,517 silver dollars were coined. From 1806 to 1839, inclusive, 1,300, and from 1840 to 1877, inclusive, 6,605,021 silver dollars were coined; making a total coinage of $8,045,838. None were minted during the last four years of that time. During these eighty-four years the total gold coinage at the several mints of the United States was $983,159,695 and of silver $208,872,291. From 1878 to 1884, inclusive, 175,355,829 silver dollars were coined, and during the last fiscal year $28,528,552. It is evident that the silver dollar has not been a favorite, and had been very little used prior to 1878. During a period of thirty-nine years, the standard silver dollar was not in active circulation nor was it considered as a measure of value, because by the act of 1834 the relative value of the silver dollar was increased by diminishing the amount of pure gold in the gold dollar, thereby practically taking the silver dollar out of circulation. There is not a mint in all Europe open to the free coinage of silver.

The fifth section of the law of 1862 provided that all duties received from imported goods should be paid in coin, and this coin was expressly set apart for the payment of interest on the government bonds and notes, and for the annual purchase or payment of one per cent. of the entire debt of the United States, which was set apart as a sinking fund, the interest of which was to be applied in like manner to the purchase or payment of the public debt as the Secretary of the Treasury should direct, and the residue was to be paid into the Treasury.

The act of 1869, passed to strengthen the public credit by pledging the faith of the United States to discharge its just obligations, provided for the payment in "coin or its equivalent"; but the value of the two metals at that time was different from what it now is.

The fifth section of the statute of 1870, commonly termed the funding act, provided that twenty-five per cent. of the gold coin received for certificates may be applied to the payment of a portion of the public debt by the Secretary of the Treasury, and the excess must be retained to meet the sums which may be called for by the holders of such certificates. When our government bonds were issued there was no purpose upon the part of our financial officers to so use words that purchasers would be deceived; the dollars made from the two precious metals were then looked upon as of equal value. The intention evidently was that they should be continued at an equal relative worth.

The bonds authorized by the last-mentioned act were made payable "in coin of the present standard value." Its reasonable interpretation is that the bonds were to be paid in gold or its equivalent, or in silver or its equivalent. The Revised Statutes of 1874 abolished the coinage of the standard silver dollar, and the attempt to make the two metals equivalent was abandoned. But it is absurd to claim by this demonetization that the Government intended to be disingenuous, to use no harsher expression, and thereby compel the public creditor to suffer loss. No one will deny that the bonds were to be paid in coin. Let it be admitted that before the act was adopted, the Government had the choice of paying the same in either gold or silver. From 1874 to 1878, and long before the maturity of some of the bonds, they were constantly being bought and sold in the belief that the Government would respect this law; but silver has now become much less valuable than gold, and it has

not seen fit to so regulate the worth of the standard silver dollar to make it equal to the gold unit of value.

The money repaid to the lender should in equity have the same purchasing power it had when taken by the borrower; any other payment is in derogation of the rights of the public creditor, is a breach of public faith and a national dishonor. To talk of public advantage or profit in this connection is puerile. It is a question not of expediency but of duty.

Is the creditor to be told that the same words are used to name different qualities of the same thing? If there be a difference of opinion as to the meaning of words in an agreement, they should be construed according to the sense in which they were understood at the time the agreement was made. No one will deny that Congress has the power to establish a unit of value; it may determine that the standard silver dollar shall contain 400 or 350 grains, but it would be a flagrant wrong to compel a creditor to accept such dollar. Such enactment, as between private parties, would doubtless be declared void, for the reason that any act of monstrous injustice—*e.g.*, a statute that deprives A of his land and gives it to B without consideration, is contrary to the natural principles of morality and hence unconstitutional, although not expressly prohibited. One party to a contract cannot change its character without the assent of the other, hence the standard of value agreed upon by them at a certain time cannot be modified without the acquiescence of both; and as a nation is not amenable to law in the courts of justice its reputation for integrity should be all the more strictly maintained, if for no other reason than the example it sets. The character of the Roman emperors may be determined, it has been said, by the more or less sound ring of the coin struck during their respective reigns. It is almost a self-evident proposition that any act that injures the commercial standing of a community impairs the value of its obligations.

Previous to the passage of the Bland law, $1,143,493,400 of the bonds of the Government then unpaid had been purchased by the public at a time when silver was not in use, and $583,440,350 had been refunded since that time, when gold was the only coin for which they were sold (gold being the legal unit subsequent to 1874) and the understanding between the parties was that the bonds were to be paid in the same coin which was given for them. They were bought with gold at a time when silver was depreciated in

value. Two hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars in bonds, at the reduced rate of four per cent., were offered for sale, which were also purchased by the public with gold coin or its equivalent. While these sales were progressing, a doubt was raised by purchasers as to the intention of the Administration to pay the bonds in gold, when a public announcement was authorized that it was not to be anticipated that any future Congressional legislation "would sanction or tolerate the redemption of the principal of these bonds, or payment of the interest thereon, in coin of less value than the coin authorized by law at the time of the issue of the bonds, being the coin exacted by the Government in exchange for the same." What guarantee can there be save that of an obligation of honor for the payment of these bonds? Certainly payment cannot be enforced by process of law.

The amount of government bonds held by savings institutions of the State of New York aggregates $140,066,610.

The present proposition, which will result in scaling the debt due for the money eagerly borrowed in time of need, seems to have been made regardless of the question of ordinary business integrity involved, to say nothing of gratitude toward those, without whose aid the efforts of others upon the field would have been fruitless. The men who went forth during the time of the Civil War to maintain the integrity of the Union are the recipients of never-ending praise, but there were others who, as the guardians of financial institutions, bought paper promises of the commonwealth when gold was at the highest premium. This was done with the consent expressed or implied of their beneficiaries, many of them ill able to lose their savings; some with nothing but their small accumulations to protect them from absolute want.

There have been two momentous events in the history of the commonwealth. The first was the enactment of the legal-tender law, and the second, the statute which provided for the resumption of specie payments. By the former, creditors were compelled at one time, in 1864, to accept the equivalent of 35 cents in gold for each dollar loaned previous to the suspension of specie payments, and by the latter, debtors were compelled to pay $2.85 at the resumption of specie payments, for each dollar borrowed at one time in 1864.

The present coinage act will necessarily bring about results to some extent as disastrous as those which were produced by the two laws just mentioned.

In conclusion, it is submitted that the National Government cannot be too alert to discourage any movement which will check the tendency to wise thrift on the part of savings-banks depositors, all or nearly all of whom are of the poorer portion of its population. The sums held by these banks are to be protected because they stand as barriers to the increase of communism.

Occurrences of the present year strengthen the belief that the contest with the theory of a community of property, or, more accurately speaking, the negation of individual rights in property, may be had at an earlier period than would a short time ago have been deemed possible. The elements of what may result in organized anarchy are already in existence.

WILLIS S. PAINE.

# CREMATION AND CHRISTIANITY.

It is natural that the Christian church should take a deep interest in the question as to the disposal of the dead, which is becoming prominent among the topics of public discussion. In America, but few burials occur at which some representative of the Christian religion does not officiate. Whatever may have been the attitude of the departed soul toward Christianity, or however the survivors may regard the religion of Jesus Christ, when the soul has left the body the final disposition of the empty house is generally attended, superintended, by a professed minister of Christ. Therefore, so firmly are burial and Christianity bound together in our minds, that cremation, if it seem likely to supersede burial to any considerable degree, must be considered in its relations to Christianity.

That cremation is rapidly growing in public favor in this country cannot be denied. Though exactly contrary to the usages of Christendom for centuries, it already begins to dispute with burial for the possession of the discarded husk of man. Crematories have already been established in Washington, near New York, and in Buffalo; others are building in Atlanta and Detroit, while other prominent cities are agitating the question of their erection. And already the voice of the church is beginning to be distinctly heard upon the subject. Ministers and priests of all branches of the church, and all degrees of orthodoxy, are preaching sermons and writing articles upon it, not simply as men, but in their official and sacerdotal character. Among other things, therefore, the attitude of the church must be considered.

These clerical utterances have already been various. Besides the grand division into those who are *for* and *against* cremation, each class is subdivided. Some favor or oppose cremation for one reason and some for another. A prominent Presbyterian minister *

* Rev. Herbert G. Lord, Buffalo, N. Y.

recently preached upon the topic, urging cremation as advisable purely upon the sanitary ground, holding that sentiment or traditional usage should not be allowed to jeopardize the welfare of the living; and asserting that there is nothing in the teachings of the Christian faith opposed to cremation.

Another minister* of the same denomination, in the same city, widely known throughout the country, lately advocated cremation, opposing what he regarded as the sentimental view of burial, saying that "the goal toward which, and unto which, in unfaltering progress moves the lifeless human body, through earth or fire or water, is one and the same, the only difference being the degree of speed in which it hasteth along the path of decay." He argued that whereas burial made this progress a slow one, and needlessly prolonged, fire dispenses altogether with corruption, and within one brief hour performs the work of months and even years.

A bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church,† eminent alike for his piety, his research, and his poetry, some of his hymns being among the sweetest used by the Christian church to-day, recently preached a notable sermon strongly opposing cremation, on the ground that it is contrary to Christian usage ever since the dead Christ was laid in the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea; that before the time of Christ burial was the custom of the Israelites, the chosen and peculiar people of God; while all pagan usage was that of incineration. He spoke of the horror of committing the dear, dead form to the cruel flames, and receiving back but a handful of ashes after all was over, as being too great to be overcome, and asserted that the interment of the dead is the only mode sanctioned by Christianity.‡

* Rev. Samuel S. Mitchell, D.D., Buffalo, N. Y.

† Rt. Rev. Arthur Cleveland Coxe, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Western New York.

‡ Since this article was written Bishop Coxe has printed his views upon cremation. They differ but little from his spoken words on the subject; there is less of argument as to the example of Christianity, and more of the horrors of incineration. The bishop admits, what he says he has never denied, that if cremation is absolutely necessary for the safety of mankind, it is the Christian's duty to make the sacrifice. He says that dogma has nothing to say about it, but that "religion has much to do with it; for religion means the *cultus*, the educating rights of Christianity." Then he asserts that while "a clergyman would sully his surplice who should consent to officiate in Pluto's fane at the actual burning, he need not scruple to use the service at a decent grave over the

A Roman Catholic newspaper * the organ of the bishop † of one of the most important dioceses in the country, lately republished, with distinct approval, an article from another Catholic organ ‡ declaring that the ban of the church is on the practice of cremation.

Besides these utterances § there have been many others from clergymen of high standing in their particular denominations, and out of them, exhibiting every possible shade of opinion, *pro* and *con*. The four mentioned have simply been cited as types of three great general divisions of the church, the Roman, the Anglican, and the Dissenting. ‖ As the question of burning the dead interests the whole human family, irrespective of creed, as well as the entire Church of Christ, irrespective of sect, the purpose of this article is to consider, from a purely secular standpoint, the general relations between cremation and Christianity, as indicated by the four clerical utterances above noted. It is in nowise the intention of the writer to argue either for or against cremation as a thing to be desired or abhorred; but simply to confine the discussion to the one point indicated by the title.

The minister who advocated burning, upon a sanitary basis, did well, perhaps. The bodily health of mankind is certainly a fit

relics." But here the bishop goes too far. The burning of the body is no more a "rite" than the crematory is a "fane." It is not a sacrifice to Pluto any more than it is to God. At the grave the body has begun to disintegrate—sometimes with frightful speed ; but no surplice is sullied *there* according to the bishop. Why, then, are the priestly vestments smirched if the disintegration be a little more rapid ? Where draw the line, if we make it a question of speed ? How rapidly may the dead body return to its elements, before a priest must decline to stand beside it and speak the noble words of the service ?

If the bishop grants *here* that the church teaches nothing, either written or oral, conflicting with cremation, it is strange that in his sermon he endeavored to show that, teaching by *example*—both of the church and its founder—Christianity demands that its followers bury their dead, lest they be chargeable with gross paganism.

* "The Catholic Union and Times," Buffalo, N. Y. Rev. Patrick Cronin, editor.

† Rt. Rev. Stephen V. Ryan, D.D., Bishop of Buffalo.

‡ "Catholic Review."

§ The opinions thus quoted are taken from responsible and uncontradicted reports, excepting that of Bishop Coxe, which was gathered from listening to the sermon.

‖ The latter two titles are simply used for want of better and equally brief ones, to indicate the grand divisions in America outside the Roman Catholic Church.

topic for clergymen, both in and out of the pulpit. Thus they may speak of methods of drainage, or fight the yellow fever, with equal propriety, in the pulpit, upon the platform, or through the press. Christianity should always be heard clearly uttering its beliefs as to the physical welfare of man. But it is *only* as a sanitary measure that such ministers as this one can advocate cremation; for he distinctly says that he finds nothing in Christianity either for or against burning the bodies of the dead. This view, then, shows no very close or peculiar relation between cremation and Christianity. The reason given is purely secular.

The second view, indicated by the brief quotation given above, is based upon the chemical fact that cremation speedily accomplishes exactly what burial takes considerable time to bring about, namely, the complete restoration of the body to its many differing elements. But with this, too, Christianity has no especial relations. It is also a secular reason, and need not be further pursued here.

The deliverances of the Roman Catholic Church upon the subject are dogmatic, and based upon the assumption or belief that it cannot err, and must be obeyed whether reasons are given or not. Hence they are neither intended for, nor are capable of discussion.

The discourse of the Protestant Episcopal bishop perhaps represents the feelings of as many members of the Christian church as either of the others, and probably really more than any one of them. The discourse was far more of an appeal than an argument. The bishop begged the American people, in their tendency toward utilitarianism and iconoclasm, not to overturn the usages of centuries; he implored the Christian church not to abandon the burial first sanctified by the body of Jesus; he besought mankind to think of the lovely church-yards, like that which inspired Gray's "Elegy," the sweet resting-places of them that sleep, green with tender grass, beautiful with flowers, shaded by overarching trees, hallowed by the poetry of world and church alike; he cried out against the abandonment of the burial doubly hallowed by the usages of God's two great dispensations, the Mosaic and the Christian. But while the speaker doubtless touched many hearts and minds by the beauty of his oratory, the poetry of his thoughts and his heartfelt sincerity, yet he did not argue, so much as he implored. Still some of his assertions and deductions merit careful attention.

In the first place, the bishop quoted no official utterance of the

church upon the subject of burial. He cited the burial of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their wives, so tenderly and graphically told in the Old Testament; and the sacred story of the burial of Jesus, in the New. But in not a single particular did he show anything but what arises from habit or custom. Men gradually come to regard as sacred the usages of centuries, and where these customs are interwoven with the ritual of a church the sacredness is enhanced a hundred-fold. Yet a time-hallowed custom may have really nothing at all to do with Christianity as such.

It is one glory of the Christian religion, and not its least, that it adapts itself so perfectly to the circumstances of every branch of the human family. Laplander and Bushman, Turk and Mongol, may drink of the Fountain of Life; yet each may still largely follow the secular customs of his fathers. None would abandon his habits of sepulture, except in so far as they embodied the worship of strange gods, and none would need to. But the bishop is incorrect in claiming burial exclusively for the children of God. Great burial-grounds of ancient times exist upon the island of Capri. In the mouths of some of the skeletons exhumed there are found coins of Tiberius Cæsar, placed there, according to pagan custom, to pay the dead man's passage across the Styx; Charon being evidently well informed upon the coinage of this world in all its ages. The more ancient Romans buried their dead. So did certain of the Greeks. And centuries before Jacob and his family followed their illustrious scion into Egypt, the embalmed remains of the Pharaohs and their subjects were laid to rest in tombs that still stand, mute testimony to the fact that *burial was a heathen custom.* The ancient Peruvians buried their dead. So did many of the North American savages. Others of these last elevated the bodies upon scaffolds, to secure them from beasts of prey. In all of these cases of heathen burial the custom arose from a belief in a resurrection. Would the good bishop admit that this preservation of the body is *necessary* to resurrection? It is not possible. The question of the resurrection cannot enter into this one; for Christianity, unlike any of the heathen religions, teaches that if the *soul* is again to tenant the body, the body will rise again, no matter what its condition, when the last trump shall sound. The martyrs cremated at the stake; Christians cremated in buildings, on shore, and in ships at sea, their ashes dissolved in the ocean or scattered to the four winds of heaven—

shall these not rise as surely as the quiet sleepers in the churchyard? Man's tomb is the grave; God's is the universe. Man buries the dead body; while God restores it to its original elements, and disperses them among the myriad atoms He is keeping for the last great day. Not one of them is lost by God in his boundless universe; not one of them is saved by man in the narrow grave. Neither in grave nor urn is preserved the seed that shall rise again to bloom forever.

Again, the venerable prelate was mistaken when he attributed to burning, horrors which burial does not possess. In fact, the reverse is true. Centuries have failed to accustom mankind to the results of burial. The grave is still thought of as the place of corruption. The silent horrors enacted there cannot be excluded from the mind. Even Christian people vainly resort to every device that science and art combined can offer, to prevent, or to keep from sight, the inevitable hideousness of the grave. Some embalm the bodies of their dear ones. Yet the bishop objects not to this, though it is pagan through and through. Even Christ was embalmed: why not *exact* embalming of His followers? It was just as much a part of the first Christian burial as the depositing of the sacred body in Joseph's tomb.

As for the relative horrors of burning and burial, as the reverend speaker saw fit to compare them in the pulpit, it may be permitted in this article by a layman to compare them here. Is fire worse than the worm? Are speedy ashes more awful than the slow corruption of the dear body, when the loved form is carried to its burial, the earth cast up to make the grave, and the very sides of the grave within are covered with boughs of evergreen, to shut out as much as may be the repellent sight? No sound known to incineration can so rudely wound the heart and lacerate the sensibilities as the harsh rattle of the earth upon the coffin; while the struggle and tugging of the bearers as they lower their precious burden into the grave, and the grating withdrawal of the straps cannot be paralleled in the entire process of cremation. The labors of artists and artisans—sculptors, landscape-gardeners, florists—are enlisted in the hopeless endeavor to keep the mind upon the surface, nor let it stray beneath the thin covering of green, to shrink in horror at what it knows too well lies festering there. And where one cemetery is thus beautified a hundred bleak, desolate burial-places stand in waste, weedy, heart-rending barren-

ness, mutely appealing, but in vain, for some other covering than the brambles, weeds, and nettles that flourish so fatly upon what lies below. Cremation shows no such horrors as these.

This is not a question for the church to settle. It is not one that the church *can* settle. The final words of spiritual admonition and comfort may be spoken as well above a body in the chapel of a crematory, as over one lying at the leeward gangway of a ship at sea, or upon a bier beside a grave. It is not a question of moral right or wrong, and it will be a mistake if the church attempts to make it so, even in appearance. It is simply a matter of the human will. If mankind will have burial, they will have it; if cremation, then cremation it must be. Human will, about a thing of this kind, means public opinion. So long as the many demand burial, the majority of mankind will not be cremated; but when the world at large desires cremation, burial may become a thing of the past. Probably never will either method be the universal one. In some places mankind will bury, and in others will burn the dead, till the end of time. Yet this need not affect the growth of Christianity one way or the other. The future of the soul can never depend upon the future of the body; and it is the soul that Christianity would save.

ALLEN GILMAN BIGELOW.

# LABOR IN PENNSYLVANIA.

## III.

One of the most notable things in the industrial history of the mining regions of Pennsylvania of recent years has been the advent of a new class of the "pauper laborers of Europe." The Italians, who for some time past have been gradually making a "new Italy" of parts of Philadelphia once the strongholds of native Americanism, and have taken the place of Irishmen in railroad building and road work throughout the State, have also to some extent entered mining. The Poles are to be found in considerable numbers in Schuylkill and Luzerne counties, while the Hungarians, or "Huns," as they are popularly called—an appellation which includes, without nice distinctions, immigrants from various countries of continental Europe—have become a marked feature in both the anthracite and the bituminous coal-fields. Unused for the most part to mining, these immigrants cannot at once take the places of skilled miners, but they readily engage in underground work as laborers, and at the expense of more than their share of casualties learn the miner's trade, while the outside work to be done at all mines, and especially the strippings,* of the anthracite regions and the coke-making of the bituminous regions, afford large opportunities for their employment.

Coming not individually, but in squads and bodies; speaking strange languages; living, herded together, in a style much below even the not very high standard of the Pennsylvania miner; and

* "Stripping" consists in the removal by steam-shovels of the superincumbent earth from coal veins not too deeply buried. This done there is no necessity for leaving pillars of coal or timbering, and the entire body of coal can be taken out with little skilled labor and at a minimum of expense. Its effects upon the appearance of the country recall the destructive hydraulic mining of California, and suggest the Chinese prejudice against mining as the mutilation of mother earth.

believed to be imported, or at least induced to come, for the express purpose of reducing wages and making employers independent of their men, these new-comers have naturally been regarded with dislike and dread. This is especially true of the "Huns," whose numbers, habits, and the use made of them in breaking down strikes and compelling reductions have (until recently, at least) made them objects of special fear and aversion. The feeling against them has been like that which exists among the laboring population of the Pacific coast against the Chinese, and with the exception that they are not stigmatized as heathen or accused of leprosy, similar charges have been made against them—the willingness to work for any wages, the ability to live on almost nothing, filthy habits, the sending of their money out of the country, etc. And although that characteristic of non-assimilability which must make Chinese immigration so permanently dangerous in the eyes of every thoughtful man does not attach to the Hungarians, there is much in their manner of living which suggests the Chinese of the Pacific slope. They crowd together in the same way, from eighteen to twenty-four of them, of whom two or three may be women, frequently being found in a single small house, which has been fitted up with rude bunks, one above the other, after the style of an emigrant-ship, but with even more economy of space.* In these houses they seem to live in the fashion of the poorest class of London lodging-houses—paying to the house-master so much for the privilege of sleeping and the use of a common fire, and providing and cooking their own food. Whether, when straitened, they do make soup of offal, and cut up dead mine mules into steaks and roasts, as they have been charged with doing, it is evident from the festoons of ham and bacon which may be seen hanging about these houses that they do not deny themselves wholesome food when they can get it.

In the coke districts, the Hungarian women went to work with

* This crowding together, which is of course induced by poverty, is in some cases at least profitable to the companies, as the crowding of similar classes in the slums of cities is profitable to the owners of tenement-houses. For instance, one company house at a Jefferson County mine, of which I was told, rented formerly for $5.75 per month. It is now occupied by Hungarians —twenty-four men and three women. The company now gets for it $24 per month—charging $1 per head for the men, but considerately taking no account of the women.

the men. They were not directly employed by the operators, but by their husbands, who were thus enabled to take charge of so many more ovens. The spectacle of half-naked women drawing coke-ovens was felt to be a public scandal, and, backed by the strong feeling against the "Huns" on the part of the laboring population, led to the enactment of a most stringent law at the last session of the Legislature. By this act it was made unlawful for any firm, company, corporation, or association, their clerks, agents, superintendents, officers or servants, to employ or permit to be employed any female laborer in or about a coal mine or manufactory of coal, and a penalty both of fine and imprisonment prescribed—one-half the fine to go to the informer and the other half to the school fund of the district. This act, which went into operation on the 1st of July, 1885, at once stopped the employment of Hungarian women, and perhaps in this way contributed to a strike which has done a great deal to lessen the prejudice of the miners against the Hungarians.

I have spoken of the feeling against the Hungarians in the past tense, because since the beginning of this year it has greatly lessened. Up to that time the Hungarians had been looked upon by employers as the most "docile" of laborers; and the miners, with their exaggerated notions about the "pauper labor of Europe," never dreamed of the "Huns" joining in a strike, but regarded them as a constant menace to any organized attempt to try conclusions with their employers. These opinions were greatly modified by the Connellsville strike, a strike in some respects so remarkable as to be worth noticing in something like detail.

Connellsville, in Fayette County, is one of the principal centers of the manufacture of coke from bituminous coal, an industry which has assumed great dimensions of recent years, it having been discovered that coke can be used to great advantage in smelting, even in the anthracite region—a furnace charged with one-half coke to one-half anthracite producing fifty per cent. more iron than if charged with coal alone.

The coal at Connellsville is mined with remarkable ease, owing to the thickness of the vein and the fractures that run through it, a common laborer being enabled frequently to knock down three bushels with one blow of his pick. The coal is run out of the mines on a track built over a line of ovens into which it is filled. When the gases have been driven off, the oven door is opened, a stream of water intro-

duced from a hose, the coke drawn, and the oven refilled, the heat remaining in the walls being sufficient to ignite the new charge. Comparatively little skill being required in these processes, Hungarian labor had been largely introduced, and the miners, whose organization has been broken by previous unsuccessful strikes, were reduced to a condition that made the Connellsville region from a miner's stand-point, perhaps, the worst in Pennsylvania, wages not only being very low, but company stores and all the other abuses of which miners complain, flourishing rankly. The production of coke in this region, it may be said, is closely controlled by a syndicate which operates the principal mines and buys the product of outside operators, who are also united in a "Producers' Association."

The Connellsville strike originated with one man, William Mullen, now Secretary of the Miners' and Laborers' Association of that district. The last reduction in wages had been made in 1884, when coke was selling at the ovens at eighty and ninety cents per ton; but though the price had advanced in the meantime to $1.20 per ton, wages had not been increased; on the contrary, the miners say their wages had been still further reduced by the enlargement of cars, and by the requirement that they should not only be filled, but coal piled up so as to form what was called a "camel's hump," and also by increasing the charge of the ovens.

In December last, Mr. Mullen wrote to trustworthy men in the various sections of the district calling a private meeting on Christmas Day at Scottdale, to concert a plan of organization. Only one man responded, but the two found two other trusty acquaintances, and the four, agreeing to keep quiet as to their numbers, adjourned the "convention" to New Year's Day. In the meantime, other letters inclosing resolutions were sent out, and a paragraph, of the "numerously attended meeting" order, inserted in the Pittsburgh *Labor Tribune*. On New Year's Day some half-dozen delegates appeared, and the "convention" resolved to demand a restoration of the last ten-per-cent. cut in wages, and then adjourned to January 16th. A still stronger call was at once sent out, another letter published in the *Labor Tribune*, and in a few days the proposed demand was the talk of the district. The miners, however, were unorganized, poor, and dispirited, and whether any number of them would have had the heart to enter into a contest with the powerful syndicate which controls the pro-

duction of the district, may well be doubted. But the unexpected happened. The Hungarians, who had hitherto been regarded by the miners as perfectly "willing to work for eighty cents when they could not get a dollar," got wind of what was going on. Perhaps, as the miners say, they were more disposed to take part in the movement by the fact that their earnings had in many cases been cut down by the prohibition upon the employment of their women. At any rate, they did not stop to write letters or get newspaper paragraphs printed, but held a rousing meeting of their own, and without making any adjournments or waiting for the action of the "convention," struck at once. The effect was contagious; a strike was precipitated over the whole district, and when the 16th of January came, between ten and eleven thousand men and boys were already out, and the convention when it met had nothing to do but formally declare the strike, take steps for organizing the district into branches of the Miners' and Laborers' Association, and send out appeals for aid. The appeals were answered liberally. Such was the feeling which the depressed condition of labor in the district had excited, that even the farmers of the region who, as a rule, are anything but well disposed toward the miners and their strikes, gave provisions freely.

The "Huns" not only struck quickly but they struck hard. So far from showing themselves, as had been said of them by a mine official in an interview with a reporter of the Pittsburgh *Leader*, when they first came into the district so "mortally afraid of the law that the mere sight of an officer was enough to scare the wildest of them into submission," they went far beyond the other miners in their determination to let no one else go to work while the strike lasted, and though a considerable number of them were arrested and lodged in jail, it seemed to have no effect on the others. Efforts were made by the companies to get Hungarians from other quarters, and to procure immigrants from Castle Garden, but they proved failures; the men when they got on the ground and discovered the situation refusing to work. Some attempt was made to apply the coercion of eviction, and a few families were turned out of company houses. But the feeling thus aroused seemed too dangerous to provoke, and after holding out for about a month, the companies yielded, agreeing to restore wages to the point from which the ten-per-cent. reduction had been made in 1884. Gratified with what was to them a

great victory, the English-speaking miners went to work, but the Hungarians were not so easily satisfied, and refused to go to work until those of their number who had been lodged in jail were released. They were finally pacified by the promise that the companies would not press the cases, and of the Huns arrested only two were convicted, receiving sentences of sixty days imprisonment each. Thus ended the Connellsville strike, though when one of the companies, after taking their men back to work, endeavored to compel them to agree to a "cast-iron contract" by which they waived the benefit of certain legal provisions, a successful strike of a day or two in its works convinced the company of the new spirit of the men.

The strike was only for the advance of wages and that point alone was involved in the settlement, but this proof of strength seems to have convinced the companies of the expediency of treating liberally with the now organized men, and by their voluntary action since that time, not only has an additional advance of five per cent. in wages been granted, but the cars have been reduced to the proper size, the "camel's hump" (equivalent, it is said, to two bushels a car) has been taken off, the charging of the ovens has been equalized, the rent of the company houses has been reduced $1.50 a month, and the prices of the company stores, which, according to the investigations of Pittsburgh reporters at the time of the strike, were on some articles from fifty to one hundred per cent. above ordinary prices, have been reduced not only to the level of individual stores, but even so far below that level as to lead to the suspicion in some quarters that the companies are trying to drive out all the individual store-keepers in the region in order to have better control when another strike comes.

One effect of the Connellsville strike has been to greatly lessen the feeling among the miners against the "Huns," and on the other hand to destroy the impression among employers that they had in them a supply of "docile" labor which would not form unions and go on strikes. This change in feeling has been confirmed by several cases which have since occurred in other districts, in which Hungarians, who had been brought to take the place of striking miners, have, as soon as the matter was explained to them, joined the strikers and refused to work.

But while the Pennsylvania miners are thus getting over their prejudices and learning that, in spite of a foreign tongue, "a man's

a man for a' that," the feeling that has been excited by the influx of unaccustomed foreign labor has had an effect of permanent importance in breaking down the notion that labor can be protected by a tariff on commodities. I do not mean to say that the workers of Pennsylvania as yet see the fallacies of the protective dogmas which have so long been dinned into their ears, but they are at least beginning to realize that a system which, while imposing taxes upon the produce of "pauper labor," admits the "pauper laborer" himself, is of no use to the workman, whatever it may be to the employer.

This changed feeling is shown in the efforts of protectionist politicians to placate it. Here, for instance, is a sample of the Republican platforms that have been adopted in the mining districts this year:

"*Resolved*, That we, the representatives of the Republican Party of Blair County, reiterate our unwavering confidence," etc.

"*Resolved*, That as the Democratic Party has for fifteen months been in power," etc.

"*Resolved*, That we are in favor of the labor interest and protective system, and protest against the importation of foreign paupers, who neither care for nor understand our principles or policy of government, and extend our sympathy to all labor organizations which favor protection to home industries as against the horizontal Morrison free-trade tariff bill, believing as we do that capital and labor will go hand in hand to prevent any confiscation of the one or the degrading impoverishment of the other.

"*Resolved*, That we favor the candidacy of the soldier and patriot," etc.

The question of the condition of working-men in Pennsylvania, as compared with that of British working-men, is of interest in view of the manner in which the depressed and degraded condition of labor in Great Britain has been held up to the Pennsylvania workman as a reason why he should be contented with his lot and vote for patriots who would keep up the tariff. Of course, all foreign labor is pauper labor in the protectionist vocabulary, but though wages in Great Britain are higher than elsewhere in Europe, it is still the country whose pauper-products Pennsylvanians have been taught to regard as the great danger to mankind on this side of the Atlantic. And thanks to the benevolence of the philanthropists who subscribe liberally to the funds of the Steel and Iron Association and kindred societies, even the miner, whose month's work has resulted in a "bob-tailed check," can get free of charge in his "pluck-me store" tracts in which observers like

Robert P. Porter paint dark pictures of British squalor and brutishness as the fruits of free-trade, and professors like Robert Ellis Thompson attribute the woes of Ireland to her lack of a protective tariff.

On the question of fact as to the relative condition of labor in Pennsylvania and Great Britain, the forthcoming report of the State Bureau of Industrial Statistics sheds some interesting light. Like most Pennsylvanians (who have been protectionists for the same reason that most Turks are Mohammedans), Joel B. McCamant, the present Chief of the Bureau, is a protectionist, but one who evidently deems it his duty to ascertain facts, no matter how they bear on theories, and finding it impossible to make any intelligent comparison of the condition of workmen in the two countries by aid of the figures furnished by our State Department, he has added this request to the questions sent out by the bureau to representative employés through the State:

"If for any extended period you were employed at wage labor in Europe, state where and what was your occupation, and how your condition then compared with your condition in this country."

The answers to this request are very interesting. One man only attempts to reply without personal knowledge, and he may perhaps be excused for endeavoring to add something to his answers to the other questions, since these answers show that he has a wife and three children to support; that his average earnings have been $1 per day; that he lost about 200 days during the year, and rent cost him $7 per month. He seizes the opportunity to say:

"I am an American citizen and am happy to take this means of letting the public know the state of the miners employed under the Penn Gas Coal Company. The miners are not making a decent living by any means, nor could they do so if they were working full time at the price now paid, which is fifty cents per ton, over a three-quarter inch screen, 2,000 pounds to the ton. By this report, you can see that we do not get half a living at the wages we now receive. We are not paying our way, but going in debt every month. What few clothes we have are wearing out, our names for honesty and uprightness are getting tarnished, and yet it is not our fault, for we try to live within our income and cannot. The articles mentioned in the preceding table are not all that my family need by any means, but I cannot get them every month."

Of those who answer from personal knowledge, only one says with emphasis that his condition is better here than it was in

Great Britain. He was a ticket agent in Staffordshire, earning, in 1878, twenty-eight shillings a week. Here he makes $3 per day as an iron-worker in Pittsburgh. Another (a miner) says: "Comparing conditions in Wales and America, I should decide in favor of America." A third (a miner) says: "My condition in the county of Derby was not quite as good as in this country, but very nearly so." The rest of the replies range from statements that the conditions of working-men are about equal in the two countries, to statements that they are much better in Great Britain than in Pennsylvania. Here are samples of these answers:

*A puddler, Pittsburgh.*—"Wages in Wales were not so high as here; but, comparing the cost of living, it brings me to the same level. House-rent here, $12; in Wales, $2, and a better house. Clothing cheaper there, groceries nearly the same; flour cheaper here. I have been considering the condition of the working class in general in this country, and my candid opinion is that the working-man in England is as well off as he is here."

*Miner, Somerset County.*—"If we could have steady employment at reasonable wages, this country would be much superior to Great Britain; but the average work is one-half to two-thirds time."

*Miner, Huntingdon County.*—"Could make four shillings a day in England; $1.25 here. We worked six hours per day there; here we work from ten to twelve."

*Miner, Clearfield County.*—"The difference is slightly in favor of this country so far as food and clothing go. England has the advantage in social enjoyments. There is more leisure for culture and better facilities for study."

*Puddler, Williamsport.*—"Have worked in England and Wales many years puddling. My wages were about one-third lower in that country; but my condition compared very favorably with my present. I attribute it to cheap rent and fuel, and the advantage of weekly pay."

*Miner, Washington County.*—"Wages in Scotland smaller than here, but constant work renders miners as comfortable. On the whole, I believe they are more contented."

*Miner, Westmoreland County.*—"Five years ago I worked in Durham, England, as a coal-miner. My average wages per day was six shillings and fourpence for six hours' work in the pit; that was a day's work there; house-rent and coal were furnished you by the company I worked for for threepence a week. All coal-diggers there charged the same. Our average working days per week were five days. My condition there was better than here for the last two years. Six hours was a day's work in the pits in the north of England; a day's work here in this country is from four in the morning to five o'clock at night for miners. To be honest with you, the miners in the north of England are better paid for hours worked than here. The first three years I was here I did well and made money; the fourth year, just about made both ends meet. Last year, gone to the bad about $200."

*Miner, Alleghany County.*—"I was employed in the coal mines in the

County Durham, England, from 1852 to 1869, when I came to this country. I was better off there than I am here at the present time. The miner's lot is a very hard one; wages are very low and work unsteady. We have a company store here, and are expected to deal in it."

*Miner, Washington County.*—"Worked in Scotland until 1868, and emphatically say that I was better off then than I have ever been since I worked in the mines in that country. Eight hours constituted a day's work there—sometimes less. Here, I see men working fourteen, sixteen, and eighteen hours, and I know that some of them go into the mines on Sunday, trying to make a living and cannot."

*Coal-Miner, Alleghany County.*—"Have been employed as a coal-miner in England, county of Northumberland. For a number of years my condition was decidedly better. As proof, I will state that six years since I came to this country with wife and five children, or seven all told. I was able to pay their way over along with me, and had enough money left (when I had got to my destination in Westmoreland County) to purchase all necessaries for housekeeping, furniture, tools to work with, etc., but to-day (though some of my family have grown up to help me a little), were I to sell off everything, I am possessed of, I could not pay off the debts I owe, much less pay our way back to Europe.

"In England, I worked but six hours per day, averaging about two hundred and fifty days in the year, at the rate of one dollar and forty cents per day, with house, garden, and coal for twenty-four cents per month, with medical attendance and medicine, whenever needed, at the same rate, besides having no taxes to pay, as the coal company had to pay the tax on their houses we lived in.

"Here, a miner only gets an opportunity to work a few months in the year, and consequently has to work all the hours God sends—in fact, make a beast of himself or else starve.

"In England, operators build reading-rooms and lecture-halls for their employés, to which every one has free access at a merely nominal payment to keep up the stock. Here, he don't need them, for while working he can think of nothing else.

"Organization has done more to bring the English employer and employé in closer relationship than anything else I know of. For two years previous to my leaving, a sliding scale was adopted by the Northumberland miners, and strikes are things of the past. The operators throw open their books every three months, and the price realized by them fixes the price of mining for the next three months. Here, their motto is, 'take all you can.'"

The impressions given by these replies are confirmed by the personal inquiries I have made among Pennsylvania miners who have worked in Great Britain. The condition of the miner has for some years been growing worse in Pennsylvania and better in Great Britain. The British miner works less hours in the day, but more days in the year. He does not get as high wages in money, but he

does not pay high rent, nor is he swindled by pluck-me stores. The general fact is that the average of wages in the United States is higher than in Great Britain, and that the condition of the working class as a whole is better. But in the very occupations which we so tax ourselves to "protect," the English workman has as a rule the advantage.

As an evidence of the effect of any examination into the conditions of labor in Pennsylvania, as well as of the way in which a new light is breaking in that stronghold of protectionism, it may be mentioned that John L. Butler, Chief Assistant in the Bureau of Industrial Statistics, and well known throughout the State as a consistent and able advocate of working-men's interests, has recently made a speech at a gathering of labor associations, in which he came out as an absolute free-trader, declared all tariffs, either for revenue or protection, to be injurious to labor, and offered to debate the question with any protectionist before any labor association in the State; and this without any suspicion, on the part of working-men at least, that his pockets must be stuffed with British gold. There are many other indications of the same kind. The Philadelphia *Record*, which has for some time been steadily attacking the protectionist delusion, has reached a larger circulation than any other paper in Pennsylvania, and the recent State Democratic Convention took heart to declare for a tariff for revenue only—the half-way house to free-trade. The world is moving, even in Pennsylvania.

HENRY GEORGE.

*(To be continued.)*

# WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

"If you wait awhile in any gallery of pictures," says Goethe, writing of art, "and observe what works attract the many, what are praised and what are neglected, you will have little pleasure in the present and little hope for the future." The same observation is applicable to the books given to the world by the novelist who writes under the *nom de plume* of Ouida, and whose chosen home is in Italy. For a quarter of a century she has turned out an average of a book a year, nor is there any indication of exhaustion in her creative energy, nor flagging in her industry. Her novels receive the prompt condemnation of the literary critic and the stern protest of the moralist. Nevertheless, their hold upon popular favor is very tenacious, and they are eagerly read alike by old and young, the illiterate and the lettered, women and men.

It cannot be denied that Ouida's books show cleverness. She has a keen sense of beauty, and is richly endowed with ideal imagination. Her general knowledge is extensive and varied, and she has a wide outlook upon nature. But her stories are coarse and unnatural in detail, exaggerated in incident, vulgar in their worship of limitless wealth, and immoral in tendency. Her heroines are always spangled, bedizened, and unreal creatures. Her preposterous heroes, whom she presents as types of the aristocracy of our day, are of the same dazzling and unlikely sort. Like Disraeli, she gives us a surfeit of splendor, and fatigues us with gorgeousness.

But the worst feature of her novels is their coarseness. Her dainty puppets have an inordinate appetite for the grossest forms of sensuality. Her men rejoice in many mistresses. They "must have ripe, scarlet mouths to kiss in lawless sovereignty, because they are men." They worship "love, wealth, and enjoyment." They are all "god-like," and yet are "high-souled debauchees," "devils of fellows for women," who "act up to their *physique*,"

and whose lives are "erotic poems" and "long liaisons." One of her early novels was written with the object of warning young men against "that worst of all evils, early marriage." Till they have been "steeped to the lips in sensuous delights," Ouida thinks they should "content themselves with love that can be bought."

Her women are worse than her men, if possible. If married, they have many lovers, and are generally unfaithful to and deceive all. One is "a splendid Cleopatra, who dances breakdowns at my lord's theater"—"a woman with loose, shining hair, and bare limbs." Others are "blasé aristocrats"—"queens of the demi-monde"—"wanton women with the accident of beauty"—"false and worthless jades." "Nor is ordinary sensuality sufficient for Ouida," says Harriet Waters Preston, in a recent criticism. "Adultery is often too pale, and she must needs hint at something worse. . . . . Doubtless her vaulting ambition to portray these ecstasies of crime o'erleaps itself, and suggests the idea that she may really be as ignorant of the world of men, as she must be of that of letters."

Of any love higher than the animal instinct, we recall no example in Ouida's novels. "The trustful love of a faithful spaniel" is her favorite phrase for the love of a pure woman. In a cynical way she analyzes all human feelings as the botanist does a flower, or the anatomist the human body. Her lack of faith in humanity is ultra and scornful, and she scouts the idea that goodness and truth, sincerity and purity, are abroad in the world, redeeming and uplifting it. She fails to see that the human race has always had before it an ideal of a noble life, the attempt to realize which constitutes progress. Instead, she exalts cynicism, skepticism, and immorality, into a cult, and from a startling array of hard, pitiless facts, deduces a sensuous Pantheism, which, in her novels, does duty as a religious faith.

When Ouida attempts the rôle of the essayist, she betrays the same literary characteristics and moral tendencies that have made both her books and her name an offense. Into her tirade against Woman Suffrage—directed mainly against Republican Government and women, and which does not rise once to the height of argument—she carries her usual recklessness of statement and exaggeration of tone. It is surcharged with the gall of a venomous scorn for men and women—for women especially—and a vaunting

indecency, in which she has indulged till they have become a part of herself. We easily forgive her attack on this reform, the alphabet of which she fails to comprehend, from sheer gratitude that the whim did not seize her to advocate it. We are entirely resigned that she takes her place among the "Remonstrants."

Not believing in the people—or "the mob, uneducated and unwashed," as Ouida calls them—she has no faith in government by the people, and so levels her first blow at democratic institutions. She regards "the whole system of electoral power all over the world as absurd," and condemns a republic because it does not carry out the doctrine of "the supremacy of the fittest." What form of government does? Imperfection inheres in everything human. Monarchical governments, which begin in usurpation, are perpetuated by the laws of hereditary descent, and supported by small aristocracies and standing armies, have very rarely been administered by those fit to rule. It is a hazardous business to change the ruling king or emperor, even when he is justly detested by his subjects. But in a government of the people which maintains its permanence by constitutional provisions, the rulers may be changed at the will of the majority whenever they are dissatisfied.

The everlasting granite on which the national life of America rests is the self-evident truth that man has an inherent right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, out of which grows the right of self-government. This basic principle runs through the literature of the past from the days of the "Zend Avesta." And for thousands of years the great heart of the world, groaning under the tyranny of autocrats, has throbbed with prophetic desire for its realization in a government of the people. At last, the day has dawned for which millions have prayed, and fought, and died, and the reign of the people is beginning. That there are evils inseparable from popular government no one can deny, nor that some of them are of alarming portent. The pessimist, who leaves out of his calculations that divine spirit which works for righteousness, and which is abroad in the earth, can easily manufacture from them a prediction of swift-coming national ruin. But the same may be said of every government under the sun.

It can be shown, however, that under the American government, as under no other, there has been general prosperity and comfort, and a general regard and hearty respect for law and order.

An incessant vigilance of public men and measures is maintained, and discussion of public questions is unshackled, resulting in a high average of political knowledge and common sense among the people. Foreign wars have been avoided, and, at an appalling cost of men and money, the colossal evil of chattel slavery has been abolished. In the main, justice has been administered, abuses reformed, improved methods inaugurated, and, through all, the national honor has been maintained untarnished. "If a tree is to be known by its fruit," says a recent writer on this subject, "there must be a saving virtue in institutions which have so well answered their purpose."

It was necessary that Ouida should first dispose of republican government and its electoral system. For she sees very clearly the absurdity of withholding the suffrage from women, if manhood suffrage is universal. "To see a woman of superior mind and character," she writes, "capable of possessing and administering a great estate, left without electoral voice, while her carter, her porter, or the most illiterate laborer on her estate possesses it, and can exercise it, is, on the face of it, absurd." Of course it is absurd. The fathers of the American Republic proclaimed that the power of the government was based on the consent of the people, in whom the right of self-government inheres. Men *and women* compose "the people," not men alone. In a democracy like ours, every argument, therefore, for the enfranchisement of men does double duty—it enfranchises women also. Even Ouida concedes this, rabid as she is at the prospect of Woman Suffrage.

As a counterpoise to this concession, she throws into the scale the statement that "the only possible recommendation for the admission of women into public life is that it would necessarily involve their use for military service." This she evidently regards as impossible. The hard-worked fallacy, that "behind every ballot stands a bullet," has become threadbare by constant use and refutation. A republic is not supported alone by physical force, but rests mainly on moral force and on the consent of the people. The Constitution of the United States declares that it rests on "the wisdom and knowledge as well as virtue diffused generally among the people."

Neither in England nor America has the right to vote been made to depend on the ability to fight. If only they were enfranchised in America who are physically able to do military duty, a

large proportion of the voting men of the nation would be deprived of the suffrage. All soldiers disabled in the service of the republic would be counted out. All men over forty-five years of age, who are regarded as incapable of fighting, of whom there are over 97,000 in the single State of Massachusetts. All clergymen, because of the moral service they are supposed to render. And a great host that are not enumerated, who after enlistment are rejected and not "mustered in," because of physical disqualifications revealed in the examining-room of the surgeon.

And there would be enfranchised the majority of young men, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one, who possess excellent fighting qualities, of whom there are over 48,000 in the State of Massachusetts, but who cannot vote, because they are minors. To these would be added a large force of women among the lower classes, superb in physical ability, but lacking in mental, and sometimes in moral qualities. They might, nevertheless, be trained to be good soldiers, since brawn and physical prowess are most needed in military life.

But when a nation goes to war, it claims other service of its citizens, both women and men, than that of fighting merely. "Did any Englishman who rode into the jaws of death at Balaklava serve England more effectively than Florence Nightingale?" asks George William Curtis. They who serve the armies of a nation, who discharge the duties of the hospital, and keep in repair the military force, as it wastes from sickness and wounds, who maintain the sentiment, at home, of loyalty to the Government, and uphold that supreme moral force necessary to the success of a people in its time of struggle—they are as important as the army itself. Ten per cent. of an army is detailed to serve the rest, and they do no fighting.

The Government of the United States allows its subjects in time of war "to give their personal services, or an equivalent, when necessary." Quakers vote, and yet are excused from military duty on moral grounds, and are allowed to render other service, as many of them did during our late civil war. Why may not women be placed on the same ground as Quakers? Their services were invaluable during the war of the rebellion, continuous and heroic. Said Abraham Lincoln at the opening of one of the great sanitary fairs: "I am not accustomed to use the language of eulogy. I have never studied the art of paying compliments to women. But

I must say, that if all that has been said by orators and poets since the creation of the world, in praise of women, were applied to the women of America, it would not do them justice for their conduct during this war."

Dropping the rôle of logician, in which she is not a conspicuous success, Ouida grows prophetic, and utters most dismal vaticinations concerning woman suffrage. She tells us that "the net result of the entrance of the woman into the political arena will not be for the happiness of humanity. . . . Women would increase and intensify the present despotisms and weaknesses of political life, and would put nothing in their place. . . . Women would never legislate for men with anything approaching fairness. . . . If female suffrage becomes law . . . the result will scarcely be other than the emasculation and the confusion of the whole world of politics." These and similar prophecies are distributed through her pages.

We know not what special qualifications Ouida may possess for soothsaying, nor need we wait to learn. For the results of woman suffrage in England and America have been before the world these dozen years. A little over fifteen years ago England gave municipal suffrage to unmarried women on the same terms as men. It proved so great a success, especially in school management and in the care of the poor, that last year the same right was accorded to the women of Scotland. In 1880, the women of the Isle of Man, who owned real estate equal in value to twenty dollars a year, were given the parliamentary franchise. When the women voted in 1881, for the first time, the local press announced that "the new political element acted in the most admirable manner." The right of municipal suffrage has also been conferred on unmarried women in many of the provinces of Canada, who have used their power in a serious and responsible spirit. Sweden recognizes the fitness of women to share in the government, by allowing them to vote for municipal officers on the same terms as men, and also for the electors of the "Upper Council," which elects the "Upper Chamber." Austria does the same. By an imperial decree, in 1863, women were given the right to vote at municipal, provincial, and national elections, by choosing some male friend to represent them at the polls. Russia has, for centuries, allowed women, in the same way, to vote for members of the "Municipal Council" and "County Assembly."

In the United States, the woman suffrage movement has achieved a most enviable status, numerically and morally, and is winning its way, at the present time, with unprecedented rapidity. In 1869, the Territory of Wyoming gave full suffrage to women. At the end of ten years Hon. J. W. Kingman, a graduate of Harvard College, and for four years a Judge of the Supreme Court of that Territory, wrote to the Boston *Herald*, "Our best and most cultivated women vote understandingly and independently. . . . They cannot be blinded by party prejudice nor wheedled by social influence. . . . The general influence of woman suffrage has been to elevate the tone of society, and to secure the election of better men to office." From all trustworthy sources the testimony accumulates, that after seventeen years' experience the people of Wyoming are more in favor of woman suffrage than ever. They declare, through their local papers, that "the laws were never respected nor enforced, nor crime punished, nor property and life protected, as since woman has taken her place in the jury-box and at the polls." Similar testimony comes from Washington Territory, where women were enfranchised in 1883.

Twelve States of the American Union have given women school-suffrage, which in some States limits them to a vote for school-committee, and in others gives them the right to vote on all matters relating to the public schools, and makes them eligible to the offices of County and State Superintendent. The capacity of women for public affairs receives large recognition in the United States. They are elected, or appointed, to such offices as those of county clerk, register of deeds, pension agent, prison commissioner, State librarian, overseer of the poor, school supervisor, school superintendent, executors and administrators of estates, trustees and guardians, engrossing clerks of State Legislatures, superintendents of women's State prisons, college principals and professors, and members of boards of State charities, lunacy, and correction. And in all these positions women serve with men, who acknowledge most graciously the practical wisdom and virtue they bring to their duties.

Women act as accountants and book-keepers, physicians and surgeons, painters, sculptors, and architects, authors and journalists, clergywomen and lawyers, and when admitted to practice law at the bar of their own States, have the right to practice at the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States. President Grant

appointed over five thousand women to the office of post-mistress. "And although many women have been appointed to positions in departments of government, and to important employments and trusts," said Senator Blair, of New Hampshire, from his seat in Congress, "as far as your committee are aware, no charge of incompetence, or malfeasance in office, has ever been sustained against a woman."

"On the other hand," says Hon. William I. Bowditch, of Massachusetts, "five times as many boys as girls are in reformatories. More than five times as many men as women are prison convicts. More than twice as many men as women are paupers, and about seventy times as many men as women are engaged in the manufacture and sale of liquor—the nurse of pauperism and crime. . . . Men drink and women suffer. With manhood suffrage, we spend for drink six times as much as we do for education every year. Cannot we prudently call on women to help us by their votes, so that we may at least expend as much for the education as we do for the brutalization of the race?"

In the face of facts like these, which might be multiplied indefinitely, what becomes of Ouida's cheap predictions of disorder and disaster, sure to follow the legal enactment of woman suffrage? How baseless her assertions that women are more unscrupulous, unveracious, tyrannical, and immoral than men! As a rule, the average man and woman are very much alike. But to-day the average woman is better educated, for the girl stays longer in the school than the boy, and pursues more thoroughly a more extensive course of study. She is very likely to review or continue her studies after she leaves school, through the agency of some one of the many "clubs," "circles," or "societies," organized for this purpose. She enjoys more of the education and refining influence of home and family life. She is more interested than man in religious matters, for five times as many women as men attend church service and are church communicants. And as she rarely muddles her brain with drink, or drops into profligate habits, the average woman of our time exceeds the average man in intelligence, morality, and refinement. And this is so well understood in the world of business, work, and trade, that women have superseded men in many departments where intelligence and trustworthiness are indispensably requisite. In 1840, when Harriet Martineau visited this country, she found but seven industries open to women. The

last United States census enumerates nearly three hundred occupations into which women have entered.

Not until a very recent date has man shown any of the "fairness in his legislation for woman," of which Ouida boasts. A hundred years ago, the historian Gibbon wrote: "In every age and country, the stronger of the two sexes has usurped the powers of the State, and confined the other to the cares and pleasures of domestic life." This injustice, backed by the teachings of the mediæval church, not yet entirely obsolete, has perpetuated the contempt for women, begun in barbarous times, when every woman was the slave of some man. It succeeded, at last, in the breaking down of women, and leading them, as Michelet has observed, "to distrust and despise themselves, and to look upon themselves as inferior, and half accursed beings." Out of this subject and abject condition they are lifting themselves to-day, aided by men who have attained almost divine development in justice and manliness.

The most civilized nations of the earth still oppress and degrade women with their unjust laws. In a majority of the United States, the legal wife and married mother is denied ownership of her earnings and a right to her minor children. The legal claim to both resides in the husband and father, until the courts decide otherwise. And as late as 1879, in the State of Massachusetts, "the husband legally owned the wife's clothing, although that clothing was bought with money partly owned by her." Not until men translate into practical verity the great axiom of the Declaration of Independence, that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and women are allowed a voice in the formation of the laws made for them, shall we approach the time when law and justice shall be interchangeable terms.

The reiterated assertion of Ouida, that woman is inferior to man, stripped of its verbiage, means only that she is unlike man. This we frankly admit, and upon this very difference between the sexes base an argument for the enfranchisement of woman. It has been the error of the past, as it is yet too largely the blunder of the present, to assume that man is the standard, and that the civilization which he has created embodies whatever is best and most permanent in human excellence. But man is only one half the integer we call humanity. Woman is the other half, possessing a more complex organism, and a larger total of functional

powers. One is the masculine half, and the other the feminine half. Each is endowed with aptitudes and capacities that the other, in some measure, lacks. Each is the complement and the supplement of the other.

> "For woman is not undeveloped man,
> But diverse. Could we make her as the man,
> Sweet Love were slain. His dearest bond is this,
> Not like to like, but like in difference."

The whole is more and better than its half. Or, as this truth is formulated in Holy Writ, "it is not good for man to be alone." Human society has attained its present high development under the leadership of man, the masculine half of humanity, who, all the while, has limited the scope and belittled the functions of woman. What may not be reasonably predicted in the way of progress, when she shall be as free to define what is womanly, as man has been to show what is manly? When there shall be yielded her equality of development with men, and freedom to shape her life in accordance with her tastes and capacities? When manly men and womanly women, equal in rights but differing in function, shall work together for the realization of higher ideals in righteousness, justice, purity, and fraternity?

The prognostications of evil, which have attended this reform from its inception, have died out unverified wherever it has secured a foothold. It has not promoted discord in families, nor extirpated from the heart of women, love of husband, children and home, nor rendered women unwomanly, nor brought to the front those unfortunate and unhappy women whom Ouida catalogues, and with whom she appears to have so large an acquaintance. On the contrary, it has made the polls more respectable, has elevated better men to office, and has begun the purification of politics. And these good results of small beginnings furnish a great hope for the future to all who love the race. We will therefore forgive Ouida the foul wrong she has done her sex in her abusive tirade. Evidently her lines have not fallen in pleasant places, or she would not be so bitter, nor, to judge from her published writings, have her associations been with men and women of the nobler and better sort. It offsets many of the sins of her essay, that she throws into the scale with woman, Gladstone, who is the grandest man of the world connected with human govern-

ment, putting into the serious business of ruling a great people, more of honor, conscience, and a sense of responsibility to a Higher Power, than any other living ruler of the time. There is a better day ahead. "This fine old world of ours is, as yet, but a child in its go-cart; give it time to learn its limbs."

> "Then comes the statelier Eden back to men:
> Then reign the world's great bridals, chaste and calm;
> Then springs the crowning race of humankind."

MARY A. LIVERMORE.

# PROHIBITION.

WHETHER or not the general public have a right to prohibit the manufacture and sale of an article used from the time Noah planted the vine and made wine therefrom, and made a spectacle of himself, is a very peculiar question. Intoxicating liquors have been, from time immemorial, in common use, in all countries, civilized and barbarous, and to prohibit their use by law is a startling invasion of what a great many people consider their rights. The universality of the custom is a point against prohibition. It is a people very low down in the scale of intelligence who have not invented quick processes for getting drunk.

Possibly the opponents of prohibition may be right. Liquor makes a complete change in a man, and when the average man examines himself closely, he may be pardoned for a strong desire to be something else.

It is probable that if the liquor interest had confined itself to the old-fashioned ways of dealing in stimulants, there never would have been any demand for prohibition. In the old days, the spirit or beer shop was established in compliance with an existing demand. Everybody drank, more or less, and so the landlord established his place, and sold to those who came to it of their own will. He had his regular customers who came in for their morning sustainer, their eleven-o'clock soother, their before-dinner appetizer, and, in the evening, after the day's labor was over, these same customers made a little club and boozed to their heart's content. They sang songs in a more or less maudlin condition, their musical efforts being mostly in praise of the liquor they were consuming. They sang—

"See how it sparkles,
This drink divine,"

or,

"Landlord, fill the flowing bowl,
Until it doth run over,
For to-night we'll merry, merry be,
For to-night we'll merry, merry be,
For to-night we'll merry, merry be,
And to-morrow we'll get sober."

It was all very pleasant that night, but the getting sober on the morrow! Why is it that no song-writer has ever written a bass solo, of the horribly lugubrious style, delineating the getting sober? Why did not the lamented Mr. Dickens describe Dick Swiveller getting sober in the morning, as a fitting companion to his wonderful description of Mr. Swiveller's getting drunk at night? The aching head and torn-up nerves should have their poet as well as the process producing those terrors.

The thirty-years-ago sellers of stimulants never made efforts to extend their business; they merely sold to those who came for drink, and who conducted themselves with as much decency as liquor permits, while boozing. Had this continued there never would have been a movement for prohibition that would have had the strength of a straw.

But the nature of the business has changed entirely within thirty years. The introduction of lager-beer opened a field for money-making so illimitable as to stimulate the cupidity of the more eager seekers after money. Lager-beer was originally a seductive fluid, a mild-mannered demon, as innocent in appearance as spring water, and as beautiful. There are but few things on earth more beautiful than lager-beer. The rich color in the glass, the liquid itself as clear as water, with its delicate amber tint, surmounted with the creamy foam overtopping it, is a very pretty sight, and one which appeals strongly to the lust of the eye. And then its taste! The delicate, sweetish bitter is wonderfully grateful, and, when cold as ice, the taste lingers lovingly on the palate, the warmth cheers the stomach, and it is as refreshing a drink as man could wish. And in justice it must be said that the lager-beer of thirty years ago was comparatively harmless. Then it was made of nothing but malt and hops, it was "laid" for nearly a year until it had undergone all the fermentations, and it could be taken, in moderate quantities, safely. The percentage of alcohol in it was much less than now, for reasons which will be given hereafter.

The new drink which the German brewers introduced made rapid progress in public favor. The temperance advocates of that day looked upon it without hostility, for they preferred that men should drink the mild lager rather than the more fiery whisky or rum. Therefore its use was rather encouraged than discouraged.

The brewers saw in this their opportunity. They built great

breweries, some of them with a capacity going a long way up into the hundreds of thousands of barrels per annum, which was not to be wondered at, as the profit on each barrel was from $1.50 to $2.

Then came the very important question, how was this great volume of beer to be sold? These acute men were not long in solving that problem. They took their good hard dollars and established everywhere what is now known as the "beer saloon." They found them conscienceless creatures, with neither morals nor decency, who never had money enough to pay for a meal of victuals, hang-dog fellows with long mustaches, and trousers chewed off at the heels, with dirty neckties to hide still more dirty shirts, paper-collar twice-turned abominations, who would be thieves but for the lack of courage, the fellows who crawl between heaven and earth, living, the good Lord who permits them only knows how. They took this class of persons and rented for them each a room or two, and put in a counter, some round pine tables and cheap chairs; they supplemented a cheap pool-table and a few packs of cards, and put in behind the bar a keg of beer, a few bottles of whisky, and some glasses, and set them to work, perfectly equipped devil's missionaries.

How could they afford to trust this property with such men? Nothing could be more safe. They did not sell it—it remained their property, all there was of it. The keeper was compelled to sign an agreement to sell so many kegs of their beer a day, as the condition of enjoying the use of the place. Of course, the beer had to be paid for on delivery, so all the capital required was the price of one small keg, which amounted to from $2 to $2.50. In most cases the poor wretch did not have this trifling amount, and the brewer was forced to give him the first keg on credit. But as there are one hundred glasses of beer in a quarter barrel, and as each glass brings five cents, the debt was always a safe one.

Now comes the point. This poor devil, this tool of the brewer, has to sell so much beer a day to keep his place. He has to pay the rent of the "saloon," for the brewer either owns it or is responsible for it, and also he must pay for so much beer per diem.

This new system changed the entire nature of the business. The retailer is no longer the quiet man engaged in a half-disreputable business (for, in its best estate, liquor selling has never been

counted a respectable trade), but he is a missionary for the diffusion of alcohol, and an urgent, indefatigable fastener of the alcoholic appetite upon just as many as he can get his unclean hands upon. He goes out in search of customers, and by his efforts liquor is no longer a passive nuisance, but an active, aggressive evil.

How does he do it? He has a thousand ways. He makes his rooms as pleasant as possible; he takes the daily newspapers, which are free to his customers; he hangs cheap but attractive pictures upon his walls—always of a demoralizing nature, for his business is to demoralize; he provides games of chance and skill for his customers, the stake being always beer; he invites workingmen to sit in his place, where there is a warm stove in the winter, and artificially cooled air in the summer; he spreads a cheap lunch which is free to all comers, the viands being invariably thirst-provoking, and all this sort of thing.

Now the workingman who comes into this place may have before, on occasion, taken a glass of beer, when he happened to be in the way of it, but he had no especial appetite for it, and no regular craving. Before the opening of this place in his neighborhood, he went to his home sober, and spent his evenings with his family, as a decent workingman should, and there was always bread and meat in his larder, and his wife and children were decently and comfortably clad. For the purpose of meeting his mates and discussing the current topics of the day, and for the unhealthy pleasure of playing games, he becomes very quickly habituated to frequenting the saloon, and, of course, takes his glass of beer. He must do this, for he is too proud to enjoy the facilities of the place without making some return. Sociability being the chief attraction, he is invited to drink by the other frequenters, his sense of liberality compels him to reciprocate, and so he, who dropped in for one glass, goes out with a dozen under his belt, comfortably drunk. He didn't mean to, but custom, the custom of the place, most artfully devised, forced him into it. He goes home drunk every night, after a month or two of it.

The effect of the alcohol poison is not well enough understood. No man can touch it without fastening upon himself a craving for more. This is a physiological law which is fixed and certain. The man who comes to stopping at a place of this kind every night and taking one glass, within a week finds a half-dozen necessary. And

the seller helps him along the downward road as rapidly as possible. There is always upon the counter a plate of picked codfish, or red herrings cut into proper lengths, or pretzels covered with salt, all thirst-provokers, and they actually put salt into the beer, that the desire for the pleasant liquor may be increased. Beer becomes a necessity to him before he is aware of it, and his fate is fixed. The seller can count upon so much a day from him as certainly as though he had it in his till.

And this is not all, by any means. Lager-beer originally contained only three or four per cent. of alcohol, but it now contains ten and twelve per cent. The original beer did not make drunkards fast enough. It took too long a time to fix the habit so as to make the victim profitable. Hence they threw in glucose to make more alcohol, and all sorts of cheap drugs of the maddening kind, that the drinker might be bound hand and foot, and put into their possession in an absolutely helpless condition as soon as possible. It was not enough to make a beer-drinker of him—to get the largest profit it became necessary to *make a drunkard of him.* It resulted as anticipated. The beer-drunkard is the worst drunkard in the world, and his chains are the heaviest and strongest.

A more infernal infernalism was never devised, and if it does not call for some sort of law nothing does.

But it does not stop here. Men are not the only victims. There are boys in the neighborhood, striplings from thirteen to sixteen. The agent of the brewers arranges his trap for them. They have no money, so he gives them credit. He has a room for them secure from observation, in which they may play cards, or pool, or other forms of billiards; all for beer, of course.

When the account swells to a sufficient amount he demands payment. The alarmed boy cannot pay. He frightens him with threats of appealing to his parents, and, when the boy is sufficiently ground down, he suggests that his mother has linen, his elder brother a revolver, his father books, and his sister jewelry, and he gives him the name of a pawnbroker who will advance him all the money he wants, on articles of this kind. The frightened boy jumps at this easy escape, goods are missed from the house, servant girls are discharged for theft, and the thing goes on until the boy becomes a confirmed thief, and so bold in his operations that discovery is made.

Whether he finally gets to the House of Correction or not, he is

a beer-sodden wreck before he is eighteen, and is the bond-slave of the drink-fiend forever.

The vast brewing establishments of Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Toledo and Rochester have millions invested in this business, and their success in the introduction of their beer may be measured by their wealth. They are the richest corporations in the country, and no instances are known where, with fair business management, they have not amassed enormous fortunes.

They keep energetic men traveling all the time establishing saloons. In the city of Toledo, with 90,000 population, they have 800, and the number is constantly and rapidly increasing. A corporation cannot break ground in the suburbs for a factory, that the brewer's agent is not there to purchase a lot upon which to erect a saloon, and, the moment an addition to the city is platted, a saloon is the first building that goes up. They know every workingman, and the wages he gets, and they demand their share of it, and generally get it.

Did they confine their operation to the cities, it would not be so bad, but they do not. They have invaded the country, and there is scarcely a hamlet or cross-roads in which they are not represented. With millions of capital, with an energy that is wonderful, with all the zeal that cupidity inspires and feeds, they are everywhere. There is not a family that they do not threaten, nor one that is outside their influence.

It is this aggressive feature of the trade which has awakened a demand for the interposition of the law to prohibit, instead of restraining. Heavy taxation of the traffic has no effect, for the profits of the business are so great that no taxation has ever been reached that they could not laugh at. The profit on beer is enormous, and they have a safeguard against taxation in this, that they make their own prices and they have possession of their customers. Should a tax upon beer be made so great that the seller should be compelled to double the price, it would make no difference in sales to his regular customers. They must and will have it.

> "Back and side go bare, go bare,
> And hand and foot go cold,
> But belly, God send thee good ale enough,
> Whether it be new or old."

This is as true as it was in the days when the song was written.

The wide-spread misery caused by this wholesale poisoning of the masses, the poverty, degradation, ignorance, crime and disease it entails, the increased taxation it has caused, have alarmed the general public, and made some action against it absolutely necessary. In five States, Maine, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, and Georgia, Prohibition is an accomplished fact, and the sentiment in favor of it is rapidly spreading.

There is no doubt in the mind of anybody that, could the trade in alcoholic stimulants be wiped out entirely, the world would be better for it. No one doubts this, and no one questions it. The liquor seller himself admits it, when what sense of decency is left in him prompts him to remove his own children as far from the business which he follows as possible.

The business is, in and of itself, an organized hunt after weak men and children. If a druggist should entice boys into his store and feed them with opium, that, after the habit was fixed, he might make money by selling them the drug, there would be no question as to what the community would do with him. If there should be found no law upon the statute books to meet his case, one would be made immediately. There would be no talk of "personal liberty" in such a case. Wherein is the difference? The beer-shop keeper makes it his business to entice boys and weak men into his place and lures them on to an appetite more destructive than opium. He uses every artifice that his ingenuity can devise to fix the alcohol habit upon them to their destruction and his profit.

But does Prohibition prohibit, and is Prohibition the cure for the evil?

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. I assert that it does, to a sufficient extent to justify the action of the States that have made the experiment, and to encourage those who hope to extend it over all the States. I myself made a tour of Maine, with a view to determining the fact for myself. I explored Portland, the largest city in the State, first. There is liquor sold in Portland, and plenty of it, and yet Prohibition has been a pronounced, unequivocal success in that city. Prior to the enactment of the Dow law, some thirty years ago, there were three hundred grog shops in the city, its population being about 30,000. It was as drunken a city as any in the country, and its rate of poverty, crime and misery was in exact proportion to the number and extent of its liquor shops. In 1883, when I visited the city, to determine this question

for myself, there were four places only where the law was defied, and liquor sold openly. There were some twenty other places where it was sold secretly, but there were only four open bars, and these four could not be said to be open bars. They were in the sub-cellars under the four principal hotels, and so intricate were the ways to them that a guide was necessary. And when you found them they were sorry places. A room twelve feet long by six in width, a cold, dismal, desolate room, lighted by one gas-light and absolutely without furniture. There was not even a chair to sit upon, only a small bar, behind which were a few bottles of liquors, with the necessary glasses to drink from. Nobody ever penetrated these horrible places except the confirmed drinkers, who must have their poison, and who dare not trust themselves to keep it in their rooms.

So difficult was it to find, and so dismal and discouraging was it when found, that a Boston man with me remarked, "Well, if this isn't Prohibition it comes very close to it. If I had to take all this trouble to get a drink in Boston, and had no more pleasant place than this to drink in, I don't think I should ever drink."

This is the strength of Prohibition. In Portland there are no delightful places fitted up with expensive furniture, no cut glass filled with brilliant liquors, no bars of mahogany with silver railings, no great mirrors on the walls, no luxurious seats upon the floor—nothing of the sort. Drunkenness there has no mantle of luxury thrown over it, and the mask of sociality has been ruthlessly torn from it. If you want to get drunk in Portland you go where the material is, for that purpose, and that only. You must go and find it—it is not trying to find you.

Who have taken the place of these three hundred rum-sellers of thirty years ago? Bakers, shoe-makers, tailors, milliners, and people of that class. There are no houses vacant, and there is a better class of houses than ever. The effect of Prohibition upon the material prosperity of the city is marked. The workingmen own their own houses, their newspapers are better sustained, they have book stores, art stores, and all that sort of thing, which a whisky city of the same population never did sustain; the small trades are all flourishing, and, despite the disadvantages the city labors under by reason of climatic and other conditions, it is one of the most prosperous municipalities in the United States. There was once $1,500,000 paid annually for rum—that money now goes

into the comforts of life, and there is still a wide margin left for luxuries.

In the country towns of Maine the effect is still more marked. The farmers, when liquor was out of sight, did not want it, their children grew up without knowing the taste of the destroyer, and comfort and prosperity has everywhere taken the place of slovenliness and unthrift.

The best argument I found in Maine for Prohibition was by an editor of a paper in Portland who was, for political reasons, mildly opposed to it. I had a conversation with him which ran something like this :

"Where were you born ?"

"In a village about sixty miles from Bangor."

"Do you remember the condition of things in your village prior to Prohibition ?"

"Distinctly. There was a vast amount of drunkenness, and consequent disorder and poverty."

"What was the effect of Prohibition ?"

"It shut up all the rum shops, and practically banished liquor from the village. It became one of the most quiet and prosperous places on the globe."

"How long did you live in the village after Prohibition ?"

"Eleven years, or until I was twenty-one years of age."

"Then ?"

"Then I went to Bangor."

"Do you drink now ?"

"I have never tasted a drop of liquor in my life."

"Why ?"

"Up to the age of twenty-one I never saw it, and after that I did not care to take on the habit."

That is all there is in it. If the boys of the country are not exposed to the infernalism, the men are very sure not to be. This man and his schoolmates were saved from rum by the fact that they could not get it until they were old enough to know better. Few men are drunkards who know not the poison till after they are twenty-one. It is the youth that the whisky and beer men want.

Thousands upon thousands of men from other States who are slaves to the drink habit, and so securely held by it that they cannot of their own power resist, go to Maine that they may live

where it is impossible to procure the stuff which makes the meat it feeds on. While liquor can be procured anywhere in Maine, if one chooses to go to the trouble and expense necessary, its procurement is so hedged about with difficulty that the victim who really desires to free himself of his appetite generally succeeds. The help that Prohibition gives him is enough to turn the scale, and he is enabled to let it alone till his restored stomach and new blood give him will-power enough to do something for himself. It makes a difference with the man suffering for want of liquor whether he can step into a bar-room on every corner and take the one drink for present relief, or whether he has to go to as much trouble as would pay off a mortgage on a farm to get it. Hundreds go to Maine for a month or two and come back rejoicing in the thought that they are free. That they do not keep free is owing to the unfortunate fact that they come back to places where liquor is free, and they fall.

It is the great trouble with the rum trade that the producers die off too soon. If a liquor could be invented that would grip mankind as whisky does, and at the same time leave the victim strong to earn money, the trade would be better. But as the appetite not only destroys the power of earning money, but cuts the thread of life very early, new recruits must be made all the time. It is to the youth of their localities that saloon-keepers look for their victims, and they are as sure to find them as they are permitted to exist at all.

My editorial friend is a living example of the uses of Prohibition. The business of selling rum in his neighborhood was killed when he was a boy, and that saved him. There was no grog-seller to hunt him down, and he escaped till he was old enough to know better than to drink at all. Prohibition in Maine saves the youth of Maine.

The experience of Kansas and Iowa has been identical with that of Maine. The prohibitory law is evaded in every possible way. The liquor interest did not at once give up the field, nor has it yet. The saloon was driven out, but its place was taken by secret dives, and by all sorts of devices, some of them very ingenious, to defeat the operation of the law. But the object of Prohibition was attained. The gaudy saloon was driven off the streets, the sale of liquor was made illegal and disreputable, and the penalties for violation were made so severe that the seller dare

not vend except to those whose confirmed appetites make it entirely safe. The boys are saved. No dealer would dare to sell to a boy, much less to go out and hunt for him. And this is exactly what was aimed at by the makers of the law. The confirmed drunkard will have it anyhow, and it makes very little difference whether he has it or not. The thieves, gamblers, and prostitutes will have it, and it makes but little difference how soon liquor wipes them out. But the hunt for boys was at an end. The ghastly mills into whose hoppers were turned boys and girls by the thousands, grinding out daily a doleful grist of prostitutes, thieves, gamblers and paupers, were stopped forever. The law can be and is being evaded to the extent of finishing up the stock on hand, but the supply of new material is cut off. The open saloon is gone, and the coming generation is safe. When the seller dare not sell to boys, the liquor business has a very short life.

This Prohibition has done for Kansas and Iowa, as well as for Maine.

The loss to the country in the amount of money actually paid for intoxicants, and consequently worse than lost, is the least of the evils resulting from it, and consequently the least important reason for Prohibition. A far more important reason is the infernal part it plays in politics. In Toledo, as I have already stated, with 90,000 population, there are 800 whisky and beer shops. The vote of the city is 15,000. Now these shops will average two votes each, the proprietor and one assistant, which makes a total of 1,600. This is a tremendous power, especially as it is wielded by one head. All these men belong to the Liquor Dealers' Association, and all act together. These men have no principles. They are not divided upon tariff, currency and other questions; politics is a part of their business, and their vote is cast as one, that it may be made profitable. They are in a business that everybody looks upon as disreputable; they are in it to make money, and they care not how they make it.

In party contests this power has two points to make. First, to demonstrate that it is a power which is not to be meddled with. No matter whether the candidate aims at the Presidency, a seat in Congress, school directorship, or a park commissionership, the first question the Liquor Dealers' Association asks, is he a temperance man? If he is, the whole power of the organization is turned against him. They want it understood that no one can be

elected to any place of honor or profit without their help. The showing of this power insures them against such troublesome interference as the enactment of early-closing laws, Sunday closing, large taxation, and above all Prohibition. They aim at control of the law-making power as well as the law-executing power. Secondly, they want their places to be made the center of political management, the places where committees meet, and from whence money used in the elections is to be dispensed. From this money they take their toll, as a matter of course. The point with the brewer is to make the brewery the one controlling element in politics, and he has succeeded wonderfully. A politician may safely snub the Church, but he grovels in the dust before the wielder of the beer mallet. He pays no attention to the good classes, but how he bows to the worst! The reason is, the good classes are divided on political and economic questions, while the liquor interest is united solely for one end.

Once more, as to their strength: add to this vote (which is, of itself, enough to turn the scale as parties are now organized) the collateral branches of trade more or less connected with liquor making and selling. The tobacconists, the coopers, the bottlers, and the different kinds of people who supply the saloon trade, are all under this influence, and half as many more can be added to this 1,600, making it 2,400.

But this, large as it is, is the least of it. There is not one of these eight hundred saloons that cannot control four votes besides the two behind the bar, and that comes very close to a full half of all the votes in the city. They control the poor devils who are glad to sell their votes for the beer they can drink, a week or two before an election, and one day after.

Now take this enormous vote, mass the men employed in breweries, the wholesalers and retailers of liquor, the bar-tenders and other assistants directly employed, the collateral branches of trade dependent more or less upon them, and the vast army of hangers-on of the saloons, and it is a power which can and does control the cities of the country. Parties vie with each other in bidding for the saloon vote, nominations are made with sole reference to it, and this unholy power would become the government but for the counteracting influence in the country, which is yet, to some extent, free from its infernal influence.

Think of a government under control of an organization whose

business it is to make criminals and paupers! Think of a government controlled by the worst, instead of the best citizens! Think of communities governed by the men whose business it is to make thieves and paupers instead of honest and self-supporting citizens!

The influence of rum in politics is one of the strongest reasons for Prohibition.

Rum-selling is the only business based upon purely physiological science. Drunkenness is not a vice, as the religionists consider it. It is not to be wondered that they so place it, because its results are invariably vicious. The man possessed of the alcohol habit can do nothing good. Whatever is evil in him is intensified, widened and broadened by rum. It destroys his power of making a living, and consequently he becomes a criminal or pauper. If he is lecherous, rum makes him more so, for it destroys the prudence that would keep him somewhere within lines. If he is blood-thirsty by nature, rum makes him a murderer. In short, it increases in all men the desire for doing whatever is bad, and breaks down all the safeguards of self-restraint.

But it is a disease, not a vice. The man who accustoms himself to the use of rum is in the rapids. He diseases his stomach, and in diseasing his stomach breaks down all his will-power. He has really no appetite for liquor, but he wakes from his debauch weak, purposeless, and thoroughly miserable. He knows perfectly well that his wretched condition, mental and physical, is due to rum, and that the only cure for it is total abstinence. He knows that if he will keep away from it a single day, that he will be so recovered that he will be able to abstain longer, but he is so sorely beset that he cannot resist the temptation to take "just one," to sustain him, and he takes it. He ought to know that this one will lead to another, and still another, and then, rejoicing in the temporary strength it has given him, he does not care a straw for anything, and will go on till he is in the same condition he was the night before. He should know this, for he has tried it a hundred times; but it is one of the peculiarities of a drunkard's life that he cannot tell the truth, either to himself or to any one else. Every man addicted to rum practices upon himself the most absurd self-deception.

And so the poor wretch goes on. His drunks lap over from one day to the other, until, stomach all gone, will-power all gone,

everything that is manly all gone, he gives himself up to the appetite, and goes to the devil by the shortest road.

It is upon the certainty that, the appetite once fixed, it can never be broken, that those in the liquor traffic build, and they have, in the very nature of the connection between the stomach and the mind, a very broad and wide corner-stone. They know that, with the liquor made in this day, all that is necessary for them to acquire a man's estate is to get the habit fixed upon him, and they know, just as well, that to keep their trade good all that is necessary, when a customer dies, is to fasten the appetite upon a fresh boy. They quite understand that the boy will graduate into a spendthrift, and, finally, a thief and a nuisance, and that they will get everything he can beg, borrow, and steal, but they take him just the same. So much beer will run through him before he dies, and that beer he will manage somehow to pay for. He will not pay his butcher, baker, or tailor, but he does manage to pay for his liquor, and that is all the liquor seller thinks of.

This fact in the make-up of men converts every seller of liquors into a hunter of men and boys. This fact was what changed the lager-beer of the country from three or four per cent. of alcohol to twelve and fourteen. It was to make drunkards faster, to get men and boys under control quicker, to fasten them in three months instead of a year. This is what caused the adulteration of what are known as "hard liquors," and the additional strength put into malt liquors.

If this sort of devilish ingenuity in debauching mankind does not call for the intervention of the law, I know of nothing that does. Certainly this sort of thing would not be tolerated in anything else, and why it should be in this trade, the most gigantic of all the instrumentalities for the dragging down of humanity, is one of the puzzles that good men cannot solve. Possibly the enormous extent of the trade is its protection. The aspiring politicians of the country dread nothing so much as this one power. It is the Warwick in American politics. It makes and unmakes.

I have not referred to the cost, in money, of this traffic to the country, because after a consideration of its horrible effects upon the family and the State, the money question seems trivial. Still, it is worth considering.

There are paid across the bars of this country, for alcoholic stimulants, something near one thousand millions of dollars, an-

nually, for alcohol, and the amount is increasing frightfully. Rum costs the country more than its bread, clothing, schooling, churches, education, and all combined. To illustrate, take one city.

Toledo, with 90,000 population, supports 800 saloons. Each one of these must sell, to live, $10 worth of liquors each day. This average is very low, for the smallest cannot live upon less trade, and there are many whose daily receipts run up into the hundreds of dollars. It is probable that $15 per day would be nearer the figure. But at $10 per day it foots up $8,000. Multiply this by 365, for mind you they are open nights, days, and Sundays, and you get the appalling sum-total of $2,920,000 paid for liquors yearly in one small city. The amount is a long way beyond this—probably $3,500,000 would come nearer the mark.

But this is not all. Add the demoralization of labor consequent upon it—for no man can do a week's work who drinks at all—add to this the cost of the police force, of the pauperism, of the crime not incident but directly chargeable to alcoholization, and the sum-total is something too vast to be put in figures upon paper. Rum is the source direct of 90 per cent. of all the crime and pauperism of the country. To rum may be charged up the cost of the police, the criminal courts, and everything that is costly to the tax-payer. Ninety per cent. of the murders are to be credited to rum, and almost every gallows-tree is rooted in a whisky barrel. Take your jails, your poor-houses, your lunatic asylums, and all the machinery of justice and charity, figure their cost and add it to the amount actually paid for the poison, add to this the loss to the labor of the country through this one agency, and the pocket-nerve receives a very severe shock. All this has been said and written a thousand times, but it cannot be said and written too often.

Every whisky-shop is a school of crime and a never-failing fountain of pauperism. They are stronger than the school and church, and they can pull down more effectually than the other agencies can build up.

Prohibition is a certainty in this country, and that within a very few years. Every civilized nation on earth is looking for some cure for the greatest evil that afflicts the earth. The fact that all countries are trying to "regulate" it, is an admission that it is an evil, and the centuries have demonstrated that there is no sense whatever in trying to regulate an evil. Evils are to be killed, not

regulated. The question of to-day is not whether the individual man shall have the right to poison himself, but whether an organization shall have the right by means of a poison to demoralize mankind for profit. It is a question in which every workingman, every employer, every father and every mother in the country has a direct interest. It is a question whether the law can be made to restrain the criminal-maker, as well as the criminal, to prevent the manufacture of paupers instead of supporting paupers; in short, whether the community has the right to protect its weaker members against organized demoralization.

That communities have this right is the assertion of the Prohibitionists, and who shall say that their position is not impregnable?

DAVID R. LOCKE.

# MR. BLAINE ON THE TARIFF.

On the 24th of August Mr. Blaine made a speech in which he recommended the policy of protection with all the authority which he could command as statesman and economist. He gave his reasons. It is proposed to examine those reasons.

He commenced by giving his construction of the recent industrial and political history of this country. He affirmed that we have had prosperity for the last twenty-five years, and that this prosperity has been due to the tariff, which of course must mean that we should not have been prosperous but for the tariff. The "comparative dullness" of some years is easily accounted for by the fact that the Democrats have had control of the House for twelve years, and have annually threatened the tariff. The tariff is therefore the talisman of national prosperity. Statesmanship consists in guarding it; political economy in inventing arguments for it.

There has hardly been a year since 1861 when there have not been propositions both to raise the tariff and to lower the tariff. These propositions have reached very various stages of legislative advancement. Those to raise the tariff have generally come from Republicans, who wanted to "readjust" the tariff and make it more "equitable." Those to lower the tariff have generally come from Democrats, who wanted to "reform" it. The propositions to raise the taxes have always alarmed one set of interests, and those to lower it have always alarmed another set of interests, for all industries are so interdependent that a legislative interference with one of them is sure to affect a large number of others, and any change whatever must affect different interests in opposite ways. Hence the protective system sets our own industries in conflict with each other, and exposes them all to constant insecurity and peril. The assertion that the American people have been fright-

ened into hard times by fear lest the Democrats should overthrow the tariff, when the people have seen that the Democrats cannot unite their party for even the preliminary steps of legislative action in that branch of the legislature which they control, is one which may be left without comment to stand on its own merits.

Mr. Blaine sees the proof of the blessing of protection in the statistics of savings-bank deposits in the nine great protected States—New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey.

The statistics of savings banks contribute valuable evidence of changes in the well-being of the classes which chiefly use savings banks, provided that the statistics are adequate, trustworthy and correctly treated. If we had good statistics, covering a sufficient period, showing the amounts deposited, amounts drawn, and interest credited, then we might, by studying the fluctuations in the net amount deposited, draw some inferences as to the increase or decrease of the earnings of these classes, the increase or decrease of frugality amongst them, and the increase or decrease of their familiarity with savings banks and confidence in them. These inferences would be entangled with each other, and it would be only by extraneous evidence that we could decide in a particular case which inference should be regarded as the correct one from the facts as they appear. If we should find evidence that the increased deposits were due to increased earnings, nothing in the figures could show to what economic or moral cause increased earning power was due.

Mr. Blaine, in his argument, illustrates three or four of the worst vices in the misuse of statistics. He says that the effect of a generation of free trade is shown in the fact that the savings-bank deposits, in the nine States, in 1861, were only $160,000,000. Is that much or little? What are the figures worth without a standard of reference? He then makes a comparison of the amount of these deposits in 1861 with their amount in 1886. Plainly this is comparing an absolute amount on one side with a growth on the other. Further on, he compares the amount of the deposits in our nine States with the amount at the same time in the United Kingdom, without the slightest attempt to eliminate other elements than the one he pretends to be studying. Having deduced prosperity from the figures, he attributes that prosperity to a certain economic experiment, without the slightest warrant, or a word of verification.

The first savings bank in this country dates from 1816. The institutions spread slowly but steadily, and were quite well established in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York, by the middle of the century. At the present time they exist, or reports of them are known to the Comptroller of the Currency, only in Maine, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Maryland, District of Columbia, Ohio, Indiana, Minnesota, and California, in addition to the five States already mentioned.* Out of 1,095 million deposits in 1885, all but 107 million were in the nine States which Mr. Blaine takes into account.

The deposits in 1835 were 10.6 million ; in 1845, 24.5 million ; in 1860, 150 million ; in 1874, 864 million ;† in 1885, 1,095 million. If we ignore the short-lived tariff of 1842, and call the period from 1835 to 1860 the "free trade generation," the rate of increase of these deposits during that period was 11½ per cent. per annum. In the low-tariff period, from 1845 to 1860, the rate of increase was 14 per cent. per annum. In the 25 years of protection, from 1860 to 1885, the rate of increase was 8 per cent. per annum for the whole country, and for the nine States less. The rate of increase from 1860 to 1874 was 14½ per cent.; from 1874 to 1885 it was 2⅓ per cent. If the deposits of 1874 had been left to accumulate at 4 per cent. per annum, compounded semi-annually, without any new deposits, the amount in 1885 should have been nearly 1,350 million.

Do these figures then prove anything in favor of low tariff ? Certainly not ; but, when we remember that savings banks were unfamiliar and few during the first period, and that these advancing figures carry with them compound interest on the undrawn part of the old deposits, we see how utterly fallacious any argument is which is based upon them.

As for Maine, which Mr. Blaine makes a special case, there are no statistics of savings banks there before 1855. In 1874 the deposits were 31 million dollars. In 1885 they were 33 million. The increase is far less than the interest which should have accrued on the deposits of 1874, if they had been left undrawn. Hence the people of Maine, so far as the savings-bank deposits indicate anything, have been living up, during the last part of the protective period, the savings of the first part.

* Report of the Comptroller for 1885, p. 180.

† II., "Keyes's History of Savings Banks," 532.

Mr. Blaine says that "it must be remembered that 75 per cent. of this sum belongs to the wage-workers." No one has any data for anything but the roughest guess as to the proportion in which the savings-bank deposits are owned by one class or another. In general, savings banks are most useful to those who have no land on which to employ capital, and no opportunity to employ capital directly in industry. Not more than one person in five of those who are productively employed in the nine States either is or can be protected. The proportion of savings-bank deposits which belong to those who either are or may be protected cannot be known or guessed at. The savings-bank deposits, therefore, throw no light whatever on the free trade controversy. The savings of the people are made from all the industries of the people. Such part of the savings as convenience may dictate are brought to the savings-banks. No relation between any one group of industries and the savings-bank deposits can be established. To affirm such a relation is to make a reckless assertion.

Turning next to the Northwestern States, Mr. Blaine says:

"The figures with which we are dealing have been confined to the nine States named, because in 1861 the manufacturing done in this country was mainly confined to those States. But the thousand millions of savings by the workers within their borders become still more significant, as an economic fact, when we remember that since 1861 the great body of Northwestern States, under the inspiring influence of a protective tariff, have in turn developed an enormous aggregation of manufacturing industries. Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, are no longer devoted to agriculture solely, but have a mass of manufacturing industries larger in aggregate value than all the manufactures in all the States of the Union on the day Mr. Lincoln was first inaugurated."

He here abandons the savings-bank deposits as a criterion of tariff-created prosperity, for the very good reason that there are few or no savings banks in these five States. The Comptroller of the Currency has report of only 14 millions of savings-bank deposits in them all. Mr. Blaine finds that in some way the thousand million deposits in the Eastern States are "significant" of the benefit of protection to the five Western States. The Eastern manufacturers have won strength, skill, and independence, according to tariff theories, by being shielded from competition with the older nations of Europe, but they have forced the Western States to develop manufactures either in free competition with them or not

at all. If there had been a tariff between the East and the West, one could see that the growth of manufactures in the West could be used as an argument consistently with protectionist dogmas. As it is, that growth is the most conclusive proof that the protectionist dogmas are all false.

The free traders have always maintained that, if any Americans win anything by the tariff, they must win it at the expense of other Americans, and they have maintained that, in general, the agricultural States must pay for all which the manufacturing States win by the tariff. If now Mr. Blaine has used savings-bank deposits as a criterion of tariff blessings, and if he finds that the Western States have few or no deposits, he cannot quietly drop the criterion until he thinks it will serve his purpose again to compare American and English facts. It behooves him to ward off the inference that when we look at the deposits in the East, we are looking at part of the spoil which the protective system has enabled one part of our people to wrest from the other, provided always that Mr. Blaine is right in ascribing the big Eastern deposits to the tariff.

Let us suppose, for the sake of the argument, that he has established a relation of cause and effect between the tariff and the deposits. If the question were whether horse jockeys pursue a useful industry, no light would be thrown upon that question by showing that the jockeys have large sums in the savings bank. If a lawyer who made a good professional income should spend it in yachting, his sailors might put part of their wages in the savings bank. The statistics of savings banks could not be quoted to prove that yachting increases national wealth. The employees in a national dock-yard, or the officers and men in the army or navy, might save large sums and put them in the savings banks. This would not prove that national welfare was increased by collecting taxes to be expended on iron-clads or on a standing army. So long, then, as the point in issue between free traders and protectionists is whether all protected industries are not parasites on other industries, Mr. Blaine's appeal to the savings-bank statistics are of no force; for, if his whole argument were granted him, it would only prove that the parasites profit by the arrangement. If he undertook to meet this point, he would have to drop all his savings-bank statistics and face the question of the nature and effect of protective taxes.

In the next paragraph he returns to the savings-bank statistics,

in order to try to make an argument against free trade in England.

"And yet another comparision may be made, still more embarrassing to the free trade doctrinaires and more difficult for them to answer. While the American workmen in nine States, working under a protective tariff, have over a thousand millions of dollars in saving banks, the vastly greater mass of workingmen in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, the whole United Kingdom, all working under free trade, have less than four hundred millions of dollars, in the aggregate, both in saving banks and postal banks. These figures and these dollars are the most persuasive of arguments, and the conclusion they teach is so plain that the running man may read."

If any free trade doctrinaire should be embarrassed by this argument, he may retaliate by asking Mr. Blaine why there are few or no savings-bank deposits in twenty-five States of this Union, in spite of the protective tariff. To answer this, Mr. Blaine will have to show what other considerations must be taken into account besides the savings-bank statistics. Then he will have to allow other considerations to be taken into account in the case of the United Kingdom, and then it will not be the free trader who will be embarrassed.

Thus it appears that the argument from savings-bank statistics, as Mr. Blaine uses it, is only a tangle of crude and *naive* blunders. The large amount of deposits in one place proves nothing for or against protection, and the small amount in another place proves nothing for or against free trade. The debts of Western farmers are just as good an evidence of prosperity, when used properly and within proper limits, as the savings of Eastern artisans and servant girls.

Mr. Blaine recurs to the tariff when he comes to warn the wages class of the dangers which he thinks they should apprehend. When he turns to the South it appears that even a protective tariff cannot secure prosperity and high wages unless there is universal suffrage, not only by law, but in fact. His construction of the situation is this: Southern negroes have the suffrage by law, but are prevented by the Democrats from using it. This enables their employers to force down their wages arbitrarily. The negroes are forcing their way into the mechanic arts, the building trades being especially mentioned. They thus come into competition with Northern laborers, and force down Northern wages. From the doctrines here put forward it would follow that

the employers of women, minors, and aliens, can depress their wages below the market rate; also that, since aliens cannot vote without a property qualification in Rhode Island, that fact depresses wages generally in Connecticut; also that denying the suffrage to women in the East lowers wages in Wyoming, where they have it. Mr. Blaine's remedy is as fantastic as his diagnosis. Let the wage-receivers vote the Republican ticket. Then the Republicans will give the suffrage to the Southern negroes more than they have it now. (How this is to be done we are not told.) Then the negroes will force up their wages, and this will raise those of Northern mechanics.

If, however, we accept Mr. Blaine's assumption that there is any trouble at all as regards the entrance of the negro into the labor market, it is plain, on his own showing, that the trouble is all due to emancipation, which has set the negro free to learn the mechanical employments, and to change his place of abode if he chooses. As he cannot be returned to slavery, the next best thing, according to the Blaine theory of politics and political economy, would be to put a protective tariff on the "imaginary line" which separates the highly paid Northern whites from the poorly paid Southern blacks, just as we have, most shrewdly, according to Mr. Blaine, separated our artisans from the miserably paid artisans of Europe. There would be a further advantage in this remedy, that it would be all ready for application to the case of the Western men; for, when they ask why their wages are higher than Eastern wages, and how they are to be protected from the competition of low-priced Eastern labor, another protective tariff could be set up on the imaginary line between East and West. This would bring Mr. Blaine, at last, face to face with one of the ultimate absurdities of protectionism, the question which no one can answer: How big should the territorial unit be on which the protective scheme is applied? If the interests of wage-workers require that those in a district where wages are higher should be shielded by a tariff against competition with those in a district where wages are lower, then the place to see the iniquity and immense mischief of free trade to the wages class is not England but the United States. Mr. Blaine has stumbled upon the proof of it in showing how the Southern negroes have been put into the labor market in free competition with all other laborers in the United States. His political remedy may be left out of account, because, if the Republicans were in full

power to-day, they could not do the first thing to affect the use of the suffrage by the Southern negroes. Therefore, Mr. Blaine has either shown to the wages class the immense wrong they suffer from free trade inside this Union, or he has made a *reductio ad absurdum* of protectionism.

W. G. SUMNER.

# NOTES AND COMMENTS.

## I.

### THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE AND THE CHANCES OF FUTURE DESTRUCTIVE EARTHQUAKES IN THE UNITED STATES.

I MUST confess to some surprise at the manner in which the great earthquake, which shook the Eastern half of the American continent, has been dealt with by many throughout the country, who have considered it either in its scientific aspect or as affecting the confidence which the inhabitants of the disturbed region can place in its future stability. On the first point, I have been more struck by what has been advanced as known than by the expression of opinions which appear absolutely unscientific. It has seemed as though the admission of "I do not know," which Lagrange long since said that the true man of science must constantly have to make (if he is honestly outspoken), is one which is not too readily made in these days, or in connection with this particular subject. Yet the public can form but one opinion when so many and such diverse opinions are expressed by those to whom it refers for information; and surely it would be far better if the public concluded that men of science were doubtful on this subject because they frankly admitted as much, than that they should arrive at this conclusion because many men of science claimed to know, but all expressed different opinions.

The broad fact known to all the world is, that over a region where there are no active volcanoes, and where, although there have been earthquakes, none have hitherto been recorded by which serious destruction has been wrought or loss of life occasioned, a series of shocks have taken place, by which many lives have been lost, many cities have been injured, and one city has been so shaken that more than half of it lies in ruins. All this has happened without any warning that could have been of the least value even if it had been noticed.

I doubt even whether there was any connection whatever between the portents spoken of now, after the event, and the great earthquake which followed them. At any rate, there was no such connection as many have confidently asserted. It may be perfectly true that elsewhere great earthquakes have been preceded by abnormal conditions of weather, and especially by abnormal variations of atmospheric pressure. But it is at least as certain that such peculiarities have been again and again noticed even in earthquake or volcanic regions without being followed by any disturbance, while they are noted repeatedly in countries where, as in America but a few weeks ago, there has never been any reason to fear the occurrence of destructive earthquakes. It would be idle to assert that

such indications can be regarded as earthquake warnings, though, on the other hand, I would not say that there may not be a very real connection between the earthquake and such preceding conditions of atmospheric pressure. If the subterranean tensions, no matter how produced, are very nearly balanced, as they necessarily must be before resistance against motion succumbs to gradual increase of pressure, then, no doubt, a change of pressure corresponding to an inch or two of height in the mercurial barometer might bring about the catastrophe, much as the slightest pull of a hair trigger may bring about an explosion whose force has nothing whatever to do either with the pressure on the trigger or with the force with which the hammer strikes the cap.

We may, indeed, find some little light thrown on the immediate causes of earthquakes by considering the evidence we have as to their occurrence at the time of particular states of atmospheric pressure, or in connection with the special condition of tidal waters, and the like. It seems to have been fairly made out that earthquakes follow in some degree the seasons, occurring oftener at the equinoxes than at other times, and somewhat oftener when the earth is in that part of her orbit which is nearer the sun than when she is in the other half of her orbit. Supposing this not accidental, we may consider that at such times the tidal wave runs somewhat higher, and that, as most earthquakes affect shore-lines, we may here recognize the effects of a change of pressure which, though utterly insignificant compared with the pressures at work beneath the earth's crust, may exert a very important influence (of the hair-trigger sort) when these pressures are nearly balanced. Even the effect of seemingly slight changes of atmospheric pressure cannot be wholly despised in this respect. For example, suppose the mercurial barometer to sink rapidly one inch or to rise one inch, and remain steadily for a day or two one inch above its average height, we might notice one or other change as producing particular atmospheric effects; but what would be the effect on the pressures at work beneath a region where for many years, perhaps for centuries, forces of adjustment had been at work, tensions arising here and pressures there, until at length the whole subterranean region was ready to yield to some accumulated pressure which resisting tensions were no longer able to balance? If such a region were ten miles square, a difference of the mercurial barometer by one inch would indicate a difference of atmospheric pressure amounting to no less than fifty millions of tons! It cannot be supposed that so trifling a change of pressure as this would of itself produce any noteworthy effect. But a weight of 50,000,000 tons thrown into a scale already about to descend would certainly precipitate the descent however enormously the nearly balanced weights might surpass the additional weight thus thrown in on one side.

If we remember that over the whole of the sea region around Charleston the tidal waves are always adding and taking away a weight compared with which the amount just considered may be regarded as nothing, and that when the earthquake occurred the changes thus occurring were approaching their absolute maximum for the year, we can conceive that if a change was approaching on account of the gradual overcoming of some unknown forces of resistance by equally unknown forces of attack, this change might well have been actually

brought to pass by the temporary accumulation of water pressures and atmospheric pressures, or, rather, by changes in these, temporarily remarkable in character, and seeing this we may infer that such movements were already impending, when extra changes of pressure brought them about. Even in our absolute ignorance of the nature of these movements, and of the quality of the subterranean forces at work in the neighborhood, we see some light in the circumstance that changes of pressure on the outside seem to act as determining the victory for one set of forces over the other—we may see the attacking forces over the forces of resistance.

In the present case we not only see some degree of light in such evidence, but may even recognize some trace of hope. Of course, the great question which must be in all men's minds in connection with this great earthquake is this—How far can we hereafter trust to that immunity from destructive earthquakes which in the Eastern States of America had seemed so complete? All the opinions expressed by geologists respecting the cause of this last great disturbance are unimportant compared with the question whether Charleston is likely to be again visited by an earthquake of the same destructive sort. Now, if it shall appear on inquiry that the forces which have partially destroyed Charleston, and seriously shaken the Southern States, have in reality been forces which found relief in the great disturbance, and are not likely soon (by which I mean within perhaps hundreds of years) to need relief of the sort again, then it will matter little whether the earthquake was brought about by a great land-slide beneath the sea, as some have suggested, or by imprisoned and superheated steam, as others have surmised, or (as is perhaps more probable than either view) by the accumulated effect of strains and tensions resulting from the steady process of contraction which the earth's crust is all the time undergoing. We may, even in this case, recognize in the long immunity which the United States have enjoyed from destructive earthquakes, the evidence of future safety, seeing that one great disturbance seems to have sufficed to work off the accumulated subterranean tensions of many centuries; and as long a time of comparative quiescence may be expected to follow the present earthquake as we know preceded it.

It appears to me that, viewing the matter in this way, we may confidently shake off the fears which some have been disposed to suggest in regard to the future safety of the South-eastern States, and of South Carolina in particular. Consider the case of the great earthquake at Lisbon, which resembled, in many particulars, the earthquake of August 31 last. In that earthquake, one hundred and thirty-one years ago, the whole of the Spanish peninsula was shaken; the disturbance was strongly felt in France and Italy; the Scottish lakes were so shaken that in many cases a wave traveled from end to end of a sheet of water several miles in length; and even the northern parts of the Scandinavian peninsula responded to the shock. Seawards, the disturbance spread so that half the island of Madeira was laid waste; but far beyond that, even in America, the effects of the great earthquake were felt by the then British colonists of New England and Virginia. The same fears were excited then in Europe which have been suggested quite naturally here. But for those fears, in 1755, there were more serious reasons.

Spain and Portugal had before been shaken by great and destructive earthquakes; not far off, as distance is measured in such cases as these, were the great volcanic outlets, Vesuvius and Etna, to say nothing of the ever-active Stromboli, the Lipari Isles, and the rest of the Italian volcanic region. Beyond that again lay the volcanoes of the Greek Archipelago and the active earthquake region of Asia Minor. Lisbon had stood facing the sea on the advanced front of the great land bastion, within which these regions of disturbance had so often been actively at work, while around it the sea forces, ever active in destruction, were ever busy, and not far off on this side were groups of volcanic islands, including the still active Teneriffe, surpassing even Etna in volcanic might. Can we wonder if, for many years, the inhabitants of Lisbon felt that at any moment the city might be destroyed as before—nay, might be even ingulfed, as had seemed threatened during those terrible eight minutes, in the course of which no fewer than fifty thousand persons had perished?

Yet more than a century and a quarter have passed and Lisbon has not again been visited by a destructive earthquake. Six generations of men have lived and died unscathed by subterranean shocks. If this has happened in a place manifestly exposed to earthquake dangers, at the very outskirts, if one ought not rather to say in the very midst, of an earthquake region, I cannot see why we may not fairly expect a similar immunity for Charleston—nay, an immunity probably much longer lasting than that of Lisbon has yet been, or even than it can be expected to be. It does not seem to me that the continued signs of disturbance in and around Charleston affect this probability. Past experience has shown that no great earthquake completes its work in a single shock. The downfall of a rock mass on the shore of the Amazons is always followed by a succession of falls along both banks of the great river, and both above and below the scene of the first fall, until it seems as though a battle between the Gods and the Titans were in progress (so did the eminent traveler, Bates, recently describe these phenomena on the Amazons, as he calls that aggregation of rivers). In like manner, but on a much grander scale, is it when, in the subterranean contest, ever at work, some great accumulation of pressures finally overcomes the stalwart resistance which had been long opposed to it. The shock following that first great subterranean disturbance is followed by others, and these again by others, before the subterranean equilibrium is finally restored. But, after that condition of equilibrium has been brought about, there is nothing to prevent the state of rest thus reached from lasting for centuries. And, so far as one can judge from all past experience, there is even stronger reason for supposing that this will happen in the case of Charleston than in the case of Lisbon or Antioch, or other cities which, in past times, have been destroyed by earthquakes. For in their case there had been before, and there have been since, the clearest signs of constant subterranean disturbance near and around them. In the case of Charleston there has long been in the past, and we may well hope that there will long be in the future, signs as clear and marked of relative stability.

In conclusion, I would venture to offer a remark on the statement which has recently been made and widely repeated, that earthquakes are increasing in number. It might not be sufficient to assert, what, however, is certainly

the case, that all antecedent probabilities are against the truth of this idea. For *à priori* probabilities must always give way before observed facts. But what in this case is the observed fact? Simply that the number of recorded earth-throes has increased in a greater degree than could be expected from the mere increase in the attention directed to earthquakes. At first sight nothing seems clearer than that this has happened, and nothing can seem more certain than that such evidence is decisive. But in reality the evidence which has been gathered has not the meaning which has been (very naturally) attributed to it. It is not the case that observed earthquakes of a certain kind have increased four or five times in number. Were it so we might well say that such an increase could not be explained by mere increase in the number of observers. What has happened has been this, that observation has so far increased in exactness that earth-throes, such as before had been left unnoticed, are now observed and recorded. This is a very different matter. If we extend our observations so as to include an entirely new class of earthquakes, we may increase in any degree whatever (what degree can only be determined by observation) the number of recorded earthquakes. There may be a thousand tremors to every throe, a hundred earth-throes to every earthquake, properly so-called.

RICHARD A. PROCTOR.

## II.

### SEND BACK THE OBELISK!

ON a cold, disagreeable day in the mid-winter of 1881 I was present in the fashionable throng gathered in the Metropolitan Museum of Art to witness the dedication to the city of New York of Cleopatra's Needle, which had been transferred from Egypt and erected at the door of the museum in Central Park.

It was with a feeling of sadness akin to pain that I looked upon the familiar form of my old friend, for such, indeed, the obelisk was. During my long military service in Egypt I had frequently encamped within the limits of its shadows, and, when lost in day-dreams, I had gazed upon its stony face and, musing, read there the story of its past grandeur and glory. In imagination I saw it as it stood at the door of the great Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis, where it reflected from its gold-embellished sides the lights which flashed from the altars within, kindled by the hand of the great high-priest who performed the sacred rites, him who was the father-in-law of Joseph. There, side by side with its fellow monolith, it stood, and, wet with the dews of morning, waited to be kissed by the rays of the sun, or turned its face southward and along the Nile, as if to salute its sister obelisk in the far distant Ethiopia at Karnac.

Again, I saw it at Heliopolis at the period when Herodotus and Plato were there engaged in studying the "Wisdom of Egypt." And again I saw it standing in the Sebasteum, at Alexandria, where it had been removed by the loving hand of Cleopatra. And thus I saw it loom out from the blaze of fire and cloud of smoke as the grand temple fell under the infamous decree of the Emperor Theodosius.

Another day I beheld march past beneath its shadow the conquering armies of Alexander and Cæsar, the Arab hosts of Amrou, and in turn the legions of Napoleon and Kleber. It unfolded to me, in its own mystic way, the glory of the days that had been, and the grandeur of the great Thotmes, the father and founder of the obelisk. It told of Cleopatra's love and devotion. It thrilled with the pride of the Pharaohs. It tingled with the shame of Actium. On its solid foundation in Alexandria it stood when I last looked upon it, from out the wreck of time unscathed and untouched either by fire or the storm of battle, a grand and magnificent tablet of an unknown time and people. And now, as I stood in the presence of that block of stone rudely torn from its native shore—a stranger within our gates—I felt a sense of shame come over me as in fancy I listened to the well-merited reproaches addressed my countrymen for the deep damnation of its taking off—an act of vandalism which may be justly likened to that of the theft of the Elgin Marbles from the Temple of Minerva.

The brilliant orator of the occasion asserted, in the inception of his address, that the transaction and the removal of the obelisk were creditable to our nation and our day, and as a corollary to this proposition he asked: "Whether our system of religion and our system of government would outlast the obelisk?" adding the reflection: "Can you expect the soft folds of luxury to wrap themselves closer and closer and your nation to know no decrepitude? And will your nation last?" "These are questions," he said, "the obelisk may ask, but not now." Whatever doubts Mr. Evarts may have had upon the stability of the government then, let me hasten to assure him that if the obelisk seriously intends to ask any such questions it must do so very soon; for, pausing in my rambles through the park a few days ago, I remarked with much alarm that Cleopatra's Needle is fast crumbling away, and unless some heroic remedy is applied to arrest decay, it may not be preserved long enough to ask whether the "nation will last?"

When the memorial ceremonies had been completed, and justly merited compliments had been rendered to the skill and genius of the naval officer, who saw in the matter only a test of his professional ability, I turned from the scene silently protesting against what I deemed to be purely and simply a desecration and a wrong, So strong was this conviction that I wrote the following note for publication:

"Cleopatra's Needle upon our shores can never be other than a reproach. It was rudely torn from its base at the inspiration of some private and vulgar enterprise as yet concealed. It is not a gift to the nation, though the Department of State has permitted its consular agent to act in a semi-official capacity in its acceptance.

"Has the agent represented to the department the very great unwillingness of Tewfik Khedive to carry out the pseudo-promise of the bankrupt and dethroned Ismail with reference to the transfer of this monument? Has he signaled to the department the general cry of indignation which arose in all Egypt at the profanation-vandalism to be consummated, and that the populace were restrained from violent opposition to its removal only in deference to the wishes of the Egyptian Government?

"The people of Alexandria, it is said, have declared their intention to erect, upon the site of the obelisk, a monument reciting the circumstances of the removal, and declaring the act one of pure vandalism." I further added what will appear as doubly significant in view of the actual decay of the obelisk: "Ere it be too late, ere the winters of New York shall have done for Cleopatra's Needle what a score of centuries have not done, and could not do, let the city of New York disown the act of the government, and by popular subscription, if need be, return to the despoiled and outraged city her lost monument.

"This would be an act worthy of a generous people. It would be in the way of 'the eternal fitness of things,' and a rebuke to that insolence of money which seeks notoriety and place by attaching its name to enterprises which attract the attention and applause of the populace."

In the autumn of the same year of the ceremony to which allusion is made, I returned to Egypt. Impelled by curiosity, I visited the site where the needle once stood. It had been stated, among other reasons, to excuse its removal, that the "sea was encroaching upon the land, and if not taken down it was destined to topple into the sea." I measured the distance, and so far from this being the case, I found, in fact, that the land is gaining upon the sea, and what was known as the "old port" is destined to become high and dry land, and will thus be a large and valuable acquisition to the government, on which a new city may be built. The Secretary of State at Washington was doubtless kept in ignorance not only of the state of public feeling, so manifestly hostile to the removal of the obelisk, but, more important still, of the opposition of the Khedive, which was only too apparent in his reply to the interested consular agent, who did not scruple to employ the authority of his office to force the Khedive to consent. Tewfik said: "Mr. Consul, take it; my people complain; I am delighted to see that they appreciate these antiquities; I agree with them that they are of great historical value to us, but I do not wish to offend the Great Republic." This is not the language, surely, of one who makes a voluntary gift, but one made under compulsion, and its acquisition was neither "creditable to our nation," nor "to our day," and it is certain that Mr. Evarts would never have authorized such action had he been kept advised of the true condition of affairs. But then it was idle to expect that this should be so. The United States Consulate in Egypt has been for many years an Augean stable, and quite beyond the control of the Secretaries of State, who seem to have abandoned it heretofore to the questionable care of their subordinates. And hence the series of scandals which have made it "famous."

Other nations, it may be objected, have taken obelisks from Egypt. True, but they found them buried in the sand, or they took them from some remote and ruined city. Cleopatra's Needle stood upon a fixed and solid foundation in the beautiful and populous city founded by Alexander the Great. It was the only monument within the limits of the city. It was a monument of Egyptian fame, Egyptian art, and bore the name of a celebrated Egyptian queen. In Egypt it represented a part of her glorious history. In America it is meaningless and senseless. Had one been constructed of soap it would have been as appropriate and perhaps just as enduring. At any rate, no wrong would have

been committed—no country despoiled. There is a common scandal in Egypt that the obelisk was pulled down at the "inspiration of some private enterprise," and Mr. Salvago, who was then the United States consular agent, affirms most positively that he paid away the sum of £600 sterling as a share claimed for services rendered in the purchase of the steamer "Dessouk" from the Egyptian Government, which steamer was destined to transport the obelisk to America; and Salvago means to say that there were two prices for the "Dessouk," one which Mr. Vanderbilt paid and the other which the Egyptian Government received. Mr. Salvago says he knows to whom he gave this money, a kind of "boodle," and Mr. Vanderbilt should call upon him to tell. In any event it adds nothing to the glory of the manner in which the obelisk has been acquired, and may cause the monument itself to tingle anew with shame.

Who shall say that the acknowledged disintegration of the obelisk now is not due to the interposition of some avenging spirit who seeks to redress its wrongs, and thus commits its crumbling sands to winds which waft them back to its eastern home, there to commingle with the dust of ages from whence it came? Be this as it may, let us anticipate its absolute decay, and, as I have already suggested, raise a popular subscription, and "return to the despoiled and outraged city of Alexandria her lost monument. This would be an act worthy of a generous people." This is far better than paraffine-waterproof, which only prolongs the agony. The obelisk is suffering from consumption, and only a change of climate can save it from annihilation.

CHAS. CHAILLÉ LONG.

## III.

### SOME MISTAKES OF REAR ADMIRAL TAYLOR.

IN the July number of your valuable periodical, Wm. Rogers Taylor, Rear Admiral U. S. N., in an article entitled "A Mistake by General Beauregard," disagrees with my narrative published by you of the engagement of the Confederate rams "Palmetto State" and "Chicora," on the 31st of January, 1863, with the Federal blockading fleet, then stationed off the Charleston harbor. What I said in the communication complained of was the substance of what Commodore Ingraham and Commanders Tucker and Rutledge had told me, and of what was afterwards reiterated by them in their official reports of the occurrence. I was not on board either Confederate ram on that day, but I had suggested the sortie referred to, and was one of the first to be apprised of every detail of the action. The idea never crossed my mind that any information then given me by Commodore Ingraham and the two commanders under him could ever be disputed as incorrect. Their honorable character was a sufficient guaranty of their reliability. And, in fact, I had myself—with many others—actually witnessed the result of this naval attack.

If I understand him aright, Rear Admiral Taylor denies that "the vessels composing the blockading squadron," on that occasion, "hurriedly steamed out to sea, and entirely disappeared," when set upon by the two Southern gunboats, and that "the entire harbor remained in the full possession" of the Confederates. And he therefore denies that the blockade of Charleston was

raised "for the time being, as certified to by Commodore Ingraham, by the foreign consuls then in Charleston, and by myself."

There is nothing new in the position assumed by Rear Admiral Taylor. What he alleges to-day has already been substantially alleged, not only by himself, but by other Federal naval commanders, and even, as it also appears, by the colonel of a Pennsylvania Militia Regiment—Colonel A. A. Lechler. The officious zeal of this gentleman is all the more remarkable that, from what he indirectly admits, he was never near the scene of action, and was merely passing on a transport, at some distance off the Charleston harbor, where he encountered the Federal fleet, evidently after its dispersion, for he fixes his arrival there at 8.30 A.M. We know that, half an hour before that moment, the "Palmetto State" and "Chicora" were already both at anchor, "leaving the partially crippled and fleeing enemy," says Commander Tucker in his report, "about seven miles clear of the bar, standing at the southward and eastward." *

Contradictory statements and denials of this nature, concerning the events of the late war, are not of unfrequent occurrence. What one side positively avers is often no less positively dissented to by the other. Thus, even to this hour, officers who had occupied high rank in the Union Army—General Sherman among them—deny that the Confederates took the Federals by surprise on the first day of the battle of Shiloh. So also does General Sherman continue even now, as I am informed, to deny that Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, was burned by his own troops.

The conclusion forced upon us is, not that General Sherman and Rear Admiral Taylor, and others who speak and write as they do, are correct in their assertions, but that, unfortunately, evidence, however authentic be its source, loses its weight and is disregarded, when coming from those who were enemies at the time of the occurrence under dispute. It follows none the less, however, that a clear comprehension and just appreciation of such contested points are, sooner or later, reached; and thus is the level of all historical facts eventually settled.

In my article referred to by Rear Admiral Taylor I never even intimated that because the Federal blockading fleet was dispersed, north and south, on the 31st January, 1863, by the Confederate rams "Palmetto State" and "Chicora," the Charleston blockade was permanently broken, and remained so to the end. I said that "*for the time being*" it was raised; and I maintain that my assertion was absolutely correct, notwithstanding the denial of Rear Admiral Taylor and of others.

After the dispersion of the blockading squadron, and as long as the two Confederate rams remained at anchor near the entrance of Beach Channel—that is to say, for more than nine hours—not one of the Federal ships was in sight. Who can, therefore, truthfully say that from 8 A.M. to 3.45 P.M. of that day (and Admiral Taylor says 5 P.M.), the blockade of Charleston was not actually broken? During that time, could not any ship or steamer desiring to

* See Colonel Lechler's letter to Rear Admiral Du Pont, in "War of the Rebellion Official Records," Series I., Vol. XIV., pp. 209, 210. See also Commander Tucker's Report, in same work, same vol., pp. 208, 209.

enter or leave the harbor have done so without molestation? Clearly the Federal fleet could not have prevented any such entrance or exit, while away from its usual place of anchorage, and, I repeat it, while out of sight of the Charleston harbor.

It is admitted that early the next morning the whole Federal fleet had resumed its habitual position. It is also conceded—nor had the point ever been contested on our part—that we did not again attempt the feat so successfully accomplished the day previous. The reasons for our inaction are given in "Military Operations of General Beauregard," Vol. II., p. 58, where the following can be found:

"It would not be fair, however, to detract from the merits of an enterprise which, so far as it went, reflected honor on the officers and men engaged in it. It should not be forgotten that Commodore Ingraham had many serious obstacles to contend with; first, the weakness of the machinery of the two boats; second, their very heavy and objectionable draught; and, third, the fact that neither could be looked upon as altogether seaworthy. But whatever may have been the causes that prevented a more brilliant result, the official statement, as made by General Beauregard, Commodore Ingraham, and the foreign consuls then on the spot, was true: the blockade of the port of Charleston, for the time being, had been raised, and the hostile fleet guarding its outer harbor had been unquestionably dispersed."

In war, events occur and follow each other in rapid succession; and it often happens that what was an accomplished fact in the morning ceases to be one in the evening. But because a position taken and occupied at 6 o'clock A.M., may be lost at 6 o'clock P.M. the same day, is it untrue to state that, for a specific space of time, that position was really in the possession of those who had attacked it? To propound such a question is to answer it. I was justified, therefore, and so was Commodore Ingraham, and so were the foreign consuls spoken of, in making the statement already referred to. When first published—namely, on the 31st of January—it was unquestionably true; notwithstanding the fact that a different condition of things existed the next day. It was clearly my duty, under the circumstances, to take advantage of an opportunity which might have so materially benefited the Confederate cause in the eyes of foreign powers.

Commodore Ingraham's Report is published in full, and so is Commander Tucker's, in "War of the Rebellion Official Records," Series I., Vol. XIV., pp. 207-209. These two papers are deserving of careful attention, and speak the honest truth, from beginning to end. The following is an extract of what Commodore Ingraham said:

"I knew our opportunity was to take the enemy unawares, as the moment he was under way, from his superior speed, we could not close with him. I then directed Lieutenant Rutledge, commanding, to require from Lieutenant-Commander Abbot" [of the United States steamer 'Mercedita,' just surrendered] "his word of honor for his commander, officers, and crew, that they would not serve against the Confederate States until regularly exchanged. . . . I then stood to the northward and eastward, and soon after made another steamer getting under way. We stood for her and fired several shots at her, but as we had to fight the vessel in a circle to bring the different guns to bear, she was soon out of range. In this way we engaged several vessels,

they keeping at long range and steering to the southward. . . . We had but little opportunity of trying our vessels, as the enemy did not close, and not a single shot struck either vessel."

The Federal ships "Augusta" and "Housatonic" may have fired "thirty-four shot and shell" at the "Palmetto State," as Rear Admiral Taylor asserts, and I have no doubt that, besides these, several other Federal vessels also fired a few retreating shots at the two Confederate rams; but all did so at very long range, and while using their utmost speed to increase the distance between them and their pursuers. In fact, their only object appeared to be to get out of the way, and avoid the fate of the "Mercedita," the "Keystone State," the "Quaker City," and others whose names were not mentioned by Commodore Ingraham and Commander Tucker. The officers in command of the ships composing the blockade of Charleston were unquestionably gallant officers, but they so little expected the sortie of the two Confederate rams, that some of them exhibited undue precipitancy and perturbation, when they realized the danger threatening them. Commodore Ingraham's report bears me out in this respect. I quote:

"After some delay Lieutenant Abbot, commanding, came on board and informed me that the vessel was the United States steamer 'Mercedita,' . . . that she was in a sinking condition, had a crew of 158, all told, and wished to be relieved; *that all boats were lowered without the plugs being in, and were full of water.*"*

The blockading squadron consisted of ten ships. Out of these, four only were engaged, it is alleged, or, rather, happened to be in direct contact with the two Confederate rams. The "Housatonic" and the "Augusta" came to the rescue, says Rear Admiral Taylor, but "*after all the damage that was done had been inflicted.*" The "Flag," "Ottawa," "Unadilla," and "Stettin," he adds, "were at the extremities of the long line, and did not get into action." I fail to see any reason for it. They could certainly have run from their anchorage and reached the scene of danger in time; for we must not forget that it took the "Palmetto State" and the "Chicora" at least two hours to cripple, capture, and otherwise damage those of the Federal ships that were too slow in getting out of their way. It strikes me that such a course on their part but confirms what Rear Admiral Taylor specially objects to in my article of May last, namely, "*that the other vessels composing the blockading squadron, seeing the fate of their consorts, and fearing the same one for themselves, hurriedly steamed out to sea and entirely disappeared.*"

I now give this passage from Commander Tucker's report:

". . . Commenced the action at 5.30 A.M., by firing into a schooner-rigged propeller, which we set on fire, and have reason to believe sunk, as she was nowhere to be seen at daylight. We then engaged a large side-wheel steamer, twice our length from us, on the port bow, firing three shots into her with telling effect, when she made a run for it. This vessel was supposed to be the 'Quaker City.' We then engaged a schooner-rigged propeller and a large side-wheel steamer, partially crippling both, and setting on fire the latter, causing her to strike her flag. At this time the latter vessel, supposed to be the

* The italics are mine.

'Keystone State,' was completely at my mercy, having a raking position astern, distance some 200 yards. I at once gave the order to cease firing upon her, and directed Lieutenant Bier, First Lieutenant of the 'Chicora,' to man a boat and take charge of the prize; if possible, to save her. If that was not possible, to rescue the crew.* While the boat was in the act of being manned I discovered that she was endeavoring to make her escape by working her starboard wheel, the other being disabled. Her colors being down, I at once started in pursuit and renewed the engagement. Owing to her superior steaming qualities she soon widened the distance to some 2,000 yards. She then hoisted her flag and commenced firing her rifled gun, her commander, by this faithless act, placing himself beyond the pale of civilized and honorable warfare."

It is proper, I think, to state here, that Rear Admiral Taylor, while narrating this important incident of the engagement, transforms it into a praiseworthy effort on the part of the officer commanding the "Keystone State," and, singularly enough, throws the whole odium of the breach of faith committed on Commander Tucker.

The latter goes on to say, in his report:

"We next engaged two schooners, one brig and one bark-rigged propeller, but not having the requisite speed, were unable to bring them to close quarters. We pursued them six or seven miles seaward. During the engagement (toward its termination) I was engaged at long range, with a bark-rigged steam sloop-of-war, but in spite of all our efforts was unable to bring her to close quarters, owing to her superior steaming qualities."

What Rear Admiral Taylor quotes from a book which, he says, was written by Captain William Harmar Parker, formerly "First Lieutenant of the 'Palmetto State,'" amounts to very little—if to anything—and is far from conveying the meaning which is erroneously given to it. I never saw the book referred to, and am loth to judge of its merits from the few extracts inserted in Rear Admiral Taylor's article. But to what conclusion does the admiral wish to force us, even admitting that Captain Parker disapproved of the proclamation published by Commodore Ingraham and myself, and characterized as "*foolish*" the statement attributed to the British Consul and the commander of the British war steamer "Petrel"? That would merely be Captain Parker's opinion, which, if honest—though groundless—he certainly had the right to express. It is, however, but an opinion, and not, in the remotest degree, an historical fact.

* "We, the undersigned, certify that a steamer (side-wheel) supposed to be the 'Keystone State,' not only struck her flag on the morning of January 31st, but that we saw a number of her men rush upon the after part of her deck and extend their arms toward us in an imploring manner, she being at that time completely at our mercy, distant from us some 200 yards.

"G. H. BIER,
"*C. S. Navy, First Lieutenant and Exec. Officer Chicora.*
"W. T. GLASSEL, *Lieutenant.*
"BENJAMIN F. SHELBY,
"*Squadron Quartermaster.*"

"War of the Rebellion Official Records," Series I., Vol. XIV., p. 209.

Captain Parker may also have said that, "as we entered the harbor the Federal vessels closed in and resumed their position." He may have seen what others failed to discover. But he could not have said or written anywhere in his book that, *before* the two Confederate rams entered the inner harbor, the Federal vessels reoccupied their usual place of anchorage; for he was himself on one of the two Confederate vessels, and knew, as well as Commodore Ingraham, as well as Commanders Tucker and Rutledge, and all the other officers and men, that such was not the case.

Again, Captain Parker is quoted as having said that "the proclamation in regard to the blockade being broken he looked upon as *all bosh*. No vessels went out or came in during the day." That such was the case proves only that there were no vessels ready then to come in or go out of Charleston. Had there been any, as I have already shown, nothing would have stopped them. Nor should it be forgotten that Captain Parker's trivial expression does not constitute a fact, and in nowise touches upon the question involved.

Captain Parker's final opinion, that "this was a badly managed affair on our part," and that "we did not make the best use of our opportunity," is partially correct. I agree with him that we could and should have accomplished more, had Commodore Ingraham been less generous towards the Federal ships that had struck their flags and surrendered to him and to Commander Tucker. I have explained, in another part of this paper, what were the additional causes which intervened to prevent a more complete success.

Before taking leave of this subject I desire to add that the Federal blockading fleet was rendered so uneasy and inefficient by the result of the attack made upon it on the 31st of January, 1863, that, for days and weeks afterwards, it was matter of no difficulty for blockade runners to enter or leave the port with almost entire freedom, as is shown by the following dispatch:

CHARLESTON, S. C., *February* 14, 1863.

*To General Cooper, Richmond, Va.:* Steamers "Ruby," "Leopard," and "T. D. Wagner" arrived, and "Douglas" left safely, during last night. Have called attention of foreign consuls formally to fact.

THOMAS JORDAN, *Chief of Staff.*

If this could be done after the blockading squadron had resumed its position, no argument is necessary to show that while it was away from it—as was the case on the 31st of January—ingress and egress to and from the harbor of Charleston was open to all.

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

NEW ORLEANS, *August* 29th, 1886.

## IV.

### PROGRESS OF COLORADO.

THE anonymous author of the able article upon the American "House of Lords," which appeared in the May number of THE REVIEW, speaks of Colorado as follows:

"Colorado is not a State of homes, and it never will be a populous State. Like Nevada, it is a district of miners' cabins and cowboys' huts, of revolvers and canned fruits."

Whatever our impressions of the political or practical wisdom of the organization of the national Senate may be, and however just the complaint that a small State should not possess the same political representation in that body with a large one, the somewhat contemptuous reference which is made to our young commonwealth should not be permitted to pass unchallenged, for our mining camps are more than collections of huts, and our State is emphatically a land of homes. In 1870 the population of the territory was 39,864. The State was formally admitted on the first day of August, 1876, and in 1880 the population had increased to 194,327. The first State census, taken in 1885, returned the number of inhabitants at 243,910, being a gain of over twenty-five per cent. in five years. A similar ratio of increase will give us a population of over 325,000 with which to begin the last decade of the century.

Of the 66,332,800 acres which comprise our territorial domain, seven per cent., or about 5,000,000 acres, are tillable land, capable of irrigation; fifty-two per cent., or over 34,000,000 acres, are timber and mineral lands, while the remainder is equally valuable for grazing purposes. Of her agricultural lands, 1,647,805 acres, which were under improvement and cultivation in 1885, yielded for the previous season 256,494 tons of hay, 35,882 bushels of rye, 2,220,536 bushels of wheat, 1,644,083 bushels of oats, 656,189 bushels of corn, 234,085 bushels of barley, and 1,119,345 bushels of potatoes—more than sufficient to supply the annual wants of the entire State. Her pastoral lands support 1,130,625 head of sheep, yielding an annual wool clip of 4,298,728 pounds, 1,850,000 cattle, and over 150,000 horses, and her annual mineral product exceeds $22,000,000.

Her school system is as perfect as that of any State in the Union, and I am told that the average attendance, as proportioned to the entire population, exceeds that of any other; her school buildings are models of comfort and beauty, with teachers who are, like everything else in the State, first-class. With the single exception of Massachusetts, the amount expended for schools and education generally is proportionally greater than that of any other State in the Union. The system has received the following commendation from Professor Philbrick, of Boston:

"It is pretty safe to say that the creation of a system of schools on so large a scale, of such exceptional merits, and in so brief a space of time, is a phenomenon to which the history of education affords no parallel."

The mining interests of the State have created cities and towns in the mountain valleys, where "miners' cabins," built of brick and lumber, and sometimes of logs, may be found in great profusion, tenanted by women and children, frequently containing libraries of classic and modern literature, musical instruments, and other evidences of refinement and cultivation. In cities like Denver, Colorado Springs, Pueblo, or Greeley, the homes of the people afford to the visitor a constant and ever-changing panorama of architectural beauty, and I venture the assertion that the people of no State in the Union are more lavish in their expenditure of money for those ornaments and conveniences which go to make their homes permanent, attractive, and beautiful. This is true of all classes of our citizens, and he who flippantly says that Colorado never can be a State of homes has probably never been west of

the Mississippi River, and has but a poor notion of things as they are with us. He probably derived his information from the "Roughing It" of Mark Twain and "Beyond the Mississippi" of Albert D. Richardson, books which were written while this section figured on the map of the Union as the Great American Desert. "Revolvers and canned fruit" we have in Colorado, as do the people of other States. Had we nothing else, the possession of these two articles of commerce might prove a subject of reproach, but the criminal jurisprudence of the commonwealth doesn't give evidence of any unusual degree of depravity among her people. The proportion of felonies *per capita* is less than that of Illinois or New York, and the number of convictions is equal proportionately to that of Ohio, if I am correctly informed.

The fruit-growing interest of the State is flourishing, and, although in its infancy, it has nevertheless sufficiently developed to demonstrate that all varieties of small fruit can be successfully raised. We must, during the winter season, continue as best we can to get along with fruits of the canned variety; but our discontent is lessened by the reflection that the author of "Our House of Lords" is in no better predicament.

The business of the city of Denver, the commercial center of the State, for the year 1885, was in excess of $52,000,000. Her stately public buildings, business blocks, and broad avenues are second to those of no city in the Union, and the thrift and progress which mark her history are the results of the collective work of her citizens, whose strongest convictions are in the future of the State.

With twenty-eight hundred and forty miles of railway, with new lines pushing out in all directions, with a large, healthy, and constant stream of immigration, with unparalleled resources, with no public debt, and with a constitution which forbids the contracting of any, with five hundred miles of irrigating canals constructed, and as many more projected, we protest against the unfair statement of your unknown but vigorous contributor, and respectfully ask that equal publicity be given to its refutation.

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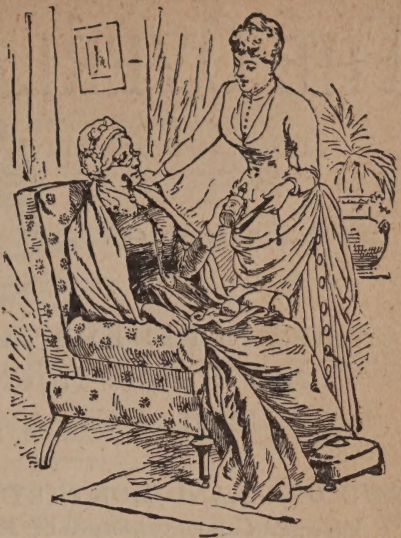

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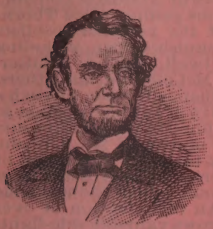

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LV.

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# SAVED FROM THE KNIFE.

## The Experience of a Very Busy Man Who Made a Narrow Escape.

There are some people who can well afford to be invalids, because they have plenty of leisure in which to be sick. It is true that nobody wants to be sick simply to pass away the time. Yet when prostrating illness attacks a busy man, whose duties demand a life of constant activity, the disaster is one which involves the giving up of much more than the unemployed person of leisure is called on to give up.

Mr. Arthur Yates, who lives in Jersey City, is well known to thousands of business men in the metropolis as one of the most active and successful of canvassers. The occupation of a gentleman in this walk of life calls for a robust constitution and a vigorous state of health.

Mr. Yates is now in the enjoyment of excellent health, but he not long ago passed through a remarkable experience of invalidism which threatened to lay him aside permanently, and cripple his success and usefulness.

Rheumatism is one of the most obstinate, as well as one of the most painful of all diseases. While many other diseases yield to ordinary remedies, rheumatism defies them, or else seems for a while to be cured, only to appear again in some other form, or to torment some other part of the body than that in which it had first been started.

One of our New York correspondents, having heard that Mr. Yates had been severely troubled with rheumatism and had recovered from it, visited him, and had from his own lips an account of how it was.

Said Mr. Yates: "The trouble came on, not from exposure, as rheumatism often comes, but in a singular way attacking my feet. As I had for a long time been on my feet most of the day, and walking very actively, the soles became sore, and I sought relief from a distinguished surgeon. He gave me a preparation which I applied with wet cloths. I kept these cloths on my feet all night (not by his advice, however) for a number of nights. I felt great pain in my legs, principally in my knees. This was an unpleasant novelty for me, for I had not been laid up by sickness for a long time before that; probably a dozen years. Not only was I in such pain that it was with difficulty that I could walk, but I was almost helpless. Sometimes I was two hours in getting my clothes on. I could attend to business only by taking a carriage; but for my special business this afforded but little practical aid. Walking was almost an impossibility. I was soon greatly reduced in flesh, for the severe pain took away my appetite. The pain went up through my legs and body, and even stiffened the cords of my neck, giving me the appearance of a continual stiff neck. The cords of my right leg were drawn up so that the leg was shortened about two inches, thus causing a continual limp. In the knee joints the pain was so intense that I had to keep swinging my legs as much of the time as I could, for when the joints remained still for a while they felt as if cemented for the lack of lubricating material. The calves of my legs became considerably shrunken. Under one knee was a lump or bunch half as large as my fist, and as hard as a cobble-stone.

"I went to a noted physician to consult him about my general condition, and especially about this lump, for the indications were that unless something were done for it I should be permanently lame. The physician said he saw no other way than to cut it out. I did not relish this advice.

"Then I went to one of our principal hospitals, where I was told by the doctors that the better way would be to burn the lump away. I believe either of these methods would have made me a cripple for life. Think of the muscles and the nerves these men would have destroyed in such operations. I am using those nerves and muscles now."

"So you gave up the idea of surgery, did you, Mr. Yates, and adopted some less painful and more reasonable remedy?"

"Yes. One day, about a year ago, I happened to make a business call on Dr. John Turner, of the Compound Oxygen Branch Office, 148 Fifth Avenue, New York. I had heard of Compound Oxygen, but had not supposed that it would be of any great advantage to me. But here I heard several gentlemen talking of what it had done for them and their friends. Dr. Turner said he thought there was a chance that it would do me good. He sent me a Home Treatment of it. I tried it, and let me tell you in connection with it I tried a pretty thorough change of diet. I lived very simply, throwing overboard pies, pudding, tea, tobacco, and even meat. For some time I lived on rye bread. I took the Oxygen for about three months."

"And with good effect, if I may judge from your present appearance."

"Yes, with very good effect. That and the diet brought me up nicely. In a week or two I began to be better. I took at this time no other medicine but the Oxygen. My first gain was in the reduction of the swelling and the departing of the pain. My appetite gradually came back, and I could enjoy moderate eating. The swelling went entirely away without the aid of the knife, or other appliances of the surgeons. I gained flesh and strength, and was again able to attend to business as before. I am still improving. I often have to ascend as many as one hundred flights of stairs in the course of a day, and I am now equal to the task."

Such thorough recovery as this from such a troublesome and obstinate disease as rheumatism is of interest to every rheumatic sufferer. Rheumatism is a disease which some have trifled with and others have given up to, in despair, as incurable. Indeed, there are eminent physicians who have admitted that they cannot cure this malady. But it is important to every one that suffers from rheumatism, or who has friends among its victims, to know that Compound Oxygen has cured many cases of it, is curing others every day, and can be relied on for many more cures. Unlike many of the drugs which are given in the attempt to cure rheumatism, Compound Oxygen does not disorder the system, is not unpleasant to take, and leaves no evil effects behind it.

From a lady of Worcester, Mass., dated November 15, 1885, came this statement of case:

"Age, 62. For ten years have been a sufferer. When nearly 52 took *whooping cough* the second time, and have coughed every winter since. Had *pneumonia* six years ago; until then I suffered terribly with *nervous prostration* and *nervous dyspepsia*. When taken with pneumonia my nervousness all suddenly left me. After the pneumonia I could not bear my weight for a year and a half, and it was three and a half years before I could get on my crutches. The ligaments of joints stretched and troubled me that way. The forefinger of my left hand had to be set five times within one year, and that left the joints stiff. The left hip has troubled me by slipping as I could not move it. *Rheumatism* moves from place to place. Have coughed mornings ever since I had pneumonia till I took influenza, the first of October."

The following gratifying report of results from use of one Home Treatment is dated April 4, 1886:

"Have a little Compound Oxygen yet. I expect my *cough* will entirely disappear as warm weather comes; if it don't I shall have to have some more. I never used anything like it. *My rheumatism is better, so I can walk for the last six weeks without crutches or cane.* I am much better and growing so daily. It is slow, to be sure, but I am surely gaining. A lady who saw me last July for the first time, said she did not think then I could live until cold weather; but now she says I look as well as anybody, only if I was not so lame. I get up with the rest at six, eat breakfast at half past six, sew or knit through the day, and look after my girl in the kitchen. We have six in our family; I do the buying and keep the family account book; go to bed at nine o'clock and sleep nicely most every night. Is not that doing well? I think that if it had not been for the Compound Oxygen I should not have been alive now, for I was running down fast when I began to take it."

Mr. B. Ford, of Caldwell, Idaho, in a letter dated April 11, 1886, thus reports confirmed improvement. Readers of our Quarterly Report, "Health and Life," will remember that his reports have appeared in previous numbers:

"I have been so busy farming that I have neglected to write to you. I have been hard at work since I wrote you last: plowing, sowing, harrowing, and making fence. *I am clear of the rheumatism* now. I am gradually growing stronger. My *back* is much better than when I last wrote you. I am not troubled with *headache* and fullness in my head as much as I was before I began the use of Compound Oxygen. I have been working three horses all spring to the plow and harrow. I walk all the time in plowing and harrowing. I have stood up to three good horses well fed, all spring. I have gained while my horses have gone down some. Last summer I had to quit work, because I could not stand to work. You ask me what has brought about the change? I must say Compound Oxygen has made me what I am to-day. People are saying 'you look so much better than you did.' I tell them that Drs. Starkey & Palen's Compound Oxygen has done for me what medicine would not do. It is bringing me up gradually to health. Many thanks to you, gentlemen."

Compound Oxygen, its mode of action and results, a treatise of nearly two hundred pages, giving full and interesting information, is mailed free to every applicant by Drs. Starkey & Palen, 1529 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

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Our special commissioner, Mr. Henry George, being at present engaged in contesting the Mayoralty of New York, has been unable to complete in this number the series of articles on Labor in Pennsylvania. They will be finished in the December number.

## BUSINESS ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Among the important essays that will appear at an early date in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW are:

**"Vulgarity."** By OUIDA. [In December.]
**"Salmon P. Chase."** By DONN PIATT. [In December.]
**"Jefferson Davis and the Mississippi Campaign."** By Gen. JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON. [In December.]
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**"Why am I a Churchman?"** By Bishop THOMAS U. DUDLEY, of Kentucky. [Part II. in December.]
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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCLX.

NOVEMBER, 1886.

# HOW SHALL THE NEGRO BE EDUCATED?

THERE is no better position from which to observe the present condition of the Southern negroes than Knoxville, Tennessee, and there, I think, the problem has been solved of how they should be educated. They flock to that city from all quarters, house-servants from Virginia and plantation-hands from Georgia and the Carolinas, drawn, doubtless, by reports that in this Republican region they will be able to work out their material salvation in the utmost freedom, and without any unfriendly interference from the white man. And in this expectation they are not disappointed. In no Northern town have they larger liberty, or more perfect freedom to develop whatever of manhood or womanhood is in them. They do not lack for employment, are generally preferred as house-servants and mechanics to the wretched white labor, and they mingle freely with the whites in the street-cars and in places of public gathering. On the steam railways they are restricted to separate cars or compartments, and they have their own schools and churches; but this last is a thing of their own choosing. My observation is that, when left to himself, the negro prefers to keep with his own kind, both in social intercourse and in religious assembling.

About six thousand have gathered together at Knoxville, and from this large number, drawn, as I have said, from all quarters,

we should be able to judge of the effect which freedom has upon the race when placed in a condition where their liberty is restricted only by a due regard for the rights of others. I think no candid observer will deny that, with nearly all who have had the previous discipline of slavery, the effect has been to not only improve their physical condition but to elevate their moral character—to make of them better husbands and fathers, and more useful members of the community. But this remark will not so generally apply to the Georgia and Carolina field-hands. When a slave in the far South, the plantation negro was but little better than a brute, and freedom has not lifted him at once above a mere animal condition. He will still mistake other people's property for his own, drink more whisky than is good for him, loll lazily in the sunshine, and do only just enough work to keep his soul and body together. Doubtless he was a better producer when he worked under the lash of an overseer; but I question if he was then so much of a man as he now is in freedom. He gives, no doubt, too free a rein to his natural indolence, but I have noticed that he does this only in his prime, when he need have no great anxiety about the morrow. When he sees old age creeping upon him he bestirs himself, takes to more frugal and industrious ways, and thinks of a roof to cover him, and a grave in which to lay his bones. For two hundred years he has moved the wheels of Southern civilization, but it is not likely that the car will stop, or get permanently off the track, if he now indulges himself in a short holiday. His indolence harms no one but himself; and, when he shall realize what work is doing for others he will arouse himself, and develop a better manhood.

But the town negroes, and such plantation-hands as I have seen from Virginia and the upper Carolinas—where they were well trained when in slavery—do work, and work as well as any white people. I have met very many of them who have accumulated comfortable little properties—snug homes, with money laid by for a rainy day, or to educate their children. They are uniformly frugal, industrious, self-respecting, and law-abiding, and I know of some who have developed traits that would be deemed very creditable in a white man. I could name scores of instances, but one is enough to show that there is genuine manhood in the negro. I have in mind a coal-black fellow, who, when he was about twenty, heard that Lee had surrendered, and he was a freeman. But the event that made him free reduced his mistress to poverty. Her husband

had been killed in the war, and all her property being in slaves, she was now left penniless, with a small family dependent upon her. Naturally, she was appalled at the desolate outlook. But this black freeman said to her: "Cheer up, missus, and doan't griebe. I knows how massa used ter make de nostrums. I'll make 'em, and I'll sell 'em, and 'fore long I'll hab you as well off as you eber was." And he did do it. The master had been a physician who had found the concocting of medicine of more profit than a regular practice. The ex-slave followed in his footsteps, and soon placed his mistress in comparative affluence. Almost any week he may now be seen in the streets of Knoxville, with a gaudily-painted wagon and gayly-caparisoned horses, vending nostrums which he warrants to cure "pains and aches, and scalds and burns, and in short, sir, all the ills that flesh is heir to."

This itinerant nostrum-vender is only one of a multitude I could name, who have demonstrated that freedom has been an unalloyed blessing to every black that has known how to use it. To all others it has been anything but a blessing; and among these others must be included nearly the whole of the rising generation. They are coming up idle, thriftless, and with a contempt for work that is deplorable in their circumstances. They are not ashamed to be parasites, feeding upon the sweat-sprinkled bread of some hard-working father or mother, and too often they fall into the dissipation and vice that are fostered by idleness. To them—the very class who were expected to profit most from emancipation—freedom is proving an almost unmitigated evil; and this through no fault of freedom. This unfortunate result is partly owing to the mistaken ambition of the ex-slaves, who, having experienced the evils of ignorance, are passionately desirous that their children shall know, as one expressed it to me, "all dar am in de books, sar;" but it is mainly to be attributed to the ill-directed philanthropy of those excellent Northern people who have founded schools at the South to give to the negro the "advantages of a classical education." Because the system operates well in the North they conclude it will work equally well in the South; and they teach Latin, astronomy, geology, and the mathematics to colored boys and girls to whom such knowledge can never be of any practical value, and they neglect giving them instruction in such branches as will be of daily use in their future lives. Upon this wrong system the work was begun, and, the fashion having once

been set, it has so continued, till now this "higher education," as it is called, is being applied to a majority of the rising generation, unfitting them for useful work, and giving them ideas altogether unsuited to their condition in life.

The highest education, I take it, is that which fits man and woman to do most worthily and well the duties that pertain to the stations in which they are placed. In the very nature of things the larger number of Southern blacks must be house-servants and farm-laborers, or else pursue some form of mechanical industry. Not one of them in one hundred, old or young, is now a good and skillful worker in any of these employments, and it must be evident that, if we would do them genuine service, we should give them instruction in those branches which enter into the duties of their daily lives. Of course, they should be taught the common English branches, and to such as show a capacity for intellectual pursuits should be given a higher instruction; but not many will show this capacity, for it must be borne in mind that the negro is now but a child. Two hundred years of ignorance and animalism have so beclouded his intellect that not one in a hundred can so much as understand purely intellectual studies. They learn the words as the parrot learns them, but of the ideas the words convey they have no comprehension. This I have found to be true of every one of the "advanced scholars" I have met among the Southern negroes.

To do essential service to the emancipated blacks, some general system of industrial training is needed, that shall fit them for the pursuits they will of necessity have to follow. That such a system is practicable, and can be universally applied, has been demonstrated by a teacher at Knoxville, who has answered the question, "How shall the negro be educated?" and, in doing so, has solved the problem, "What to do with the Southern blacks." This teacher is a woman—a highly-cultivated and accomplished Northern lady—who, though placed above the necessity of exertion, decided, some sixteen years ago, to put her life to some use by devoting it to the education of the Southern negro. She went South and busied herself among the Knoxville blacks, where the atmosphere was dense with negro soot, and she saw scarcely a single white face in a fortnight. She opened a school, and gathered the negroes about her, attending to their physical needs, counseling them in health and ministering to them in sickness, and giving to

their children such instruction as she then thought would make of them useful men and women. At first she was ostracized by the better portion of Knoxville society, and even denied communion by the Christian church to which she took letters of discipleship. These good people did not object to the teaching of the blacks. They had reversed their old opinion, that any book-knowledge, however small, is dangerous to the negro ; but a woman who would engage in such work must of necessity be very "low down," and totally unfit to touch the skirts of her saintly sisterhood. Everywhere the cold shoulder was turned upon her, but the noble woman was not disheartened. She found her society in books, and her consolation in the consciousness that she was doing the Master's work among his perishing children. Even some of those for whom she was sacrificing so much were "unthankful and evil," but, sustained by her high purpose, she worked on, year after year, for twelve long years, until the little children she had taught their A, B, C's had grown up to be men and women, and she was looked up to as guide, counselor, and friend, by a black population of fully six thousand.

At first she worked under the auspices of the Freedmen's Bureau, but, when that was dissolved, she supported her school from her own resources and the contributions of friends in the North. This she did till the black children overflowed her borders, and then she put up a school-building which is altogether the best and most spacious in Knoxville. It is of brick, with large, well-lighted rooms, and is an architectural ornament to the city. When it was completed, thinking to interest the authorities more fully in her work, she donated the building to the city, making the sole condition that the "Austin School" should be forever devoted to the education of the blacks, and should share in the common-school fund of Tennessee.

Thus she worked for twelve years, and then she looked about her to see the fruit of her labors. She saw it in many of her best and brightest scholars—girls who had gone to the bad, and boys who were unfitted for useful work, and actually good for nothing. She had taught the blacks as she would have taught the whites—all the higher branches—and the result she saw was harm instead of good ; a large population of young people whose heads were crammed with a learning they did not understand, and who had none of the knowledge that is indispensable to their success in the

world. All her disinterested effort seemed to have been misdirected; her twelve years of unrequited toil absolutely wasted. It is not surprising that, for the moment, she was discouraged, almost heart-broken. But she is not a woman to give way to despondency. The evil was no sooner clearly seen than she set about applying the remedy, which lay in training her girls to be good housewives, and her boys efficient bread-winners for a family. Doing this, she would teach them less about books and more about life and its daily duties, and thereby qualify them to do well the work that would devolve upon them by the necessities of their condition. At once she opened for girls a sewing-school and a kitchen-garden, in which she taught them simple housework. Then she established a carpenter's shop for boys, and a cooking-school for both boys and girls. The experiment was successful from the outset, and she soon added other branches to her teaching, till now, at the end of four years, her institution covers about every industrial pursuit followed by the negro, except agriculture, and she has been forced to erect another large building for her industrial school, meanwhile adding hundreds of skillful workers to a community where skilled labor in any department is always in demand at high wages. Her system, generally adopted, would revolutionize labor at the South, and solve the problem which is now puzzling the heads of the wisest statesmen, namely, "What shall be done with the Southern negro?" Through sixteen long years of prejudice and opposition, often sick in body and weary of soul, this heroic woman has worked at this problem, and the solution she has at last wrought out, in most successful experiment, is this: "Train the negro to do skillful work, and you will make of him a good citizen."

EDMUND KIRKE.

# ROBERT BURNS AS POET AND PERSON.

WHAT the future will decide about Robert Burns and his works—what place will be assigned them on that great roster of geniuses and genius which can only be finished by the slow but sure balancing of the centuries with their ample average—I of course cannot tell. But as we know him, from his recorded utterances, and after nearly one century, and its diligence of collections, personal songs, letters, anecdotes, presenting the figure of the canny Scotchman in a fullness and detail wonderfully complete, and the lines mainly by his own hand, he forms to-day, in some respects, the most interesting personality among singers. Then there are many things in Burns's poems and character that specially endear him to America. He was essentially a republican—would have been at home in the Western United States, and probably become eminent there. He was an average sample of the good-natured, warm-blooded, proud-spirited, amative, alimentive, convivial, young and early-middle-aged man of the decent-born middle classes everywhere and any how. Without the race of which he is a distinct specimen, (and perhaps his poems), America and her powerful democracy could not exist to-day —could not project with unparalleled historic sway into the future.

Perhaps the peculiar coloring of the era of Burns, in the world's history, biography and civilization, needs always first to be considered. It included the times of the '76–'83 Revolution in America, of the French Revolution, and the unparalleled chaos-development in Europe and elsewhere. In every department, shining and strange names, like stars, some rising, some in meridian, some declining—Voltaire, Franklin, Washington, Kant, Goethe, Fulton, Napoleon, mark the era. And while so much, and of moment, fit for the trumpet of the world's fame, was being

transacted—that little tragi-comedy of R. B.'s life and death was going on in a country by-place in Scotland!

Burns's correspondence, generally collected and published since his death, gives wonderful glints into both the amiable and weak (and worse than weak) parts of his portraiture, habits, good and bad luck, ambition and associations. His letters to Mrs. Dunlop, Mrs. McLehose, (Clarinda,) Mr. Thompson, Dr. Moore, Robert Muir, Mr. Cunningham, Miss Margaret Chalmers, Peter Hill, Richard Brown, Mrs. Riddel, Robert Ainslie, and Robert Graham, afford valuable lights and shades to the outline, and with numerous others, help to a touch here, and fill-in there, of poet and poems. There are suspicions, it is true, of "the Genteel Letter-Writer," with scraps and words from "the Manual of French Quotations," and, in the love-letters, some hollow mouthings. Yet we wouldn't on any account lack the letters. A full and true portrait is always what is wanted; veracity at every hazard. Besides, do not we all see by this time that the story of Burns, even for its own sake, requires the record of the whole and several, with nothing left out? Completely and minutely told, it fullest explains and justifies itself—(as perhaps almost any life does). He is very close to the earth. He picked up his best words and tunes directly from the Scotch home-singers, but tells Thompson they would not please his, (T's). "learned lugs," adding, "I call them simple—you would pronounce them silly." As before said, the Scotch idiom was undoubtedly his happiest hit. (Yet Dr. Moore, in 1789, writes to Burns, "If I were to offer an opinion, it would be that in your future productions you should abandon the Scotch stanza and dialect, and adopt the measure and language of modern English poetry"!)

As the 128th birth-anniversary of the poet draws on, (January, 1887), with its increasing club-suppers, vehement celebrations, letters, speeches, and so on—(mostly, as William O'Connor says, from people who would not have noticed R. B. at all during his actual life, nor kept his company, or read his verses, on any account)—it may be opportune to print some leisurely-jotted notes I find in my budget. I take my observation of the Scottish bard by considering him as an individual amid the crowded clusters, galaxies, of the old world—and fairly inquiring and suggesting what out of those myriads he too may be to us, to the Western Republic. In the first place no poet on record so fully bequeaths

his own personal magnetism,* nor illustrates more pointedly how one's verses, by time and reading, can so curiously fuse with the versifier's own life and death, and give light and shade to all.

I would say a large part of the fascination of Burns's homely, simple, dialect-melodies is due, for all current and future readers, to the poet's personal "errors," the general bleakness of his lot, his ingrained pensiveness, his brief dash into dazzling, tantalizing, evanescent sunshine; finally culminating in those last years of his life, his being tabooed and in debt, sick and sore, yawed as by contending gales, deeply dissatisfied with everything, most of all with himself—high-spirited too—(no man ever really higher-spirited than Robert Burns). I think it a perfectly legitimate part too. At any rate it has come to be an impalpable aroma through which only both the songs and their singer must henceforth be received. Through that view-medium of misfortune—of a noble spirit in low environments, and of a squalid and premature death—we view the undoubted facts, (giving, as we read them now, a sad kind of pungency,) that Burns's were, before all else, the lyrics of illicit loves and carousing intoxication. Perhaps even it is this strange, impalpable *post-mortem* comment and influence referred to, that gives them their contrast, attraction, the zest of their author's after fame. If he had lived steady, fat, moral, comfortable, well-to-do years, on his own grade, (let alone, what of course was out of the question, the ease and velvet and rosewood and copious royalties of Tennyson or Victor Hugo or Longfellow), and died well-ripened and respectable, where could have come in

* Probably no man that ever lived—a friend has made the statement—was so fondly loved, both by men and women, as Robert Burns. The reason is not hard to find: he had a real heart of flesh and blood beating in his bosom; you could almost hear it throb. "Some one said, that if you had shaken hands with him his hand would have burnt yours. The gods, indeed, made him poetical, but nature had a hand in him first. His heart was in the right place; he did not pile up cantos of poetic diction; he plucked the mountain daisy under his feet; he wrote of field-mouse hurrying from its ruined dwelling. He held the plough or the pen with the same firm, manly grasp." And he was loved. The simple roll of the women who gave him their affection and their sympathy would make a long manuscript; and most of these were of such noble worth that, as Robert Chambers says, "their character may stand as a testimony in favor of that of Burns." [As I understand, the foregoing is from an extremely rare book published by M'Kie, in Kilmarnock. I find the whole beautiful paragraph in a capital paper on Burns, by Amelia Barr.]

that burst of passionate sobbing and remorse which welled forth instantly and generally in Scotland, and soon followed everywhere among English-speaking races, on the announcement of his death, and which, with no sign of stopping, only regulated and veined with fitting appreciation, flows deeply, widely yet?

Dear Rob! manly, witty, fond, friendly, full of weak spots as well as strong ones—essential type of so many thousands—perhaps the average, as just said, of the decent-born young men and the early mid-aged, not only of the British Isles, but America too, North and South, just the same. I think indeed one best part of Burns is the unquestionable proof he presents of the perennial existence among the laboring classes, especially farmers, of the finest latent poetic elements in their blood. (How clear it is to me that the common soil has always been, and is now, thickly strewn with just such gems.) He is well called *the Ploughman*. "Holding the plough," said his brother Gilbert, "was the favorite situation with Robert for poetic compositions, and some of his best verses were produced while he was at that exercise." "I must return to my humble station, and woo my rustic muse in my wonted way, at the plough-tail."—1787, to the Earl of Buchan. He has no high ideal of the poet or the poet's office; indeed quite a low and contracted notion of both:

> "Fortune! if thou'll but gie me still
> Hale breeks, a scone, an' whiskey gill,
> An' rowth o' rhyme to rave at will,
> Tak' a' the rest."

See also his rhymed letters to Robert Graham, invoking patronage; "one stronghold," Lord Glencairn, being dead, now these appeals to "Fintra, my other stay," (with, in one letter, a copious shower of vituperation generally). In his collected poems there is no particular unity, nothing that can be called a leading theory, no unmistakable spine or skeleton. Perhaps, indeed, their very desultoriness is one charm of his songs: "I take up one or another," he says in a letter to Thompson, "just as the bee of the moment buzzes in my bonnet-lug."

Consonantly with the customs of the time—yet markedly inconsistent in spirit with Burns's own case, (and not a little painful as it remains on record, as depicting some features of the bard himself), the relation called *patronage* existed between the nobility

and gentry on one side, and literary people on the other, and gives one of the strongest side-lights to the general coloring of poems and poet. It crops out a good deal in Burns's Letters, and even necessitated a certain flunkeyism on occasions, through life. It probably, with its requirements, (while it helped in money and countenance), did as much as any one cause in making that life a chafed and unhappy one, ended by a premature and miserable death.

Yes, there is something about Burns peculiarly acceptable to the concrete, human points of view. He poetizes work-a-day agricultural labor and life, (whose spirit and sympathies, as well as practicalities, are much the same everywhere,) and treats fresh, often coarse, natural occurrences, loves, persons, not like many new and some old poets in a genteel style of gilt and china, or at second or third removes, but in their own born atmosphere, laughter, sweat, unction. Perhaps no one ever sang "lads and lasses"—that universal race, mainly the same, too, all ages, all lands—down on their own plane, as he has. He exhibits no philosophy worth mentioning; his morality is hardly more than parrot-talk—not bad or deficient, but cheap, shop-worn, the platitudes of old aunts and uncles to the youngsters (be good boys and keep your noses clean). Only when he gets at Poosie Nansie's, celebrating the "barley bree," or among tramps, or democratic bouts and drinking generally,

("Freedom and whiskey gang thegither,")

we have, in his own unmistakable color and warmth, those interiors of rake-helly life and tavern fun—the cantabile of jolly beggars in highest jinks—lights and groupings of rank glee and brawny amorousness, outvying the best painted pictures of the Dutch school, or any school.

By America and her democracy, such a poet, I cannot too often repeat, must be kept in loving remembrance; but it is best that discriminations be made. His admirers, (as at those anniversary suppers, over the "hot Scotch"), will not accept for their favorite anything less than the highest rank, alongside of Homer, Shakspere, etc. Such, in candor, are not the true friends of the Ayrshire bard, who really needs a different place quite by himself. The Iliad and the Odyssey express courage, craft, full-grown heroism in situations of danger, the sense of command and leadership, emulation, the last and fullest evolution of self-poise, as in kings, and

god-like even while animal appetites. The Shaksperian compositions, on vertebers and framework of the primary passions, portray, (essentially the same as Homer's), the spirit and letter of the feudal world, the Norman lord, ambitious and arrogant, taller and nobler than common men—with much underplay and gusts of heat and cold, volcanoes and stormy seas. Burns, (and some will say to his credit), attempts none of these themes. He poetizes the humor, riotous blood, sulks, amorous torments, fondness for the tavern and for cheap objective nature, with disgust at the grim and narrow ecclesiasticism of his time and land, of a young farmer on a bleak and hired farm in Scotland, through the years and under the circumstances of the British politics of that time, and of his short personal career as author, from 1783 to 1796. He is intuitive and affectionate, and just emerged or emerging from the shackles of the kirk, from poverty, ignorance, and from his own low appetites—(out of which latter, however, he never extricated himself). It is to be said that amid not a little smoke and gas in his poems, there is in almost every piece a spark of fire, and now and then the real afflatus. He has been applauded as democratic, and with some warrant; while Shakspere, and with the greatest warrant, has been called monarchical or aristocratic, (which he certainly is). But the splendid personalizations of Shakspere, formulated on the largest, freest, most heroic, most artistic mould, are to me far dearer as lessons, and more precious even as models for Democracy, than the humdrum samples Burns presents. The motives of some of his effusions are certainly discreditable personally—one or two of them markedly so. He has, moreover, little or no spirituality. This last is his mortal flaw and defect, tried by highest standards. The ideal he never reached, (and yet I think he leads the way to it). He gives melodies, and now and then the simplest and sweetest ones; but harmonies, complications, oratorios in words, never. (I do not speak this in any deprecatory sense. Blessed be the memory of the warm-hearted Scotchman for what he has left us, just as it is!). He likewise did not know himself, in more ways than one. Though so really free and independent, he prided himself in his songs on being a reactionist and a Jacobite—on persistent sentimental adherency to the "cause" of the Stuarts—the weakest, thinnest, most faithless, brainless dynasty that ever held a throne.

Thus, while Burns is not at all great for New-World study, in

the sense that Isaiah and Æschylus and the Book of Job are unquestionably great—is not to be mentioned with Shakspere—hardly even with current Tennyson or our Emerson—he has a nestling niche of his own, all fragrant, fond, and quaint and homely—a lodge built near but outside the mighty temple of the gods of song and art—those universal strivers, through their works of harmony and melody and power, to ever show or intimate man's crowning, last, victorious fusion in himself of Real and Ideal. Precious, too,—fit and precious beyond all singers, high or low—will Burns ever be to the native Scotch, especially to the working-classes of North Britain; so intensely one of them, and so racy of the soil, sights, and local customs. He often apostrophizes Scotland, and is, or would be, enthusiastically patriotic. His country has lately commemorated him in a statue.* His aim is declaredly to be 'a Rustic Bard.' His poems were all written in youth or young manhood; (he was little more than a young man when he died). His collected works, in giving everything, are nearly one half first-drafts. His brightest hit is his use of the Scotch patois, so full of terms flavored like wild fruit or berries. Then I should make an allowance to Burns which cannot be made for any other poet. Curiously, even the frequent crudeness, haste, deficiencies, (flatness and puerilities by no means absent), prove upon the whole not out of keeping in any comprehensive collection of his works, heroically printed, 'following copy,' every piece, every line according to originals. Other poets might tremble for such boldness, such rawness. In 'This odd kind chiel' such points hardly mar the rest. Not only are they in consonance with the underlying spirit of the pieces, but complete the full abandon and veracity of the farm-fields, and the home-brewed flavor of the Scotch vernacu-

* The Dumfries statue of Robert Burns was successfully unveiled April 1881 by Lord Rosebery, the occasion having been made national in its character. Before the ceremony, a large procession paraded the streets of the town, all the trades and societies of that part of Scotland being represented, and at the head of which went dairymen and ploughmen, the former driving their carts and being accompanied by their maids. The statue is of Sicilian marble. It rests on a pedestal of gray stone five feet high. The poet is represented as sitting easily on an old tree root, holding in his left hand a cluster of daisies. His face is turned toward the right shoulder, and the eyes gaze into the distance. Near by lie a collie dog, a broad bonnet half covering a well-thumbed song-book, and a rustic flageolet. The costume is taken from the Nasmyth portrait, which has been followed for the features of the face.

lar. (Is there not often something in the very neglect, unfinish, careless nudity, slovenly hiatus, coming from intrinsic genius, and not 'put on,' that secretly pleases the soul more than the wrought and re-wrought polish of the most perfect verse?) Mark the native spice and untranslatable twang in the very names of his songs—"O for ane and twenty, Tam," "John Barleycorn," "Last May a braw Wooer," "Rattlin roarin Willie," "O wert thou in the cauld, cauld blast," "Gude e'en to you, Kimmer," "Merry hae I been teething a Heckle," "O lay thy loof in mine, lass," and others.

The longer and more elaborated poems of Burns are just such as would please a natural but homely taste, and cute but average intellect, and are inimitable in their way. The "Twa Dogs," (one of the best), with the conversation between Cesar and Luath, the "Brigs of Ayr," "the Cotter's Saturday Night," "Tam O'Shanter"—all will be long read and re-read and admired, and ever deserve to be. With nothing profound in any of them, what there is of moral and plot has an inimitably fresh and racy flavor. If it came to question, Literature could well afford to send adrift many a pretensive poem, and even book of poems, before it could spare these compositions.

Never indeed was there truer utterance in a certain range of idiosyncrasy than by this poet. Hardly a piece of his, large or small, but has "snap" and raciness. He puts in cantering rhyme, (often doggerel), much cutting irony and idiomatic ear-cuffing of the kirk-deacons—dryly good-natured addresses to his cronies, (he certainly would not stop us, if he were here this moment, from classing that "to the De'il" among them)—"to Mailie and her Lambs," "to auld Mare Maggie," "to a Mouse,"

"Wee, sleekit, cowrin, tim'rous beastie:"

"to a Mountain Daisy," "to a Haggis," "to a Louse," "to the Toothache," etc.—and occasionally to his brother bards and lady or gentleman patrons, often with strokes of tenderest sensibility, idiopathic humor, and genuine poetic imagination—still oftener with shrewd, original, sheeny, steel-flashes of wit, home-spun sense, or lance-blade puncturing. Then, strangely, the basis of Burns's character, with all its fun and manliness, was hypochondria, the blues, palpable enough in "Despondency," "Man was made to Mourn," "Address to Ruin," a "Bard's Epitaph," &c.

From such deep-down elements sprout up, in very contrast and paradox, those *riant* utterances of which a superficial reading will not detect the hidden foundation. Yet nothing is clearer to me than the black and desperate background behind those pieces—as I shall now specify them. I find his most characteristic, Nature's masterly touch and luxuriant life-blood, color and heat, not in "Tam O'Shanter," "the Cotter's Saturday Night," "Scots who hae," "Highland Mary," "the Twa' Dogs," and the like, but in "the Jolly Beggars," "Rigs of Barley," "Scotch Drink," "the Epistle to John Rankine," "Holy Willie's Prayer," and in "Halloween," etc. In these compositions, especially the first, there is much indelicacy, (some editions flatly leave it out), but the composer reigns alone, with handling free and broad and true, and is an artist. You may see and feel the man indirectly in his other verses, all of them, with more or less life-likeness—but these I have named last call out pronouncedly in his own voice,

"I, Rob, am here."

Finally, in any summing-up of Burns, though so much is to be said in the way of fault-finding, drawing black marks, and doubtless severe literary criticism—(in the present outpouring I have 'kept myself in,' rather than allowed any free flow)—after full retrospect of his works and life, the "odd kind chiel" remains to my heart and brain as almost the tenderest, manliest, (even if contradictory), dearest flesh-and-blood figure in all the streams and clusters of by-gone poets.

WALT WHITMAN.

# THE INDIAN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES.

When Europeans began the colonization of the American Continent, simultaneously began a conflict between the white and the red man.

First, the *auri sacra fames* led the Spaniards to Central and South America. Whole districts of country were depopulated, and cities destroyed, in the unequal contest between educated and well-armed men and ignorant and comparatively defenseless savages. It was claimed by the States of Europe that America was without an owner, and that the title inured to the first discoverer—albeit there could not be discovery of a country occupied by a large number of human beings, though they might not be known to Europeans or have a place in their history. If other and satisfactory plea could be found for entry into the country, what could excuse the wanton destruction of the life and property of the inhabitants?

It has of late been common to arraign the United States as the chief of sinners in this regard, and, though their General Government has much to answer for and to be ashamed of, I hold that the charge is not just.

It was the common practice of Europeans, claiming a title by discovery, to take possession in the name of the potentate they represented. Their controversies were merely between themselves, as claimants, and the proof of ownership was as to whose flag was first raised over a particular district. The Government of the United States may, with satisfaction, point to the fact that they have presented the example of a distinct recognition of the possessory right of the Indians, and their rule has been only to extinguish that right by a formal treaty, containing valuable considerations for the relinquishment of possession. How well those treaties have been kept, in spirit and in letter, or, rather, how often the spirit has been violated in adhering to the letter, it is not my purpose on this occasion to discuss.

In passing, however, it may be well to remark that in the council between the United States Commissioners and the Indians, oftentimes more is spoken than written; that the Indians have remembered whatever was impressively spoken, and that the Government has necessarily executed only the terms of the treaty as it was written and ratified. From this would naturally flow controversies. It may be that the commissioners, to assure the Indians of the perpetuity of the possessions they would have in their new home, spoke more forcibly than they wrote, without intending to deceive, and from modesty forbore to write the figurative language adopted as best suited to the Indians. Such is believed to have been the case in the treaty with the Cherokees. The more it is insisted that the text of a treaty is the sole bond and guide, the more it devolves upon the executory party to fulfill its provisions according to their original meaning and intendment. In this connection, and it is believed with frequent misapprehension, has been uttered an arraignment of the General Government for having failed to fulfill its promises and perform its full duty as guardians to its Indian wards.

Would that it were possible to refute the accusation more satisfactorily than by producing evidence of hostility, marked by savage atrocity, on the part of marauding Indians against peaceful pioneer settlers. These may extenuate the retaliations of the frontiersmen, but can offer no excuse for violation, by the General Government, of plighted faith to an Indian tribe which had entered into treaty obligations. It is too late to plead that the Indian tribes were not independent nations, and could not be competent parties to a treaty with the United States. They were negotiated with in all due form, and the result recorded, signed, submitted by the United States President and ratified by the Senate, as would have been the case had the other party been one of the States of Europe. No justification for an abrogation of the treaty could be found in individual acts of aggression on either side, and could least plausibly be pleaded by the more intelligent party. Between independent nations a treaty might be swallowed up in war, and all its provisions lost, but such consequence could not properly follow the enforcement of obedience on a refractory ward.

Where treaties were fairly made and faithfully executed, but subsequently found to have been injudicious, so much so as to defeat the purpose for which they were made, then, and in that

case, their modification or substitution, if voluntarily and understandingly performed, would be both just and proper as between the contracting parties; but the motive of the guardian must not be tainted by a selfish greed to get the land which the ward held by possessory right.

Many years since, the course of the United States toward the Indians was lucidly treated by the Hon. Lewis Cass, in an article published in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. His qualification for the discussion of the question was of the highest order. He had long lived in close contact with Indians, and for many years been officially connected with the tribes in the North-west. As my memory serves, for the article referred to has not been found, he showed, from the records, that the Government of the United States had been more just in its treatment of the Indians within its borders than any European nation which had held relations with them. If, in late years, acts of injustice and cruelty have stained the character of the Government, it is believed to have been the fruit, to no small extent, of the policy early adopted, and which has obstructed the desired progress of the Indians toward civilization and the useful arts.

In the brief notice which it is proposed to take of the subject, attempt will be made to show that failure has resulted rather from the general policy adopted than from the special means employed. As an ethical question, the right of the agricultural man to enter upon the hunting-fields of the Indians may be derived from the postulate that the Creator made the earth for man, and therefore it should be used in the manner which would best promote the welfare of mankind; so, as few acres would suffice to support the agricultural man, whereas it would require as many square miles to support the hunting man, a just economy in the use of the legacy would require that the hunter should yield the needful portion to the agriculturist. If this theory, such as it is, be objected to, it at least may be claimed to be better foundation than a title acquired by massacre and conquest. It is, however, subject to the criticism that it tends toward modern agrarianism, and would be little acceptable if applied to the forests and preserves which exclude large tracts of territory from cultivation by civilized men in densely-populated countries.

The United States, recognizing a right of possession in the Indian tribes, early defined, by metes and boundaries, territories

sufficient for their hunter condition. Subsequently the United States acquired portions, or the whole, of that territory, for settlement by white men. This, as a rule, was done by a formal treaty, in which the consent of the Indians was given for considerations specifically set forth. In this regard the United States may challenge comparison with Great Britain, Spain, or France, all of these having exercised sovereignty, taken whatever they chose, and given for it to what extent they pleased.

Perhaps the Indians understood that masterful treatment best, for the result has been that each of those nations has lived more amicably with them than have the people of the United States; yet no other Government has contributed so largely to schools and farming instruction among the Indians, or contracted for and paid, in like manner, annuities to tribes who have been removed from the land of which they originally held possession. Such have been the means, and with all deference the view is presented that the result has been disappointing because the policy was inherently defective.

The first step toward this civilization of the hunter man must be to bring him to the agricultural condition. In order to do this it will be necessary that he should be in proximity to the agriculturist, and that hunting should cease to be his mode of obtaining subsistence. Taught by example and by want, he would learn, as the father of our race did, that he must eat his bread in the sweat of his brow. By acquiring a fixed habitation, no longer changing from summer to winter, to follow, as the season indicated, the precarious occupation of hunting and trapping, there would be gradual progress toward the habits of civilized man.

Domestic animals and implements, aiding in this labor, would add to his care and his comforts, giving him ability to support himself, as well as constraining him to remain at home. In that case, the highest ambition would not be to take game, fish, and fowl; the realization of need for other acquirements would open his mind to receive the teachings of the schools. To secure such conditions as these, it is assumed that the tribes should have been left segregated on land to which they were attached by tradition, and which was sufficiently fertile to compensate them for farm labor. Examples might be cited to prove the beneficial effect of conditions like those suggested, and perhaps a few of them may be hereafter presented. The policy of the Government has

been the reverse of this. It was to remove the Indians from the east to the west side of the Mississippi River, and to set apart a large territory to be occupied by Indians only.

By the rigid enforcement of the Indian Intercourse Act, and the isolated condition in which it was proposed to place the Indians, it was claimed that the corrupting influence of bad white men would be avoided. As far back as 1833, the commission, at the head of which was the venerable Governor Stokes of North Carolina, was sent to Fort Gibson, to invite a convention of the tribes, and they were advised to form a Congress of Deputies and enter into treaties of amity, by which it was hoped to destroy their ancient feuds, and to make of them a red brotherhood. This was found to be impracticable, as any one who had lived much among Indians would have foreseen; but if it had been possible, these numerous tribes, with their strong instinct for war, consolidated, as they would have been, against the white men, would have sealed up their territory more closely than the Intercourse Act had ever done. It has been said that such a union was impracticable; the traditional feuds between many of the tribes, the lofty scorn which the wild Indian felt and showed for the more civilized, rendered it less feasible to establish general friendship among the red men, than to bind the several tribes to peace and good offices toward the whites. A Missouri chief, in the council at Fort Gibson, scornfully referred to the more civilized Indians, dressed like white men, as looking like a band of "spotted horses."

The removal of Indians who had acquired more or less the habits of farmers, and whose country had become denuded of game, to a wide and fresh field, was to check the tide of improvement by giving opportunity to renew the hunting instinct of their race.

To say that intercourse with the white men would, in its first effect, be demoralizing to the Indians, is but to announce that history might be expected to repeat itself. It is through that crucible that the savage needs must pass to the civilized man. The Choctaws, who, in my recollection, possessed a large part of the State of Mississippi, at first so suffered from such intercourse; their men and women wandered about in the white settlements, selling game, little articles of handiwork, picking cotton in the autumn and winter, and reaping the evil consequences which usually attend the association of untutored vagrants with cultivated

people ; but in the course of years this tribe became of necessity agricultural, built comfortable, though humble, residences, reared herds and green crops, had schoolhouses, made laws, and maintained a constabulary force which excluded the introduction of whisky into their borders, and prevented any of the tribe who left their territory from returning again to reside in it. As their skill in farming would have progressed, and hunting have ceased to be even a partial occupation, their desire for large territory would have diminished, and, for such compensation as approaching settlement would have justified, they might voluntarily have yielded such amount of land as, in their own view, was not immediately or prospectively required by their tribes.

The opposite policy was followed, their possessory right was extinguished by treaty, and they were given a larger amount of perhaps equally good land on the west side of the Mississippi River, on what is now known as the Indian Territory. The Indians had advanced so far in the useful arts, in general education, and were of such exemplary morality that they have maintained their condition as a civilized tribe. How much higher they would have grown if left in their former position is a speculative question on which persons may differ. To take another example, with a less-gratifying result, I will cite the case of the Abbenaki, or Oneida Indians, a small band living in Western New York, and inhabiting so narrowly restricted a territory that they had quite lost the arts of the hunter and become a farming people. They had houses, farms, mills, and were self-sustaining, but they were removed to Wisconsin. If the object was their benefit, the idea must have been that, as their skins were red, they ought to be hunters. When, however, they were pushed out into the wilderness, they were as helpless and unfit for their new condition as if they had been turned loose in the streets of London : for neither extreme in the condition of man were they prepared. The consequence was that many of the young men sought employment as boatmen or in other like occupations, and many of the girls went out as servants. It has been long since I personally knew anything of this band, but from recent information I fear their fate has been a hard one. Removed from the east to the west side of the Mississippi, the supposition was that they had passed beyond the danger of encroachment by white settlement. Much of the land was good, and many of the tribes went diligently to work and made

for themselves homes and farms adequate to their comfort and support. One of the principal inducements held out to them, for the exchange of their old homes for land in the West, was that they would there be free from intrusion, and full guarantees were given for the perpetuity of their possession of the land to which they were removed. But, beyond anticipation, the current of migration flowed westward. The productive farms on which the Indians were settled were tempting to the greed of the pioneers, and soon the demand arose that they should, like poor Jo, "move on." It is true that their new homes had not the tender associations of the old ones, but they were secured to them by the promises of the Government, and in them they had incorporated their labor. So far as I am informed, there was no case of forcible eviction, but much aggression, and influences brought to bear on the question of removal which it would not be pleasant to consider or possible exactly to expose. Where were they to go? To the arid region of the Far West, where drought and insects would often render their labor wholly unproductive? Surely the equitable or humane conclusion would be that it were better the white man, with his larger means and higher intelligence, should have been assigned to the region where artificial appliances were necessary to secure the irrigation which would render the land productive, and science would be available to combat the ravages of destructive insects.

Why should not the white settlement go beyond that of the Indians, not only for the considerations just stated, but also to present a barrier between the semi-civilized Indian and the nomadic bands inhabiting the region beyond them? This is but another phase of the policy previously presented, of separating, instead of consolidating, the Indian tribes, and leading them toward the goal of civilization by propinquity with the white man. Some utilitarian may answer that the higher productiveness of the land, if surrendered to the white men, would suffice to support the Indians in districts where the climate and soil would not enable them to support themselves. Justice and every higher demand of philanthropy rejects a plan which would doom the race to sloth and beggary, steadily to sink lower and lower in morals and manhood, until they reached inevitable extinction. Some of the nations, particularly those called the Southern Indians, from greater cultivation and self-reliance, have not been the subjects of removal from their homes north-west of Arkansas;

but an attempt has been made, which I can but believe would be very detrimental to them, if not in the end destructive of their possessory right to the land they received in exchange for their former homes in Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi. It was to divide the land in severalty, which, involving the power of individual alienation, would make the territory an El Dorado for the sharpers, and render the Indian Intercourse Act "a dead letter." To stimulate individual exertion for the improvement of a separate property in home, the land might be subdivided, with tenure descending in the direct line, but without the power to alienate, so that the land should remain forever the property of the tribal nation.

Wherever the General Government yields to the pressure of people who demand that the land of the Indians should be opened for settlement, by removing them from a place which they had so far reduced to cultivation as to make themselves self-sustaining, the mask of a purpose thereby to benefit the Indians should be pulled off for very shame at its hypocrisy. The reports of commissioners and agents, glossed over as they have been, sufficiently show the cruel injustice and hardship inflicted by the policy of repeated removals.

If to this wrong be added the reproach of violated pledges, which gave assurance of permanent abode, one can hardly be called reckless who urges a change of policy and a new line of conduct hereafter. The avowed object being, as guardian, to protect the Indians and advance them to a higher civilization, the means to be employed to that end must vary with the character and condition of the tribe or nation, as no universal rule would be applicable to all.

The first step, as it has been previously stated, must be to make them agriculturists, to give them a fixed habitation, to preserve order, and to prevent conflict with their white neighbors. The more advanced among them, as stated in the case of the Choctaws, will be able to maintain their own constabulary force, to legislate, and execute laws for themselves. For those less advanced, order might be preserved, vagrancy checked, and intruders repelled, by a system of officers selected from the tribe, and appointed and paid by the General Government, who should wear some insignia of authority to command the respect, as well of their own people as of white men who should attempt to intrude upon their territory.

General Cass, referred to above, at the council of Butte des Mors, held with Indians as wild as any we have, appointed certain chiefs for such purposes as above indicated, and his rare sagacity was exhibited by the fact that they long retained their authority and exercised it with most beneficial effect. To show to what extent judicious and humane treatment may check hostility and secure confidence, I will cite the example of the Winnebagoes. In 1828–9 they were a powerful, warlike people, possessing the country along the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, and were more than semi-hostile to the whites. They had summer villages where they grew corn and some other vegetables, which at the approach of winter they cached (buried) and departed for their hunting-ground, returning in the spring to exhume their hidden crop for summer subsistence.

Major, subsequently General, D. E. Twiggs, was sent with a battalion to establish a military post at the portage of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers. The Indians were then so hostile that they would hold no intercourse with the troops, but would ride up on their ponies, with blackened faces, their sign of hostility, and from a distance look at the soldiers, who were building a stockade for shelter and defense. Twiggs, possessing a rare amount of practical sense, and knowledge of human character, gave no indication to the Indians of any anxiety at their proceedings, but with all practicable dispatch hastened his preparations for defense. As time wore on, the Indians gradually acquired confidence; they came to the fort to trade and to get provisions, an annuity having been granted to them; John H. Kinsey, who had much knowledge of Indians, and whose moral character was above reproach, was appointed agent, and at appointed times the Indians were assembled, and to each was paid the amount severally due. All was fairly and regularly done, and there was neither dissatisfaction nor complaint then heard.

The Indian Intercourse Act was rigidly enforced: not a licensed trader was permitted to introduce whisky or high wines for traffic with the Indians. For instance, a fur-trader came up the Fox River to cross the portage and ascend the Wisconsin River. In his boat he had concealed several barrels of whisky. In obedience to orders I inspected his boat, found the barrels of whisky, and had the heads knocked out and the contents emptied into the river. The officiating soldiers saw with surprise such waste of an article which, in their barracks, was valued at a dollar per gill.

When, in the summer of 1832, the garrison at Fort Winnebago was ordered to Rock Island to join in the first Black Hawk campaign, the Winnebagoes were not only peaceable, but so friendly that a single man could ride with safety through their country and get food for himself and horse at any of their villages. Their area of cultivation had increased, the profits of hunting and trapping had diminished, and they were steadily progressing toward the condition which affords the best prospect of civilization—transition from the hunting to the agricultural state.

On the Pacific slope the Indians usually called Pueblos are very different in their instincts, and perhaps in their origin, from those east of the mountains. Under the kind ministration of the Catholic priests, they were collected in groups and taught to cultivate the land. Peaceably inclined, and not indisposed to labor, the problem for solution with them was comparatively easy. If the preservation and training of Indians to such usefulness and happiness as accords with their endowment be the end in view, success would seem certainly attainable.

So far as massacres of the Indians by the white men have occurred, it is worthy of notice that these have not been by the soldiers of the regular army, with, so far as I can recall, one shameful exception. It is to be remembered that Indian outrages committed upon the families of frontiersmen have usually been the provoking cause, and would naturally constitute a reason, for the distinction pointed out above. This distinction calls to notice the anomalous organization, especially as regards the wild tribes, in placing the conduct of Indian affairs under the Interior Department, instead of the War Department, on which it devolves to keep troops in the Indian territory, for the suppression of disorder. Thus it results that, during a state of peace, the Interior Department supplies the Indians with clothing, arms, and ammunition, and, when they take the war-path, the War Department sends troops against them: so the Government supports the campaign by supplying both the belligerents.

The diversity of characteristics and endowments, as well as the inequality of acquirement, would render it impracticable to apply a uniform rule of conduct toward the various Indian tribes. How far the character of the Indians has been modified by intercourse with white men, it will be left for others to inquire. Our earliest history shows that the Indians were confiding and friendly-dis-

posed. One trait on which, as a foundation, much might be predicated, was fidelity in the performance of contracts; *e.g.*, the fur-traders generally advanced, at the beginning of the trapping season, an outfit, to be paid for by the product of the winter's hunt, and the general testimony of the traders was that, in the event of sufficient success, full payment was always made; and that, while an unpaid balance remained, the Indian would not engage his peltries to another trader. This sense of adherence to plighted faith might well produce the aversion of the wild Indian to the man who spoke with "a forked tongue." Having different standards of morality, the conscience of one race would severely condemn acts which the other would approve. To this difference of standard may be referred much of the Indians' conduct which is most abhorrent to the white man. Truth lies between the extreme of the romancer, who ascribes to the Indian all the graces and cardinal virtues, and that of the outraged pioneer, who denies to the Indian all claim to humanity.

When avowed hostility exists between the two, the judgment of the pioneer has much to sustain it; but while there has been amity and mutual good offices, the fidelity of the Indian has stood the hardest tests—such as the tribal desire to take vengeance on the innocent white man for some outrage another white man had committed.

Without elucidation, it will be seen that a common standard of virtue and vice must be recognized as the means to preserve a mutual good understanding between the races. In order to this, there must be like circumstances and mode of living. The policy herein suggested is not now susceptible of the full application which might have been made at an earlier time, but it is not too late to stop the wheel of the Juggernaut.

Though knight-errantry was crucified by the ridicule of Cervantes, the English-speaking people have kept some relics sacred—the love of fair play, to take the part of the weak, to throw their shields over the defenseless. An opportunity is offered to the Government and people of the United States to repair past injustice, and, as far as possible, to fulfill their assumed obligations as guardians to their Indian wards.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

# A SLAVE-TRADER'S LETTER-BOOK.

It was my fortune, during my summer's vacation, to rescue from the obliterating maw of a New England paper-mill, a letter-press copy-book, containing impressions of a series of remarkable letters, written by a prominent "Southern gentleman" of "the days before the war." Happening to glance over the contents of the book, I saw it had once been the property of Mr. C. A. L. Lamar, of Savannah, Georgia, a cousin, I believe, of Hon. L. Q. C. Lamar, our present United States Secretary of the Interior. It must have been confiscated during "Sherman's march to the sea," and brought North. It fell, I suppose, into unappreciative hands, or else it would have been utilized before this time, and not so carelessly doomed to destruction.

In 1858, '59 and '60, this Mr. C. A. L. Lamar achieved the peculiar distinction of advocating, in the most practical way, the reopening of the African slave-trade. His name will be specially remembered in connection with the yacht, "Wanderer," which he fitted out for traffic with the barracoons of the African sea-coast—a sort of commerce which had fallen into such neglect that the civilized world had put upon it the brand of "piracy." This Southern gentleman "of the old school," in the days of "chivalry," repelled the modern innovation with all his might, as the extracts from his letters will show. But pretty soon John Brown and Abraham Lincoln came along, and ended the controversy. Mr. Lamar's views are no longer entertained, even in Georgia and the Carolinas; but they seem too good, in their historical aspect, not to be given to the public. They are moral antiques which still form a very interesting study.

Though a Southern gentleman of the most approved type, Mr. Lamar appears to have possessed just enough of the "Yankee" spirit of enterprise and thrift to render him human; for he was always ready to buy and sell, and stood decidedly in favor of gov-

ernment contracts. Here is a letter, for example, addressed from Savannah, April 1, 1857, to "George N. Sanders, Esq., Navy Agent, N. Y. :"

"Let me congratulate you, and Fowler too, upon your appointments. I'm glad to see it, independent of any selfish motive—and I am glad on that account too. I want none of the officers of 'Honor and Trust,' but want a contract for making money. You have the power of disposing of the contract for the supplying of timber and lumber at the Navy Yard, and I have the means and ability of supplying. Will you give me the point to enable me to get it? I have 11,500 acres of pine land which is just the 'ticket.'" . . .

In the halcyon days of Franklin Pierce, it was a favorite scheme of the South to revolutionize Cuba by means of "filibuster" excursions from the Cotton States, and it was fondly hoped that the island would soon be annexed to the United States, for the extension of slavery. Gen. John A. Quitman had such an excursion on hand in 1855, and Mr. C. A. L. Lamar was too active and patriotic a citizen not to take stock in it. On the 12th of February, in that year, he addressed the following letter to John M. Dow, Esq. :

"Dear John : Don't you want some Cuban bonds? Trowbridge can give you all the information you want on the point. I am in $1,000, Trow 1,000, and I want you in 1,000. It is a good egg."

Writing a few days later, February 25, to "J. S. Thrasher, Esq., New Orleans," Mr. Lamar alluded to a starting-point he had in mind for the expedition :

"I mentioned Montgomery, a small summer retreat 11 miles back from Savannah on the Vernon River. The largest frigate, U. S. N., can pass in and out with perfect safety. . . . The Collector of the Port is a Lone Star man, and can be sent away for a few days. The Judge (Circuit Court, U. S.), will not *trouble* himself, nor do anything more than his duty requires of him. I have no fear *myself* of the consequences of an infringement of the neutrality laws. Gen'l Pierce and his whole Cabinet, were they *here*, could not convict me or my friends. That is the advantage of a small place. A man of influence can do as he pleases." . . .

But General Quitman's expedition, which Mr. Lamar, in his fragrant figure of speech, described as a "good egg," subsequently changed quality in his estimation. For, on the 4th of December, 1856, he wrote to the general, demanding the return of $2,000, on the ground that the enterprise had not been carried out accord-

ing to agreement. To make sure that the letter should reach General Quitman, it was inclosed in this one :

"SAVANNAH, *December* 4, 1856.

"HON. ROBERT TOOMBS, Washington City.

"MY DEAR SIR : I beg leave to trouble you with the delivery of the inclosed communication for Gen'l John A. Quitman, which please read, seal and hand him. I am determined to place myself right, and, unless I get a satisfactory answer, I shall do exactly what I have told him I would do, viz., publish his entire correspondence. I am very sorry to trouble you with this, but I want to know, from a responsible person, that he receives the letter. You can send it by one of the pages of the Senate, telling him to deliver it to Gen'l Quitman in person. You will see something rich if he don't reply." . . .

Again, Mr. Lamar writes to Senator Toombs :

"The fact of his [General Quitman's] occupying a prominent position was no reason why I should treat him differently from others. I care nothing for his position or his reputation as a fire-eater : all I want is simple justice."

Other letters of Mr. Lamar's, written at this time, show that he was actively interested in banking schemes, horse-breeding enterprises, turf affairs, and many sorts of business, but all of them rigidly consistent with Southern "gentility" and "chivalry." When he entered into the slave-trade, he made no apologies for it. He was a man of such high honor that he would permit no question of it, but stood ready to demonstrate his ethics by standing up, at five or ten paces, and drawing his conclusions from his premises with pistols.

In 1857—October 31—he wrote a letter to his father, "G. B. Lamar, Esq.," from which these interesting extracts are taken :

"I have yours of the 30th. Times are not, nor are they going to be, as bad as you divine. Nor are you the prophet you take the credit of being. I am not broke, nor do I intend to be. I am pressed for ready means, not so much on my own account as others'. It will be all right in time. I can only come to the same condition the banks are in ; viz., suspension. . . . You need give yourself no uneasiness about the Africans and the Slave-Trade. I was astonished at some of the remarks in your letter : they show that you have been imbued with something more than the 'panic' by your association North and with Mrs. . . . For example, you say: 'An expedition to the moon would have been equally sensible, and no more contrary to the laws of Providence. May God forgive you for all your attempts to violate his will and his laws.' Following out the same train of thought, where would it land the whole Southern community? Did not the negroes all come originally from the Coast of Africa? What is the difference between going to Africa and Virginia for negroes? And, if there is a difference, is not that difference in favor

of going to Africa? You need not reproach yourself for not interposing with a stronger power than argument and persuasion, to prevent the expedition. There was nothing you or the Government could have done to prevent it. Let all the sin be on me. I am willing to assume it all." . . .

At the time this filial and spirited letter was written, Mr. C. A. L. Lamar had been engaged, for several months, in the African slave-trade, or in very earnest endeavors, at least, to enter it. The first intimation of it, afforded by the gentleman's letter-book, appears in a friendly business communication to "Hon. Howell Cobb, Washington City," a fellow Georgian who was then—July 27, 1857—United States Secretary of the Navy, and with whom Mr. Lamar was evidently on quite friendly terms. He says:

"I am loth to trouble you again, but your damned sap-head of a Collector refuses to do anything. . . . He detained my vessel eight days after she was ready for sea, and after she had applied for her clearance-papers. Mr. Boston said she was not 'seized,' but merely 'detained.' He said the Department would respond to any demand I might make for damages, &c. The District Attorney, and all the lawyers to whom he applied for advice, told him that there was nothing to cause suspicion to attach to the vessel, and he had best discharge her. . . . I claim $150 per day, damages, for said detention. That I did not expect him to pay, without referring it to the Department. But, then, I have a claim for storage and wharfage of the cargo, . . . and he declined to pay it. . . . I appeal to you for both claims: viz.—

| | |
|---|---|
| "8 days' detention at $150 per day..... | $1,200 |
| "Wharfage, landing, shipping and storage..... | 120 |
| | $1,320 |

"Will you please give the matter your attention? . . . I did not, in my other communication, disclaim any intention of embarking in the Slave-Trade, nor did I say anything to warrant you in supposing I was not engaged in it. I simply declared that there was nothing aboard except what was on the manifest, and that I insist there was nothing suspicious on it. I will now say, as the vessel is 1,000 miles from here, that she was as unfit for a voyage to import negroes as any vessel in port. . . . What she may hereafter do, is another matter, which don't concern the present issue. John Boston had her detained because he says he knew she would be engaged in the trade, and had heard that from men who confessed that they were eavesdroppers, who hung around my windows to listen to all conversations that took place. I applied to Ward to write you. He says Boston is unfit for office and ought to be turned out, but the question with him is, who would do to put in. . . . It is a notorious fact that Boston is a natural 'Know Nothing.' He knows nothing of what is going on in the office:—leaves everything in the hands of John Postell, who is an 'acquired' K. N., and still hangs on, notwithstanding the abolition tendency of the party North. Politics as dull as business. It

will be a tight race between Brown and Hill. I shall vote for Hill: won't vote for any S. Carolinean for Gov. I am coming on to bore you in person, unless you will yield to my short epistles."

Mr. Lamar's first adventure in the African slave-trade was not successful. The captain he sent out—so the letters say—fell very far short of his moral and commercial duty. On the 5th of November, 1857, Mr. Lamar wrote on this subject to "N. C. Trowbridge, Esq., New Orleans:"

"DEAR TROW: Your dispatch of the 4th came to hand about bed-time last night. It is the only glimpse of sunshine I have had since my return from the North. . . . I am truly glad to find that Grant is at least honest. He has acted badly, and sacrificed our interest most shamefully. His clearance-papers would have taken him anywhere he wanted to go, unmolested. Why did he not return directly to Savannah? What took him to the West Indies? Why did he sell any of the outfit? He knew the vessel was fitted for nothing else but *the trade*, and ought to have known we would want to send her back. Put her up for freight for Savannah, and send her here. I will send her a trip to Cuba, and in the mean time consummate arrangements for another go. Grant ought to receive no pay, refund what he got, and make good all deficiencies. He had $18,000 in American coin. Whitney says he sold the cargo, and used $1,800 of the gold, up to the time he left. . . . What excuse does Grant make? Why did he not go to the Coast? He knew, before he undertook the command, that there were armed vessels on the Coast, and a number of them. He ought to have known that *he was running no risk*—that the captain and crew are always discharged. The captain of the 'Albert Devereux' was here the other day. The British cruiser even let him take his gold. If Grant had been equal to the emergency, we would all have been easy in money-matters. You and Johnston must arrange for the paper laying over and falling due. I have drafts coming back from the North for cotton bought!! I never was so hard up in my life."

Further light is thrown upon this affair, by a letter of December 23, to "Theodore Johnston, Esq., New Orleans, La.:"

". . . In reference to Grant, discharge him, pay him nothing, and hope with me that he will speedily land in Hell. If you think it best to start her from New Orleans to the Coast, and can make the necessary arrangements for her outfit, and the procurement of a cargo *without the money*, do so. I am unwilling to trust any more money in the hands of irresponsible hands. If you think you can recover anything from Grant, you can commence the action in my name. I don't care a continental about its being used in connection with an enterprise that the intelligence of the country must recognize sooner or later. The Legislature of Carolina has commenced a movement calculated, in time, say at its next session, to startle the opponents of the measure. The Committee to whom was referred so much of Gov. Adams' message as related to the Slave-Trade, made a very able report in favor of it. It was received, printed, and laid over

till the next session, to enable the masses to digest it. Something ought to be done *at once* with the 'Rawlins.' If you can't do anything with her, send her here in ballast." . . .

Three days later—December 26—Mr. Lamar wrote another letter, which gives the full name of his vessel that Captain Grant had commanded, and shows the African slave-trade to have had a wholesale representative in New York city.

"SAVANNAH, *December* 26, 1857.

"L. VIANA, Esq.,
158 Pearl Street,
N. Y. (3d Floor).

"DEAR SIR: I am this morning in receipt of yours of the 22d of Dec. I have been expecting you here daily since the 15th, and it was only on the 24th that I wrote Messrs. Johnston and Trowbridge, at New Orleans, to send the bark 'E. A. Rawlins' here, in case you were not there, or if you were, and they failed to make satisfactory arrangements with you. I am anxious to have you interested in the next expedition, and would be pleased to have you say what interest you would like, and give your views generally as to the manner the whole should be conducted. I would like you to say, too, what number you would contract to land at a designated point, by your own or others' vessels, the price per head, and the time of probable delivery: I to take all the trouble, expense and *risk*, after they are safely landed. Or, if you would prefer it, make some proposition of the nature of a joint-account speculation. I think I can manage two or three cargoes to much profit. I have been agitating the subject of reopening the Trade, and, in connection with others, think there is a marked difference of opinion in the public mind. Of course great prudence and caution are necessary; for, though the authorities will take no particular pains to look after anything of the kind, yet, if it is brought to their attention, they will be bound to notice and prosecute. I can show you, when we meet, the place or places I propose to land them,—where you can go in and out by one tide—the bar straight and deep, and no persons about—and the men, both in reference to standing in the community and reliability in case of difficulty—who own the place. One thing is certain. Nothing can be done in the way of conviction. If the worst should happen, we could only lose the cargo." . . .

The following brief letter shows the way in which Mr. Lamar paid the officers of his slave-ships, and that one of them, at least, was a "gent.:"

"SAVANNAH, *February* 2, 1858.

"N. C. TROWBRIDGE, Esq., or THEODORE JOHNSTON, Esq., New Orleans.

"DEAR SIR: This will be handed you by Captain Wm. Ross Postell, whom I have engaged to go out as supercargo of the bark 'E. A. Rawlins,' to the Coast of Africa. He is a Gent., reliable in every way, and a thorough sailor and navigator, and understands our coast most thoroughly. He is promised

two negroes out of every one hundred that the vessel may land, and $80 per month to his family during his absence for four months. I hope now there will be no farther delays, but that the vessel will go immediately to sea, and return with a full cargo in 90 days."

For the next two or three years Mr. Lamar evidently conducted the African slave-trade in the American Cotton States with great public spirit, and for all it was worth. His letters mention three vessels which he kept as busy as the vicissitudes of the traffic would allow. These were the "E. A. Rawlins," the "Richard Cobden," and the "Wanderer." He contemplated an extension of his lines so magnificent as to defy the whole unappreciative world; and this scheme he laid out in a confidential letter, May 24, 1858, to "Thomas Barrett, Esq., Augusta:"

"I have in contemplation, if I can raise the necessary amount of money, the fitting out of an expedition to go to the coast of Africa for a cargo of African apprentices, *to be bound for the term of their natural lives*, and would like your co-operation. No subscription will be received for a less amount than $5,000. The amount to be raised is $300,000. I will take $20,000 of the stock, and go myself. I propose to purchase the 'Vigo,' an iron screw-steamer of 1,750 tons, now in Liverpool for sale at £30,000, cash. She cost £75,000. G. B. Lamar can give you a description of her. . . . She is as good as new, save her boilers, and they can be used for several months. If I can buy her, I will put six Paixhan guns on deck, and man her with as good men as are to be found in the South. The fighting men will all be stockholders and gentlemen, some of whom are known to you, if not personally, by reputation. My estimate runs thus:

| | |
|---|---|
| "Steamer $150,000; Repairs, guns, small arms, coal, &c., $50,000 | $200,000 |
| "Supplies 25,000; Money for purchase of cargo, 75,000 | 100,000 |
| | $300,000 |

"I have, as you know, a vessel now afloat, but it is to my mind extremely doubtful whether she gets in safely, as she had to wait on the Coast until her cargo could be collected. If she ever gets clear of the Coast, they can't catch her. She ought to be due in from 10 to 30 days. I have another now ready to sail, which has orders to order a cargo of 1,000 to 1,200 to be in readiness the 1st of September, but to be kept, if necessary, until the 1st of October—which I intend for the steamer—so that no delay may occur. With her I can make the voyage there and back, including all detentions, bad weather if I encounter it, etc., in 90 days certain and sure; and the negroes can be sold as fast as landed at $650 per head. I can contract for them 'to arrive' at that figure, *Cash*. The 'Vigo' can bring 2,000 with ease and comfort, and I apprehend no diffi-

culty or risk, save shipwreck, and that you can insure against. I can get one of the first-lieutenants in the Navy to go out in command, and we can whip anything, if attacked, that is on that station, either English or American. But I would not propose to fight; for the 'Vigo' can steam 11 knots, which would put us out of the way of any of the cruisers. If you know of any who would like to take an interest, mention it to them *confidentially*, and let me know who they are. I want none but reliable men, and men who will have the money the moment it is called for. I can raise 100,000 *here*. What can I raise in and about Augusta? . . . If the 'Rawlins' gets in with her cargo, I shall want very little more money; for I will take all that is wanting myself."

In a letter to "Wm. Roundtree, Esq,, Nashville, Tenn," Mr. Lamar estimated the profits of this steamship expedition to Africa in these figures:

| | |
|---|---|
| "Cost of the expedition | $300,000 |
| "Say we bring but 1,200 Negroes @ $650 | $780,000 |
| "Deduct 1st cost | 300,000 |
| "Leaves nett profit and steamer on hand | $480,000 |

If Mr. C. A. L. Lamar had not been a Southern gentleman, of the most unquestionable exemption from all sordid characteristics, one might suspect that the large returns which he anticipated from the African slave-trade had inspired him with a very coarse and ordinary sort of greed. But he insisted, before the public, that he was fighting for a principle; and, so queer a bulb is the human head, that perhaps he thought he told the truth. Here is an extract from a letter written at the time of the preceding ones—May, 1858—to "L. W. Spratt, Esq., Charleston, S. C.:"

"I have in your port, the ship 'Richard Cobden,' that is represented by Messrs. E. Lafitte & Co. I applied for a clearance for her, and declared, on the manifest, the intention of the voyage was to go to the coast of Africa for a cargo of apprentices, to return to some port in the U. S. or the Island of Cuba. This application was made nearly two months ago. Mr. Colcock said, as a lawyer he admitted my right, but as a government official he would have to report it to Washington. I have written twice to the Treasury Department, urging a prompt decision, and, if a refusal, the reason for such refusal. But, though I have been promised that I should 'have it in a day or two,' it is not yet on hand. I know the Secretary will refuse it. If he does, he will have many a battery opened on him. . . . I am determined to have the trade opened."

The refusal came, and then Mr. Lamar promptly opened a

battery himself. He addressed a public letter, that is, to "Mr. Secretary Cobb:"

"Your objection to the form of the application, as 'involving the subject in some embarrassment,' is groundless. Viewed as a matter of legal right, the question is simply this: Has any one a legal right to land African emigrants, *bond or free*, at any port in the United States? . . . You virtually admitted the right to land such emigrants in some of the non-slave-holding States, but added that you were 'not aware of a single State where these new-comers would receive a tolerant, much less a cordial, reception.' Has Northern public opinion, then, acquired the force of law? . . . Upon the return of the ship to the United States, the *status* of the Africans on board, and all other matters affecting the legality of the voyage, could have been tested in the federal courts. You have . . . closed the courts of the country against me. . . I proposed to you, in writing, that if you would grant the vessel protection on the coast of Africa, I would land the cargo on the levee in New Orleans, and test the legality of the matter in the courts of the United States. . . . The application which is now before you for a clearance for the same vessel for almost a similar voyage, is not amenable to the objections urged against the other; and I am in hopes you will give an immediate answer to it, and let the South know whether she has any rights in the Union or not."

It is interesting to notice that Mr. Lamar's exceptional logic and peculiar patriotism were not without adverse critics, even in South Carolina, and that, to sustain the African slave-trade, one had to be ready, on slight provocation, to "open" other "batteries" than pen and ink. The next letter may speak for itself, without abbreviation:

"SAVANNAH, *July* 22, 1858.

"JOHN CUNNINGHAM, ESQ., Charleston, S. C.

"Dear Sir: In your review of my letter to Mr. Secretary Cobb, you used the following language: 'But his appeal to the passions of sympathy show that, in case he is caught, he had rather be regarded as a martyr than a convict, as a hero than a freebooter.' The above is offensive, and the object of this is to inquire if you intended it to be so, and if you intended, either directly or indirectly, to reflect upon me personally. Your early attention will much oblige, Very respectfully your obt. Serv't,

"C. A. L. LAMAR."

In a letter to "L. W. Spratt, Esq.," Mr. Lamar explains:

"Ordinarily I would not consider it necessary for me to notice such articles; but, coming from the source it does, from one who sets himself up as the fire-eater of the editorial corps of S. C., I am constrained to notice it."

Another letter to Mr. Spratt carries us to the end of this episode:

"I received a very handsome letter this morning from Col. Cunningham, disavowing any intention to wound or offend, to which I replied, thanking him for the frank and manly tone of his letter. That ended what I thought, at one time, would be a very unpleasant business. . . . I am constantly receiving from different gentlemen of prominence and influence throughout the States, letters approving of my course and denunciatory of Cobb's. He is a gone sucker in this State. His chance for the Presidency is gone—certain."

But, as a revivalist of the African slave-trade, Mr. Lamar was not exempt from his own difficulties and moments of unhappiness. At the close of 1858 his slave-yacht, "Wanderer," was seized by the Government—an occurrence which put him to much difficulty, and subjected his letters to some loss of placidity in their diction. Note this one, for instance, of December 18, to his friend, Trowbridge:

"I returned this morning from Augusta. I distributed the negroes as best I could; but I tell you things are in a hell of a fix; no certainty about anything. The Government has employed H. R. Jackson to assist in the prosecution, and are determined to press matters to the utmost extremity. The yacht has been seized. The examination commenced to-day, and will continue for thirty days, at the rate they are going on. They have all the pilots and men who took the yacht to Brunswick, here to testify. *She will be lost certain and sure*, if not the negroes. Dr. Hazlehurst testified that he attended the negroes and swore they were Africans, and of recent importation. . . . I don't calculate to get a new dollar for an old one. All of these men must be *bribed*. I must be paid for my time, trouble and advances. . . . Six of those left at Mont's, who were sick, died yesterday. I think the whole of them now sick will die: they are too enfeebled to administer medicine to. I am paying fifty cents per day each for all those I took up the country. It was the best I could do. It won't take long at that rate for a large bill to be run up. . . . I tell you hell is to pay. I don't think they will discharge the men, but turn them over for trial; if so, there is no telling when we can dispose of the negroes."

Difficulties continued, and Mr. Lamar wrote to Theodore Johnson:

"I am astonished at what Gov. Phiniz has written me, and must believe, until it is confirmed, that he has been misinformed. The idea of a man's taking negroes to keep at fifty cents a head per day, and then refusing to give them up when demanded, simply because the law does not recognize them as property, is worse than stealing. . . . I can get nothing from any one. . . . I shall not only lose the original investment, but the most or at least a part of

the advances I have made. The yacht is gone, I think. . . . I shall do all that can be done, but my attorneys say it is a bad showing."

A day or two later, our energetic speculator in Africans sent this word to Mr. Trowbridge:

"Don't sell any of the negroes for anything but money. I would not give a damn for all the notes that have been sent me. I want the money. Money alone will pay my obligations. Keep the negroes if they can't be sold for cash, and I will send them West."

On January 28, 1859, Mr. Lamar wrote to "Capt. N. D. Brown:"

"Your attorneys will visit you before the trial. If a true bill be found against you by the grand jury, it will be done upon the evidence of Club and Harris, and of course they will testify to the same thing. In that case I think you all ought *to leave*, and I will make arrangements for you to do so, if you agree with me. I have offered Club and Harris $5,000 not to testify; but the Government is also trying to buy them. I don't think you will have much difficulty in getting out. . . . I am afraid they will convict me, but my case is only seven years and a fine. If I find they are likely to do so, I shall go to Cuba, until I make some compromise with the Government. Matters look badly enough just now." . . .

The press of the North naturally censured Mr. Lamar's commercial ventures on the coast of Africa, and said many things that deeply wounded so sensitive a nature. Such conduct, on the part of the New York "Times," called for a rebuke in accordance with the code of honor.

"SAVANNAH, *April* 4, 1859.

"MR. RAYMOND, Editor of the New York 'Times':

"SIR: My prolonged and continued absence from home, taken in connection with the fact that I viewed your editorial of the 21st of March as having been written by an irresponsible party, who did not recognize that responsibility which attaches to gentlemen, is the excuse I have to offer for not having before noticed your remarks, which were personal and offensive to myself. I hope the above will satisfactorily account for any apparent neglect. I have been informed by friends that I have been mistaken in my estimate of your character (and they derived their information from personal friends of yours), and that you would respond to any call made upon you. The object of this is to inquire if you have been properly represented by your friends. It is my purpose to go to Cuba next week, unless circumstances should arise to prevent, and a telegram, which will be paid for here, announcing your decision, will much oblige,

"Respectfully yours, &c.

"C. A. L. LAMAR."

Mr. Lamar also addressed "Horace Greeley & Co., N. Y. 'Tribune':"

"GENTS: Will you favor me with the name and whereabouts of your correspondent who writes from 'Georgia' under date of the 25th of March, and published in your issue of the 1st of April? It is customary with the press of this section to surrender the name of the author of any communication, when it is applied for with the assertion that the party is to be held legally or personally responsible—which I hereby declare to be my intention. I hope the same custom prevails with you."

It appears that "Doctor Greeley" declined Mr. Lamar's request, but offered him the columns of the "Tribune," in which to defend himself, and uphold the branch of commerce in which he was engaged. Mr. Raymond, however, tantalized him with several letters of quite duplex and uncertain structure. Evading the question as to whether he "recognized that responsibility which attaches to gentlemen," under the code of pop or thrust, he finally wrote that, "no matter how he would be inclined to act under ordinary circumstances," he would not consent to meet Mr. Lamar "on terms of equality," as he had "avowed his connection with a traffic which the laws of his country denounced as piracy, and the civilized nations of the world looked upon as odious." Thereupon Mr. Lamar wrote Mr. Raymond this brief epistle, which is copied upside-down in his letter-book—probably in unspeakable contempt of so irresponsible a creature as a New York editor.

"SIR: I received yours of the 4th this morning. You have taken the usual refuge of a coward, who, afraid to fight, undervalues his adversary. Common as is this course in your meridian, *the boast of your friends* induced me to believe that you would hold yourself responsible to those whom you had offended. But for this, and the previous impression I had formed of your character, I would have had no correspondence with you. When we meet, I have determined upon my course."

What his determination was, he particularized in a letter to "B. R. Alden, Esq., No. 5 West 14th Street, New York."—

"I shall simply put an indignity upon him in a public manner—such for instance as slapping his face; and then, if he don't resent it, why, I shall take no further notice of him."

The "horrors of the middle-passage," on slavers, has often been described. The abolitionists of England and America used to de-

pict it with great pathos and indignation. Mr. Lamar notices the same thing in his letters, but, not being an emotional gentleman, he treats it from the strictly commercial stand-point. On the 20th of June, 1859, he wrote a long letter, marked "private and confidental" to C. C. Cook, Esq., Blakely, Ga., which contained this significant extract:

"You are aware that it is a risky business. *I lost two out of three.* To be sure, at first I knew nothing of the business. I have learned something since, and I hope I can put my information to some account. I have been in for 'grandeur,' and been fighting for a principle. Now I am in for the dollars."

In a mood when he was "in for the dollars," and when he was also suffering from the gripes of economy, he wrote again to "Dear Trow"—Mr. Trowbridge of New Orleans. It was July 21, 1859.

"The 'Wanderer' is going to China, and may return with coolies. They are worth from $340 to $350 each in Cuba, and cost but $12 and their passage. I told you Tucker returned one of the boys sold in Columbus—sent him to Akin's for my account !!! He is in Joe Bryan's and has had a number of fits. He has the itch, and Joe wants him removed. I don't know what to do with him. No one will take him. He is a dead expense to me." . . .

Elsewhere, Mr. Lamar deplores the conduct of one of his captains of the "Wanderer":

"The man who went on her before would like to go again, but he made an extraordinary claim the last time, and it of course was not settled in full—and he might take some advantage and *throw* us, to pay off any feeling he might have against the old company. He claimed he was to have received $30 a head for every one who *had life in him*, that was landed, independent of his condition, even though he might die before he could be housed. Such was not the contract."

In still another letter he says:

"I have been badly swindled by getting into the hands of rascals and vagabonds. I am out of pocket on the 'Wanderer'—had to assume all the responsibility, pay all the money, and do all the work."

Subsequently, this yacht, the "Wanderer," was literally stolen from Mr. Lamar at Savannah—supplies, crew and all—by a Captain D. S. Martin. "He has undoubtedly gone to the coast of Africa for a cargo of negroes," says the letter-book, "and, if he is as smart there as he has been here, he will get one."

On the 30th of July, 1859, a letter was written to "B. R. Alden, Esq." in which Mr. Lamar reiterated his views and intentions:

"It matters not to me what your views and sentiments are in reference to the African Slave-trade. Though I would like to have you right, we shall never quarrel on that subject. Many of my best friends differ with me, and among them my father. I know that I am right, and that the sentiment of the people of the South is fast making that way. Even the politicians, and those, too, who have been in that corrupting atmosphere of Washington City, are coming to us. . . . I am determined not to give it up. I am going to make what I have lost out of it, benefit my State and section, and let the United States do their best to put the consequences upon me."

There are other interesting letters of this remarkable series. But these selections cover "the merits of the case." It is well, perhaps, to add one more, which shows that the irrepressible slave-trader persisted in his vocation until within a few months of secession and civil war.

"SAVANNAH, *June* 12, 1860.

"L. Q. C. LAMAR, Esq.,

"DEAR LUCIUS: I wrote you sometime during the winter, requesting you to telegraph me when Raymond of the N. Y. 'Times' arrived in Washington, that I might go on and meet him. You never replied, and I therefore feel some hesitancy in again addressing you; but I'll try it *once* more.

"I received the inclosed through the mail this morning, and, being unable to decipher the name of the M. C. who franked it, though I sent to the P. O. and made the request of them to give me the name, I send it to you, with the request that you will find out who sent it to me, and demand of him, *in my name*, if he intended in anyway to reflect on me by addressing it, '*In Jail.*' If he did, *challenge him peremptorily in my name*, and telegraph me, and I will be there to meet the appointment. I am *not* in jail, and the damned Government has not the power to put and keep me there. I am in my own rooms, over my office, and go home every night, and live like a fighting-cock at *the expense of the Government;* for we notified the Marshal, at the beginning, that, unless he furnished us, we would not stay with him, but dissolve all connection that exists or might exist between us. He submitted the same to the Judges, and they told him to supply us. I can *whip* the Government any time they make the issue, unless they raise a few additional regiments. Attend to this. Act promptly and decisively. If I go out on the field, the result will be a very different one from the one I had with Commodore Moore, against whom I had no feeling. If you feel any hesitancy in acting in accordance with the within, turn it over to my friend, Jack Jones. He will do the needful.

"I am truly yours, &c.,

"C. A. L. LAMAR."

It is of little consequence, at the present date, how this last intended duel came out, or under what precise conditions Mr. Lamar was in or out of jail in 1860. But, after a while, the Government raised those "few additional regiments" to which he referred, and knocked the financial bottom entirely out of the African Slave-trade on the American Continent.

These letters show how rapidly we have been making history since the last of them was written. To the youth of the present generation the society of which they were a natural product is practically as dead as the civilization of the Pharaohs. More graphically even than "Uncle Tom's Cabin," these letters reveal in a pitiless light the saddest phases of a society whose corner-stone was African slavery. Young Americans remember its existence, and yet how far away it seems. Every friend of our present genial and erudite Secretary of the Interior, then a fiery advocate of secession, now a loyal member of a national cabinet; then the fierce denouncer of Garrison, since the most eloquent eulogist of Sumner, can imagine with what feelings of amused amazement, looking across the bloody chasm of our civil war, he will recall the time when he received the letter of his then more famous cousin. We have traveled far since then, and our faces have been set Zionward!

# CITIES OF ITALY.

WHATEVER may be the opinion of Europe as to the political advantages accruing to it from the independence of Italy, it must be mournfully confessed that the losses to art and to history through it are greater than any which could have been caused by centuries of neglect or long years of hostile occupation and devastating war. It is scarcely to be measured, indeed, what those losses are; so immense are they in their extent, so incessant in their exercise, so terrible in their irreparable infamy. No doubt it could never be foreseen, never be imagined, by those who brought about and permitted the consolidation of Italy into one kingdom, that the people, nominally free, would become the abject slaves of a municipal despotism and of a barbarous civic greed. None of the enthusiasts for Italian independence possessed that power of foresight which would have told them that its issue would be the daily destruction, by hordes of foreign workmen, of its treasures of art and its landmarks of history. Yet there is no exaggeration in saying that this, and nothing less than this, is its chief issue.

Hermann Grimm, in the "Deutsche Rantzau" of the 1st of March of this year, has published a powerful appeal to the scholars and artists of Europe against the Italian destruction of Rome. Having for thirty years written on Italian cities and their art and history, with scholarship and devotion, he has gained the right to raise his voice in indignant protest and scorn against the mercenary and vulgar shamelessness with which the Roman municipality is so dealing with the splendid heritage which it has received, that soon scarcely one stone will be left upon another of the sacred city. He says, and with truth, that the portion of the Italian nation which has the eyes to perceive and the soul to abhor all that is being done is so small a minority, and one so spiritless, hopeless, and discouraged, that it is for all practical purposes non-existent. He appeals to what he terms that larger Rome which exists in the

hearts of all who have ever known Rome with a scholar's knowledge or an artist's love. The appeal may be powerless, but at least it may be heard; and though it will scarcely be able to pierce through that thick hide of smug vanity and rapacity in which Italian municipalities are enveloped, it will put on record the courage and the scorn of one man for what is the greatest artistic iniquity of our time. It is idle and untrue for Italians to say that the rest of Europe has no right to interfere with what they do with the legacy they enjoy. In the first place, without the aid and acquiescence of Europe, the Italian kingdom as a unity could never have existed at all; without the permission of Europe the entry into Rome could never have been made at all. Europe has the title to observe and to condemn the manner in which the superb gift, which she permitted to be given to those very various peoples who are called Italians, is being squandered away and destroyed. The United Kingdom of Italy may, as a political fact, disappear tomorrow in any European war or any great socialistic uprising; but historic Italy, classic Italy, artistic Italy, is a treasure which belongs to the whole world of culture, in which, indeed, the foreigner, if he be reverent of her soil, is far more truly her son than those born of her blood who violate her and desecrate her altars. Italy cannot be narrowed to the petty bounds of a kingdom created yesterday; she has been the mistress of all art, the muse and the priestess of all peoples.

What are the Italians doing with her? It is sickening to note and to record. Nothing can ever give back to the world what, day by day, municipal councilors having houses to sell, syndicates and companies merely looking for spoliation and speculation, contractors who seize on the land as a trooper seizes on a girl in a sacked town, are all taking from the fairest and the most ancient cities and towns on earth. The sound of the hatchet in the woods and gardens of Italy is incessantly echoed by the sound of the pickaxe and hammer in the cities and towns. The crash of falling trees is answered by the crash of falling marbles. All over the land destruction, of the vilest and most vulgar kind, is at work; destruction before which the more excusable and more virile destruction of war looks almost noble. For the present destruction has no other motive, object, or mainspring, than the lowest greed. It is absolutely incomprehensible how, after having been the leaders and the light of the far centuries, the Italians have, by common consent

and with pitiable self-congratulation, sunk to the position of the most benighted barbarism in art. In everything which is now constructed the worst and most offensive taste is manifest, whilst that which has existed for centuries is attacked and pulled down without remorse. I wholly fail to account, on any philosophic or psychological grounds, for the utter deadness of soul which has come on the Italians as a nation. Born with loveliness of all kinds, natural and architectural, around them, the æsthetic sense should be as instinctive in them as their movements of limbs or lungs. Instead of this, it is entirely gone out of them. They have no feeling for color, no sense of symmetry, and little or no sense of reverence for the greatness and the gloriousness of the past.

The only people in whom any of the native feeling for natural and artistic beauty still exists are those country people who dwell far removed from the contagion of the towns, and the marine populations of the Veneto. But even in these it is slighter than any student of the past would expect. The sense of color is *nil* in most Italians; they might as well be color-blind for any heed they take of harmony of tones. In the superb and immense *salons* of a palace of the Renaissance one will see priceless tapestries on the walls, antique marbles on the consoles, frescoes of Veronese, of Giulio Romano, or of Sodoma, on the ceilings; and at the same time see arm-chairs and couches, some yellow, some blue, some green, some scarlet; a table-cover of crimson; and the mosaic floor covered with a worthless *moquette* carpet of all hues, and of a set and staring pattern. I call to mind a similar palace, whose very name is as a trumpet-call to all the glories of the past; there the antique statues have been colored, "because white marble is so cold and sad;" an admirable copy in bronze of the Mercury of Gian' di Bologna has had his wings, his petasus, and his caduceus gilded; and the marble floors have been taken up to have French parquet flooring laid down in their stead, and varnished so highly that the woods glisten like looking-glasses; yet the owner of and dweller in this palace is a great noble, who, after his own fashion, cherishes art. I have seen a Greek Venus, found in the soil at Baiæ, wreathed round with innumerable yards of rose-colored gauze by its owner, an Italian princess. The excuse given is, "*Senza un' po' di tinta sta cosi fredda!*"

It is the same feeling which makes the Italian peasant say of the field-flowers which you have arranged in your rooms, "How well

you have made those vulgar weeds look! Any one would take them now for *fiori secchi!*" (artificial flowers.) Whence comes it, this absolute blindness of the eyes, this deadening absence of all consciousness of beauty? It is the same thing in their villages and their fairs. Go to a fair on a feast-day in any part of France; go to a kermesse in Belgium or Luxembourg; go to a merry-making in Germany or Austria, and you will see a picturesque and graceful sight; you will see a great deal of what the eyes of Teniers, of Ostade, of Callot, of Mieris saw in their day. There will be harmonized colors, unconscious grace of grouping, arrangements of common goods and simple things so made that beauty is got out of them. But in a village festival in Italy there is nothing except what is ugly; it is all dusty, uninteresting, untempting; what colors there are are arranged with the same disregard of fitness as is shown in the yellow, red, and green arm-chairs of the palace chambers; and the whole effect is one of squalor and of vulgarity. Who can account for this?

Are we to infer that all the transmitted influences of race count for nothing? If those who, rightly or wrongly, are tempted to explain all the problems of life by the doctrines of heredity would tell me why the living representatives of the most artistic races on earth are almost absolutely deprived of all artistic instincts, I should be glad. Some have suggested that it is the outcome of the artificial habits and false taste of the eighteenth century; but this can scarcely be correct, because this artificiality existed all over Europe, not in Italy alone, and, besides, never touched the country people in any way or in any of their habits.

The excuse made for the utter disregard and destruction of beauty in Italy is that the utility of all things is now preferred to beauty. But this is no adequate explanation. It may explain why a dirty steamboat is allowed to grind against the water-steps of the Ca'd'Oro, or why the fair shores of Poselippo and the blue bays of Spezzia and Taranto are made hideous by steam and bricks. But it will not explain why the peasant thinks a wax or cambric flower more lovely than a field anemone or daffodil, or why the noble colors his statues and gilds the wings of his Mercury. This can only be traced to the utter decay of all feeling for beauty, natural or artistic, in the Italian mind, and, though we see it, we cannot adequately explain, we can only deplore it. There is no doubt a tendency all the world over to loss of the true sense of beauty; despite the æs-

thetic pretenses of nations, the real feeling for natural and artistic perfection is very weak in most of them. If it were strong and pure, the utilitarian (*i.e.*, the money-getting spirit) would not prevail as it does in architecture, and forest solitudes would not be destroyed as they are; and men would see what hypocrites they be who make millions out of some hideous desecration of nature by factories, iron foundries, or petroleum wells, and think they can purchase condonation, and a reputation for fine taste, by buying pictures for their galleries or inlaying their halls with rare woods or stones. The whole world which calls itself civilized is guilty more or less of the most absolute barbarism; but modern Italy is guiltiest of all, even as he who has inherited a fair home and cultured intelligence is guiltier than he who has never known anything but a vitiated atmosphere and a squalid house. It is the immensity of her heritage which makes her abuse of all her opportunities so glaring and so utterly beyond pardon.

Nothing can ever give back to mankind what every day the Italian municipalities and people are destroying, as indifferently as though they were pulling down dead leaves or kicking aside anthills in the sand. There is not even the pretext for these acts that they are done to better the state of the people; to execute them the cheapest foreign labor is called in, ousting the men of the soil off it; house-rent is trebled and quadrupled, house-room narrowed, and in many instances denied, to the native population; and contracts are given away right and left to any foreign companies or syndicates who choose to bid for them. The frightful blocks of new houses, the hideous new streets, the filthy tramways, the naked new squares, are all made by foreign speculators who purchase the right of spoliation from the municipalities as the private owners of the soil. A few men are made temporarily richer: the country is permanently beggared.

"Rome," writes Hermann Grimm, "represents for humanity a spiritual value which cannot be easily estimated, but which is none the less precious because ideal." Yet the vulgar and petty administration of an ephemeral moment is allowed to treat the capital of the world as though it were some settlement of shanties in the backwoods of America, fit only to disappear beneath the mallet and scaffolding of carpenters and masons. He continues to say that to call it vandalism is an injustice to the Vandals, for they, at least, were too ignorant to know the worth of what they

destroyed, and acted in mere fierce instinct of conquest, with no ulterior greed; but they who are now destroying arch on arch, tower on tower, temple and church and palace, piling the sacred stones one on another like rubble, and effacing landmarks which had been respected through a thousand years, have the excuse neither of ignorance nor of war. They know what they do, and we may add that they care not what they do, so long as their gain is made, their pockets filled.

Around Rome as well as within it the most luxuriant vegetation, a few years ago, alternated with the most sacred ruins; tombs and temples and triumphal arches were framed in the most abundant foliage; the banksia rose, the orange, the myrtle, the jessamine climbed and blossomed amidst the ruins of the palace of the Cæsars. In all these grand gardens, in these flowering fields, in these grass meadows, stretching between their marble colonnades, there was, as the German scholar says, an infinite calm, a loveliness and stillness in which the poet and the scholar could draw near to the mighty dead who had once been there as living men. There was nothing like it left on earth. Now it is destroyed forever. Now, in the stead of that tender silence of the tombs, that exquisite freshness of the spring, awakening in a thousand moss-grown dells and myrtle thickets which had seen Ovid and St. Paul, Augustine and Raffael—now, in the stead of this there are the stench of engines, the dust of shattered bricks, the scream of steam-whistles, the mounds of rubbish, the poles of scaffolding, long lines of houses raised in frantic haste on malarious soil, enormous barracks, representative of the martial law required to hold in check a liberated people: all is dirt, noise, confusion, hideousness, crowding, clamor, avarice.

The leaders of an invading and victorious army would have been ashamed to cause the havoc and the blasphemy which the Roman municipality have carried out with shameless callousness; the indignant voice of Europe would have bidden a Suwarrow, a Napoleon, a Constable de Bourbon, stay his hand, had he dared to level with the dust the august monuments of which neither the majesty nor the memories have power to daunt the impious hand of the nineteenth-century Edilizia. Common faith, even, has not been kept with the Roman people in the ruin of their city; the completed plan, put before the public in 1880, of the works which were intended, did not prepare the public for one-tenth of the dev-

astation which has been wrought. In the words of Grimm, those who put forth the plan of '80 proposed tranquil, moderate, and decent measures, and never contemplated the insensate haste, the brutal fury, the unsparing greed shown by those who, professing to accept its propositions, have utterly disregarded and far outstripped them. In the plan of '80 it was, for instance, expressly stated and provided that certain gardens, amongst them the Ludovisi, should be purchased by the city, but kept intact in their verdure and extent. This promise has been broken. The destruction of the Ludovisi, amongst others, is one of the foulest examples of the municipal perfidy toward the public. What traveler has not known the Ludovisi Gardens? What scholar, dreamer, painter, has not found his heaven there? Those immemorial pines, making twilight beneath them in the sunniest noon, those lofty walls of bays and of arbutus, those dim, green, shadowy aisles leading to velvet swards and violet-studded banks, the family of peacocks spreading their purples, their emeralds, their gold, out in the glory of the radiant light, the nightingales singing night and day in the fragrant solitudes, Sappho's angel in Corinna's gardens—who has not known these, who has not loved these? And they are gone, gone forever; gone through the greed of men, and in their stead will stand the vile rows of cheap and staring houses; in their place will reign the devil of centralization. Centralization is the heart-disease of nations. The blood, driven by it from the body and the limbs, becomes turgid and congested, overfills the vessels of the heart, and chokes them up; there is no more health, and later there is death. Paris has been the curse of France. Rome will be the curse of Italy. The violated nymphs and the slaughtered nightingales of the ruined gardens will be avenged. But what solace is that to us? We have lost them forever. No power on earth can give them back to us.

There is a violation of that sentiment which the Latins called Piety, glaring, and so monstrous, in the destruction of Rome by the Italians, that it warps all similar ruin being wrought elsewhere. Yet all over Italy things are daily being done which might wring tears from the statues' eyes of stone.

After the outrage to Rome, the injury done to Venice is the most irreparable, the most inexcusable.

The wanton destruction of the island of Saint 'Elena is, after the destruction of the Ludovisi and other historic gardens in Rome,

the most disgraceful act of the sacrilege of modern Italy. It is barbarism without one shadow of excuse or plea of obligation. This loveliest isle had been spared by all hostile fleets and armies. It lies at the very mouth of the lagoon opening out from the Grand Canal. It arrests the eyes of all who go to and fro the Lido. It was, a little while ago, a little paradise of solitude, fragrance, and beauty. Its thickets of wild rose, of jessamine, and of myrtle were filled with song-birds. Its old church, the oldest in the Veneto, stood, gray and venerable, amidst the shade of green acacias and flowering oleanders. The little world of blossom and of melody, hung between the sea and sky, had a holiness, a pathos, a perfection of woodland loveliness not to be told in words; there no sound was heard except the bells of the matins and vespers, the lapping of the waves, the whir of the white gulls' wings, and the echo of some gondolier's boating song. To sit in its quiet cloisters, with the fragrance of its wild gardens all around, and see the sun set beyond Venice, and the deep rose of evening spread over the arch of the skies and the silver plain of the waters, was to live a little while in the same world that Giorgione and Veronese knew. It seems like a vision of a nightmare to find these cloisters leveled and these gardens and trees destroyed—the whole island made a grimy, smoking mound of clay and ruins. Yet thus it is. The government has chosen to make it a site for a factory and foundry; and, not content with this defilement, is throwing up, upon it and beside it, acres of the stinking sand and clay dredged up from the canals, intending in due time to cover this new soil with other factories and foundries, full in the face of Venice, a few furlongs from the Piazza of St. Mark. Viler devastation was never more iniquitously or more unpardonably wrought.

Meantime the very commonest care is refused to such interesting and priceless houses as the House of the Camel, which is let out to a number of poor and dirty tenants, with its eponymus alto-relievo made the target for the stones of the children; while in the same quarter of the Madonna dell' Orta, close at hand, a manufacturer is allowed to send the mouths of his steam-tubes hissing through the iron arabesques and between the carved foliage of a most noble Gothic doorway belonging to a deserted church.

I am aware that it is useless to protest against these things. The soul in the country is withered up by small greeds. All these

irreparable injuries are done that municipal councilors may pocket some gain, and any stranger who has the money necessary can purchase from the Conscript Fathers of the hour the right to defile, to annex, to violate, to destroy, the fairest and most sacred places in Italy. The goddess is given over to the ravishing of any boor who brings a money-bag.

The scholar, the poet, the archæologist are all abhorred in modern Italy; their protests are impatiently derided, their reverence is contemptuously ridiculed, their love of art, of nature, or of history, is regarded as a folly, ill-timed and inconvenient, lunatic and hysterical. But the new-comer who proposes a machine, a chimney, a monster hotel, a bubble company, or a tramway station, is welcomed with open arms; it is considered that he means "progress," *i.e.*, that he means a subsidy for some one, a general scramble for gold pieces.*

It is a wanton love of destruction which can alone lead a people who possess neither iron nor coal to make foundries and factories in Venice, the most lovely and luminous city of the sea. These works cannot be ever profitable at Venice, by reason of the immense cost of the transport there of the metals and combustibles necessary for their development. Yet in every direction their foul smoke is rising, and dimming that translucent air so dear to every painter from Carpaccio to Aïvasovski.

Emile de Lavaleye has demonstrated, in his recent "Lettres d'Italie," that these works in Venice, so fatal to the city, cannot ever result in any financial profit; that, with coal forty francs a ton, it is impossible they should ever bring any; that all industry of the kind is artificial and pernicious in Italy, and ends in impoverishing the many to enrich a few.

Facing the island, which has now been made into a general cemetery, with high walls round it, was the *riva*, which was once consecrated to the villas and pleasure-gardens of the Venetian nobles; their palaces were only for winter habitation or ceremonious use, but the beautiful garden-houses facing Murano were their retreat for mirth, ease, and recreation of all kinds, with nothing between them and the silvery lagoon except the clouds of foliage and of blossom which then covered these little isles.

* The Villa d'Este, at Tivoli, has been purchased to be turned into a factory, and will form a fitting pendant to the steam works on Saint 'Elena.

Nothing would have been easier than to make this shore now what it was then, and it would even have been undoubtedly profitable to have done so. Will it be credited that, instead, it has been selected as the especial site of gas-works and iron-works and all abominations of stench and smoke, whilst, instead of the laughing loveliness of flowering lawns leaning to touch the sea, there is a long and dreary brick embankment, on which you can walk if you choose, and recall, if you can, the "tender grace of a day that is dead"?

"*La lumière de Venise*" has been the theme of all poets and the enchantment of all travelers for centuries; that opal-hued, translucent, ethereal light has been the wonder of every wanderer who has found himself in the enchantment of its silvery radiance. "*On nage dans la lumière,*" is the just expression of Taine, to describe the exquisite effulgence of the light in Venice. Yet this wonder, this delight, this gift of nature from sea and sky, the modern masters of the fate of Venice deliberately sacrifice, that a few greedy commercial adventurers may set up their chimneys on the shores consecrated to St. Mark.

The Venetian populace have still in themselves a sense of color and a passion for verdure; in every little *calle* and at every *traghetto* an acacia grows and a vine climbs; on the sails of the fishing and fruit boats there are painted figures, and in the garb of those who steer them there is still picturesque choice of form and hue. But in the Venetian municipality, as in every other Italian municipality, all taste is dead, all shame is dead with it; and the only existence, the only passion, left in their stead, are those of gain and of destruction. On the Guidesea hideous factories, which belch out the blackest of smoke close to the dome of the Church of the Redentare, have been allowed to pollute the atmosphere and disgrace the view; and in every shed or outhouse where any one has a fancy to stick up the iron tube of an engine, similar smoke passes forth, making day frightful and clouding the lagoon for miles.

Reverence, and that sense of fitness which always goes with reverence, are wholly lacking in the modern Italian mind. There is a kind of babyish self-admiration in its stead, which is the most sterile of all moral ground, and with which it is impossible to argue, because it is deaf and blind, inwrapped in its own vanity. In a few years' time, if the Italian kingdom last, it will insist on

its history being written, and the debts that it owed to the French Emperor in '59 and to the German Emperor in '70 being struck out of its balance-sheet altogether. Nothing was more untrue, more bombastical, or more misleading than the favorite phrase, *Italia fara da sè;* but it is one of those untruths which have been caressed and repeated until they are accepted as facts; and the injury done by this conceit to the present generation is very great.

Nature has done all for Italy; it is a soil which is indeed blessed of the gods; from its pure and radiant air to its wild-flowers, which spring as though Aphrodite were still here "to sow them with her odorous foot," it is by nature perfectly dowered and thrice blessed. In its roseate dawns, its crystal, clear moonlight, its golden afternoons, it has still the lovely light of an unworn world. Art joined hands with nature, and gave her best and her richest treasures to Italy. It is, to any scholar, artist, poet, or reverent pilgrim to her shrines, a thing of intolerable odium, of unutterable sorrow, that the very people born of her soil should be thus ignorant of her exquisite beauty, thus mercenary, venal, and unshamed in their prostitution of it.

Even amongst those who follow art as their calling, there is no sense of color or of fitness. When the old houses of the Via degli Archibusieri were pulled down last year in Florence, to lay bare the colonnade beneath them, a committee of artists deliberated for three months as to the best method of dealing with this colonnade. The result of their deliberations was to cover the old stone with stucco and paint the stones brown, with white borders! The effect is enhanced by upright lamp-posts, colored brown, stuck in the middle of the way. The excuse given for the demolition of the houses was that the removal of them would widen a thoroughfare: as the lamp-posts are much more obstructive to drivers than the houses were, the correctness of the reasons given can be easily gauged. This is an example of all the rest. "Are we to go in rags for sake of being picturesque?" said a syndic now ruling one of the chief cities of Italy, to a person who complained to him of the destruction of art and beauty now common throughout the peninsula. The reply is characteristic of that illogical stupidity and that absolute color-blindness which are common to the modern Italian, or, let us say, the municipal Italian, mind. They are insensible, themselves to the horror of their work, just as they are unconscious why yellow, blue, and green chairs on a red carpet offend a delicate taste.

To whitewash frescoed walls; to make old monasteries look brand new; to scrub and peel and skin sculptured marbles; to daub over beautiful arches and columns and cloisters with tempera painting, mechanically reproduced in one set pattern over and over again, over miles of stucco; to outrage the past and vulgarize the present; to respect nothing; to set the glaring seal of a despotic and bourgeois administration over all which ages have made lovely and reverent—all this they think an admirable and hygienic work, while they let human excrement be strewn broadcast over the fields and emptied in the street at midday under broiling heat, and set the guards of their rivers to drive out with blows of the scabbard the poor children who would fain splash and bathe in them under canicular suns. The excuse of hygiene is only the parrot cry which covers the passion for iconoclasm and destruction. To make their own *interessi* while the moment lasts is the only desire at the heart of all these civic councilors and engineers, architects and contractors, house-owners and speculators. To petty personal purposes and selfish personal profits everything is sacrificed by the innumerable *assessari*, *consiglieri*, and *sindaci*, by whom Italy is regarded as the Turkish pashas regarded the Egyptian fellah.

Florence, again, might, with great ease, be made one of the most beautiful cities of Europe: if there were only moderate care and decent taste displayed in its administration, its natural and architectural charms are so great that it would be a facile task to keep them unharmed. If its suburbs, indeed, of ugliness and squalor, could show good roads and shady avenues; if its river banks, instead of brick walls, showed grass and trees; if its filthy cab-stands were kept out of sight, and its city trees allowed to grow at the will of nature—Florence would be lovely, and twice as healthy as it is. But there is no attempt to preserve what is beautiful or to make what is of necessity modern accord in any manner with the old; whilst on trees there is waged a war which can only oblige one to conclude that those who are intrusted with the care of them have no eye except to the filling of their own wood-cellars. It is a very common thing to see an avenue of plane or lime trees with their heads cut off, whilst all the trees, whether in the public gardens or on the boulevards, are chopped and hacked out of all likeness to themselves, and of course dry up and perish long before their time.

Nothing can be more criminal than what is actually now being proposed in the Florence town council; *i.e.*, to raise a loan of eight millions at four per cent., to destroy the entire old center of the city. I repeat, nothing more criminal, more wasteful, or more senseless could be done. Florence is very poor; a few years ago she was on the brink of bankruptcy; taxation is enormous throughout Tuscany; the poorest are taxed for the very bed they lie on; the amount which she has to pay to the government from the *dazio consume* (that is, the octroi duty at the gates, on all food and produce of every kind entering the town) is extravagant and intolerable. So cruelly are the simplest productions of the soil mulcted by taxation that every class suffers, whether producer or consumer. The annual interest payable on the new loan will add immensely to the burdens which the city bears; and for what purpose is such a loan to be contracted? For the purpose of pulling down the oldest and most historic parts of Florence, to create a naked wilderness, which will be changed into one of those squares, dusty and hideous, with metal lamp-posts round it and stunted shrubs in the center of it, which represent to the municipal Italian the *ne plus ultra* of loveliness and civilization. The excuse given of hygienic reasons is a lie. All the uncleanly classes which dwelt in the Ghetto have been bundled off wholesale to the S. Frediano quarters, where they will continue to dwell with unchanged habits, a few score of yards removed from where they were before. The dirt of Italian cities is not due to the age or shape of the streets, it is due to the filthy personal habits of the people, which are the same in a wide and roomy farm-house in the pine woods as in a garret of a town. They love dirt; water never touches their bodies all the year round, and never touches even their faces or hands in winter; they like their vegetables raw, their wine sour; their pipes are eternally in their mouths, and their clothes reek with every stench under heaven. It is the habits of the people, not the formation of the streets, which constitute the standing peril of pestilence in Italy. They would make a new house as filthy as an old one in a week. For what, then, is this enormous, useless, and unpardonable addition to the civil debt of Florence incurred? Only to put money in the pockets of a few speculators, and a few owners of the soil, at the cost of destroying all that is most interesting, valuable, and historical in the city.

Will it be credited by any readers of these words that it is

actually in contemplation to turn the old piazza behind the Palazzo Strozzi into a range of glass-galleries like those of Milan or of Brussels? It is incredible that a whole civil population can tranquilly permit such outrage, and such grotesque outrage, to be committed in its name.

It is indeed very much as though the owner of Raffaeles and Titians tore them up into tatters and bought chromo-lithographs and oleographs to hang in their places.

I am fully aware of the sympathetic personal character of the sovereign of Italy, but I think that his over-loyalty to what he considers the duty of non-interference on the part of a constitutional king prevents him from exercising the influence which he might easily exert. For instance, of all the grotesque barbarisms committed in Rome, the destruction of the cloister of Ara Cœli and of the tower of San Paolo upon the Capitol, to make room for an equestrian statue of Victor Emmanuel, has been one of the most offensive and ill-judged. All the world knows the beauty of the Capitol, the immemorial memories connected with it, and the great statue which for so many centuries has felt the Roman sunshine strike on its golden bronze. The placing of a modern statue in juxtaposition with the mighty Aurelian is an act so irredeemably vulgar, so pitiably incongruous, that it is a matter of infinite regret, even for the repute of the House of Savoy, that the present king did not peremptorily forbid such use of his father's manes. In the Superga, or on the mountain-side of the Piedmontese Alps he loved so well, a statue of Victor Emmanuel would be in keeping with his traditions, but it is a cruelty to him to dwarf him by such surroundings and such memories as are there on the Capitol of Rome. His fame is not of the kind which can bear, uninjured, such comparisons; and were it even ten times greater than it is, there could be no excuse for using the Capitol for such a purpose when there is the whole width of the Campagna for it, and when, in perfect accord with the abilities of modern sculptors, there are all the staring and naked modern piazzas waiting for their works. Will it be credited that it was actually proposed to place a statue of him between the columns of St. Mark? In these matters the king could and should, with perfect propriety, intervene, and forbid a pretended homage for his father's memory being made a pretext and cover for the coarse and common vandalism of the epoch. In Florence, the beautiful

wooded entrance of the Cascine was destroyed to make the bald, uninteresting square called the Piazza degli Luavi, and a large stony, open place, shadeless and unlovely, was reserved for a monument to Victor Emmanuel; for this the oval brick basement of the pedestal was raised many years ago, and there stands, unfinished and hideous, an eyesore to the city, an insult to the royal House.

There is scarcely a little town, there is no provincial capital on the whole peninsula, which has not some new, staring stucco street named Corso Vittorio Emanuele, or some historic and ancient square made absurd and pitiable by being rebaptized Piazza dell' Independenza. The effect is at once ludicrous and deplorable.

If it were necessary thus to deify the events of the last thirty years, and magnify them out of their true proportions, it would have been easy to build some wholly new city in some vacant spot, which might have borne any name or names deemed fitting, and thus have left in peace the great cities of the past, and not have made the present recall the fable of the frog and the bull.

Oftentimes the populace itself is pained and mortified to see its old heirlooms torn down and its old associations destroyed, but the populace has no power; the whole civic power is vested in the bureaucracy, and civic electoral rights are wholly misunderstood and practically unused by the masses of the people. It is for the most part the snug and self-complacent *bourgeoisie* which rules, and which finds a curious delight in the contemplation of everything which can destroy the cities of the Renaissance and the records of classic Latium, to replace them with some gimcrack and brand-new imitation of a third-rate modern French or Belgian town, glaring with plate-glass, gilding, dust, smoke, acres of stucco, and oceans of asphalt.

The modern Italian has not the faintest conception of the kind of religious reverence with which the English, the German, the American scholar, visits the cities of Italy. Such an emotion seems to the son of the soil wholly inexplicable and grotesquely sentimental. If the Englishman praise a monster-hotel or a torpedo-boat, or the German the march of a regiment, or the American the shafts of a factory, then, and then only, will the Italian regard the travelers with complacency. And what is done in the cities is repeated in the small towns, of which the municipalities think it grand and "advanced" to imitate the innovations of larger ones,

and where the house-owners and owners of the soil are just as greedy as beggarmen, and just as eager to sacrifice any classic beauty or mediæval memory to pounds, shillings, and pence.

Could Dante come to life, no curse that he ever breathed upon his countrymen would be one-half so fierce and deep as that with which he would devote the Italian of the close of the nineteenth century to the vengeance of the offended gods. But Dante's self would say his curses to deaf ears, wadded close with the wool of vanity and greed.

Meanwhile the taxation of all these towns is so high that tradespeople are ruined in them, as the country proprietors are ruined in hundreds and thousands by the imposts on land and all that land produces. Will nothing arrest this mad and cruel destruction of the glories of the past and the resources of the present? It is to be feared, nothing. Against blind cupidity the gods themselves are impotent.

OUIDA.

# SIX UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF WASHINGTON.

COMPARATIVELY little of Washington's correspondence with his family has survived the century of the nation's independence. Letters to his brother Samuel are particularly rare—not one of them being included in Sparks' collection of Washington's Writings. The Samuel Washington to whom the six letters herewith published are addressed, was a younger brother of the first President. He was born November 16, 1734, and died in 1781. He was five times married, and the Thornton Washington,* referred to, was his son by his second wife.

These letters appear now, for the first time, in print. They are valuable not only on account of the historical facts narrated in them, but also because they afford an insight into the private affairs of Washington. They were furnished to THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW by Colonel T. A. Washington, the great-grandson of Colonel Samuel Washington.

I.

MORRISTOWN, *Mar.* 15th, 1777.

DEAR BROTHER, The Gentlemen returning from Camp will, I expect, be so overburthened with news, that you will not know the want of it for a month to come.—To them, therefore, I refer you, with this assurance of mine, as an opinion, that Gen$^{l}$ Howe will move towards Philadelphia the moment the Roads become passable for his Artillery and Baggage.—

I got Thornton Inoculated on Wednesday Week.—he has had the eruptive Fever and is in a very fair way of having the disorder slightly.—after this I shall give him an Ensigncy in a new Regiment I shall give Col. Thruston the raising of, by which he will still continue under the immediate care of that Gentleman.—

I wish it had been in my power to have paid greater regard to y$^{r}$ recommendation of Capt$^{n}$ Cooke and others than it was—This Comp$^{y}$ was at a distance from me, and immersed as I am in business, the attention is naturally

* Thornton Washington was born in 1760, and was therefore at this time about sixteen or seventeen years old.

taken up with objects of such quick succession that one can hardly advert to those matters that do not immediately strike you.—and besides, I have ever been cautious of showing more civility to my own Countrymen than others to avoid the charge of partiality.—I do not doubt but they, without attending to my situation, or considering my motives, have blamed me for neglect; but upon mature reflection I am persuaded I shall stand acquitted by them.

The request you make with respect to my Picture, I should have no difficulty in complying with, if it were practicable to gratify you, but, at present, two insurmountable obstacles offer themselves—the want of a Painter—and if a Painter could be brought hither—the want of time to sit.—If ever you get a picture of mine taken from life, it must be when I am removed from the busy scenes of a Camp & ought to be at a time when the mind is not bent down with care.—

My best affections are rendered to my Sister & the little ones & with every sentiment of regard & love I am Y$^{r}$,

G: WASHINGTON.

For Col$^{o}$ Sam$^{l}$ Washington
In Berkeley County *
Virginia.

## II.

MORRISTOWN, *April* 5$^{th}$, 1777

DEAR BROTHER, Thornton returns to you well recovered of the Small Pox, as I hope to hear that my Sister and the rest of the family are. — I heartily congratulate you on the favorable manner in which you had it yourself.—

To save Thornton or you the expense of buying a Horse to ride home on I have lent him a mare of mine which I beg of you to have sent by any safe conveyance which may offer to Lund Washington at Mount Vernon. — If she should be in want of a Horse before any opportunity offers of sending her down please to put her to some good (but not expensive) one, altho she is not very valuable herself. —When you send her down let Lund Washington know whether you have put her to horse or not & what horse.—

To my very great surprise General Howe has made no capital movement yet—a few days ago a detachment of his army (consisting of about 600 men) run up the North River in Transports and destroyed some Rum, and other stores of that kind belonging to us at a place called Peekskill, where the Post happened to be weak—but upon the assembling of some of our men they embarked in great haste and went back again to New York.—They are also Imbarking men (to the amount it is said of 3,000) for some expedition,† but the destination is unknown.—My conjecture is Philadelphia, as we know they have been endeavouring to get Pilots well acquainted with the Navigation of the Delaware.—An agent of theirs detected in this business got exalted up a Gallows at Philadelphia the other day.—

Our Troops come in exceedingly slow—whether owing to an unwillingness

* Berkeley County is now Jefferson County, West Virginia.

† This was the expedition to Connecticut under Tryon.

in the men to enlist or to the Idleness and dissipation of the Officers, and their reluctance to leave their friends and acquaintances, I shall not undertake to say: but it looks to me as if we should never get an army assembled.—Mr. Thruston to whom I have given the raising of the Sixteenth Regiment will give Thornton a Commission in it.—

My best wishes attend my Sister and the little ones whom I hope I may congratulate on their perfect recovery.—In this Mrs. Washington, who is with me, sincerely joins.

I am with every sentiment of regard and love, Dr Sir,

Yr most affect Brother

G: Washington.

P. S.

Mr Johnston has lent Thornton a Saddle and Bridle and I suppose has told him what is to be done with it.—

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Since writing the above I have determined to send by Thornton 2000 Dollars to Lieutenant McDonald, who I intend (if he will accept it) for Colo. Thruston's Lieutt Colo.— Let Thornton, if you cannot conveniently see McDonald yourself, carry the money to him immediately (a receipt to be taken for it.) Thornton will receive his Recruiting orders from McDonald who will appoint a a place for him to send his Recruits to in order to be forwarded on to the Army or disciplined.

Go: W.

III.

Phila County, *Octr* 27th 77.

Dear Brother, Your letter by my nephew, Thornton, begun on the 20th of last mo and ended the 22d came safe to my hands.—I am very glad Colo Lewis purchased a Lott or two for me at the warm Springs as it was always my Intention to become a Proprietor there if a Town should be laid off at that place. —Two Lotts is not more that I wished to possess, but if he is altogether disappointed, and cannot be otherwise supplied, I will, under those circumstances, part with one of mine—of this you will inform him; and I shall not only depend upon, but thank and pay you cheerfully for the Improvements which are necessarily erected for the saving of the Lotts.—As I do not know what sort of Buildings the Act of Assembly requires to save the Lotts, I can give no directions about them ; but if I hold both Lotts, which I would rather do, I would reserve the least spott for a tolerable convenient dwelling House to be built hereafter.—and, if a House which may (hereafter) serve for a kitchen, together with a stable would be sufficient to save the Lotts they might be so placed as to appear uniform & clever, which when the whole are finished, and in that case, content myself with building for the present no more than the kitchen and Stable.—

I shall take an opportunity of speaking to Gen'l Woodford (who is just returned to Camp) on that part of your letter which relates to Thornton, and if any thing can be done for him here, without going out of the common line (which I know you would not wish me to do and thereby incur censure) I shall cheerfully do it.—

To recite at this time the circumstances of the Ingagement at Brandywine,

which have been bandied about in all the Newspapers, would be totally unnecessary—almost equally so would it be to say anything at this time of the subsequent Ingagement of the 4th Ins$^{t}$ which had every appearance (after a contest of two hours and 40 minutes) of deciding in our favor, till something, until this moment unaccounted for, determined it otherwise.—The glorious and fortunate surrender of Gen$^{l}$ Burgoyne's whole Army you have doubtless heard of. As an additional piece of good news, I can inform you that on the 22$^{d}$ Inst$^{t}$ a body of 1200 Hessians undertook to storm one of the Forts (called Mercer at Redbank) erected for the defense of the Cheveaux de frieze in the Delaware, in which they were repulsed & retreated precipitately, after leaving upward of 200 men dead & badly wounded on the spot, together with Count Donop their chief and several other valuable Officers.—their total loss in killed and wounded, on this occasion, does, by the best acc't we can get, amount to between four and five hundred men.—the next morning, the Enemy's Ships that had passed the lower cheveaux de frieze together with their Batteries on the Pennsylvania side (Fort Mercer being on the Jersey shore) began a most furious cannonade on Fort Mifflin which is placed on a small Island in the River nearly opposite to Fort Mercer, and on our little Fleet which was posted for the defense of the Cheveaux de frieze, and after an incessant and most tremenduous fire of six hours, retreated with the loss of a 64 Gun Ship and a frigate both of which were burnt.—Our loss on both these occasions was trifling. at Fort Mercer in killed and wounded between 30 and 40 men, at Fort Mifflin and on board the Salleir much less.—Since then the enemy have been pretty quiet; but using every means to make themselves masters of the River.—

The situation of the two Armies is shortly this:—The Enemy are in Phil$^{a}$—& we hovering round them to destroy & retard their operations as much as possible.—A letter is too uncertain a conveyance for me to say anything of the governing principles of our own.—Gen$^{l}$ Sir Henry Clinton's expedition at the North River will if it has not already done so, end (if not in smoke) in burning and destroying of mills, gentlemen's Seats, and the villages adjacent to the River—strong evidence of their diabolical designs and despair!

Remember me kindly to M$^{r}$ Warner Washington and Family and to other enquiring friends.—& be assured that I am with every sentiment of Brotherly love

Y$^{r}$ Affect

G$^{o}$: WASHINGTON

P. S. I enclose you a list of the Prisoners and Artillery taken in the Northern Department this Campaigne—where at least 12000 militia had assembled in aid of the Continental Troops and stopped the only Road by which Burgoyne could retreat whilst this government which alone could afford that number, with difficulty could get out any.—and left me to struggle on as well as I could with Continental Troops—for before a second set of Militia could be got, the first were always gone by which means we could never collect a respectable body at once

Y$^{rs}$ &c

G. W.

For, Col$^{o}$ SAM$^{L}$ WASHINGTON
In—Berkely County. Virginia.

IV.

FREDERICKSBURG IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK—*Oct*$^{r}$ 22$^{d}$ 1778

DEAR BROTHER, This will be delivered to you, I expect, by Col$^{o}$ Thruston; from whom you will be able to receive a more circumstantial acc't of the situation of affairs in this Quarter than can be conveyed well in a letter.

We have been kept in an anxious state of suspense respecting the designs of the enemy; nor are we able at this time, to form any precise Ideas and judgement of their immediate determinations.—A considerable detachment of their Land Forces, and all their heavy ships sailed from New York on the 20$^{th}$ Inst$^{t}$—whither bound is not certain; but I believe to the West Indies as their affairs in that Quarter begin to put on a gloomy aspect.—The taking of Dominica by the French opens quite a new field: and if the Spanish take a part, I think G. B. will have abundant cause to repent her undertaking to subjugate this great Continent to a state of vassalage.

Not less, I think, than six or seven thousand men have been detached from the City; but what they mean to do with the rest is uncertain—many circumstances lead to a belief that they are about to evacuate it, whilst others tend more to prove that they intend to leave a Garrison there & at Newport.—A short time must, I should think, unfold their Plans.—

The Commissioners have made their dying speech in the shape & form of a manifesto & Proclamation.—I think this is an implied threat; which I have no doubt they will, if they can, & not restrained by motives of policy, execute.—Sure I am that motives of humanity will have no influence on their conduct.—I enclose you one of their Proclamations, tho it is probable you will have seen it before.—

General Woodford left this yesterday for Virginia for the purpose of having Colonel Thruston's Estate divided.—I shall only add my compliments to our friends at Fairfield & others who may enquire after

D$^{r}$ Sir
Y$^{r}$ Most affect$^{e}$ Brother
G$^{o}$: WASHINGTON

For Col$^{o}$ SAM$^{L}$ WASHINGTON
In Berkeley County
Virginia.

V.

CAMP NEAR FORT LEE
*Aug*$^{st}$ 31$^{st}$ 1780.

DEAR BROTHER, Your letter of the 31$^{st}$ Ult. came to my hands by the last Post, from Philadelphia—It gave me much concern to find by it that you are in such bad health.—I hope, this, if it should arrive safe, will find you much amended.—

It is a considerable time since I wrote to you.—in truth it is rare for me to put pen to paper for private correspondence, so much is my time and attention engrossed by public business.—I wish I could say as profitably as might be, but the fatal system of policy wh.$^{h}$ we have adopted, & for ought I see to the contrary, are determined to persist in, prevents this.—

We are always without an army or have a raw and undisciplined one, engaged for so short a time, that we are not fit either for purposes of offence or

defence, much less is it in our power to project schemes & execute plans which depend upon well disciplined and permanent Troops.—One half the year is spent in getting Troops into the Field—the other half is lost in discharging them from their limited service & the manner & time in which they come and go—the public in the mean while incurring an immense expense in paying two setts—that is the comers and goers—At the same instant—In the waste of Provender, Stores, Arms, and a thousand things which can scarce be enumerated.—In a word, short enlistments has been the primary cause of the continuance of the war & every evil which has been experienced in the course of it—It has been the source from whence the depreciation of our money has flowed and though it is the cause of our present embarassment, I much question whether our eyes are yet opened; and whether the fatal policy which heretofore has governed all our measures will not direct us to another short enlistment when the present forces leave us.—

It is impossible for any person at a distance to have an idea of my embarrassments, or to conceive how an army can be kept together under such circumstances as ours is—half its time without Provisions, Clothing or pay.—

The flattering prospect which seemed to be opened to our view in the Month of May is vanishing like the morning Dew—The States instead of sending the full number of men required of them by the first of July & the consequent supplies, have not furnished one half of them yet.—& the second division of French Troops & their ships not being arrived nor any certainty when they will, I despair of doing anything in this quarter this campaign—and what may be the consequence if the combined arms of France & Spain are not more prosperous in Europe or the West Indies, I shall leave to others to predict.—At best, the Troops we have, are only fed from hand to mouth.—and for the last four or five days have been without meat.—In short the limits of a letter would convey very inadequate ideas of our disagreeable situation; & the wretched manner in which our business is being conducted.—I shall not attempt it therefore, but leave it to some future Pen, and a more favorable period for truth to shine.

The first division of French Troops (as no doubt you have heard) are at Rhode Island—where their Squadron is blocked up the British fleet under Arbuthnot of superior force.—The Army under my command is encamped on the West bank of North or Hudson River, and about fifteen miles from the City of New York & within full view of the enemy—the river only between us.—We lately made a Forage opposite to the City & expected to be opposed in it but were not.—

I sincerely wish you a perfect restoration of health, & the enjoyment of every blessing of life.—My best regards attend my Sister (with whom I should be happy in a better acquaintance) and all your family—& with the greatest truth,

I remain Y$^{r}$ affec$^{e}$
B$^{r}$
G$^{o}$: WASHINGTON

Have you ever
taken the necessary
steps to save my Lotts
at the Warm Springs?

VI.

HEIGHTS OF HARLEM, 5th *Oct.* 1776.

DEAR BROTHER, Altho the multiplicity of Ingagements which employ all my waking hours, will not allow me to correspond with my Friends with that freedom and punctuality I could wish, they may nevertheless be assured that neither time—distance—or change of circumstances have, in the smallest degree, altered the affection I have ever entertained for them.—

Your favor of the 16th of last month came safe to hand by Captn Sheperd, and gave me the pleasure of hearing that yourself and family were well.—The acct given you by Doct. Walker, of the unfriendly disposition of the Western Indians is really alarming; but if your success against the Cherokees is equal to report, I am in hopes it will bring the Western gentry to their second thoughts before they strike.—Your account of the want of arms among ye People of yr Frontier is also alarming; but I hope the deficiency will, by one means or another, soon be repaired.—Poor Stephenson! I sincerely lament his loss, he was a brave and a good officer.—

Mr Pendleton obtained my Deed, or a Bond, or something obligatory upon me, and my heirs, to make him a title to the Land he had of me, & sold to you, upon the purchase money being paid; not one farthing of which has been done—even the last years Rent, if I remember right, which he took upon himself to pay, is yet behind.—However, so soon as I can get evidences I will send a power of attorney to Lund Washington, to make a legal conveyance of the land to you.—In the mean time the Instrument of writing I passed to Mr Pendleton will always be good against my Heirs, upon the condition of being complied with.—

Matters in this Quarter, have by no means worn that favorable aspect you have been taught to believe from the publications in the Gazettes—The pompous acct of the marches and countermarches of the militia, tho true so far as relates to the expense, is false with respect to service, for you could neither get them to stay in Camp or fight when they were there.—In short it may truly be said, they were eternally coming and going, without rendering the least earthly service, altho the expense of them surpasses all description.—

At no one time since General Howe's arrival at Staten Island* has my Force been equal (in men fit for duty) to his; and yet people, at a distance, as I have understood by letters, have conceived that they were scarce a mouthful for us.—To this cause—the number of Posts we were obliged to occupy in order to secure our communications with the Country—& the intended mode of attack, is to be attributed our Retreat from Long Island and the evacuation of New York.—

We found that General Howe had no Intention to make an attack upon our lines at the last mentioned place.—*We discovered at the same time by their movements and our Intelligence, that with ye assistance of their ships they intended to draw a Line round us, and cut off all communication between the City and Country; thereby reducing us to the necessity of fighting our way

* Parson's and Fellows' brigades.

out under every disadvantage—surrendering at discretion—or starving.—That they might have accomplished one or the other of these, if we had stayed at New York, is certain ; because the City, as I presume you know, stands upon the point of a narrow neck of Land laying between the East & North Rivers & not more than a mile wide for six or seven miles back ; both Rivers having sufficient depth of water for ships of any burthen ; and because they were not only superior in numbers but could bring their whole force to any one point, whereas we, to keep open the communication were obliged to have an extended Line or rather a chain of Posts, for 18 miles.

It may be asked how we came to take possession of, and continue so long in a place thus circumstanced.—To the first I answer, that the Post was taken and the works advanced, before I left Boston—& to the second that if our strength had been equal to the determination of Congress we should have had men enough to defend the City & secured the communication if their behaviour had been good.—

Our retreat from Long Island was made without any loss—so might it have been from New York, but for a defect in the department of the Quarter Master Genl[e] not providing Teams enough ; and for the dastardly behaviour of part of our Troops, two Brigades of which ran away from a small party of the enemy, and left me in the Field with only my Aid de Camps.—The day after our Retreat from New York (which happened on the 15[th] Ult[o]) we had a pretty smart skirmish with the Enemy, in which about 60 of our men were killed and wounded, and by the smallest 100, and by most other acct[s], two hundred of the Enemy.—In this engagement poor Maj[r] Leitch of Weedon's Regiment received three wounds through his side, of which he died on Wednesday last, after we had thought him almost well.—Since that nothing extraordinary has happened, tho an attack from the Enemy has been & now is, daily expected —We are strengthening our Post as the Enemy are also theirs.—

My love to & best wishes attends my Sister & the Family as also our Friends at Fairfield—to these please add my compliments to M[r] Booth & all other Friends, be assured that with the sincerest love and regard, I am D[r] Sir

Y[r] most Affec. Bro.

G. WASHINGTON

Col. Sam[l] Washington
In Berkely Co. Virginia

# WHY AM I A CHURCHMAN?

I AM to try to give, in a dozen pages of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, an answer to the question above written. Be it understood by the reader, in the first place, that the editor, and not I, is responsible for the form of the question, and that to him, and not to me, must be imputed the "arrogant exclusiveness" which employs the word "Churchman" to describe an "Episcopalian." But while desiring to avoid the suspicion of bigotry, which might damage the plea I would make for my position, let me add that, turning to Mr. Webster's Dictionary, I learn that the editor uses language which should be "understanded of the people;" for the definition of the word "Churchman" there given, is: "1. An ecclesiastic or clergyman; one who ministers in sacred things. 2. An Episcopalian, as distinguished from a Presbyterian or Congregationalist, etc." And Worcester, if any prefer his authority, declares likewise that a Churchman is: "1. A clergyman, an ecclesiastic. 2. An adherent of the Church of England, an Episcopalian." So then, as manifestly the inquiry is not designed to elicit the reasons why I have elected to serve God and my generation in the work of the Ministry, the question is properly framed to ask on what grounds I have preferred to remain in that Protestant Episcopal Church in which, by the good providence of God, I was born.

I answer, first, that I am a Churchman from *principles of expediency*, because I believe that the system of the Protestant Episcopal Church is best adapted to accomplish the result for whose attainment the Christian society was established among men; because I believe that, by the agency of the doctrine, the discipline, and the worship to which her Ministers are engaged to conform, there is *a priori* largest prospect that the victory shall be gained for which the battle has been set in array.

Assuming as I do, by agreement, in this paper, "Faith in the

Christian Revelation," I may not doubt that the Son of God organized *some* instrumentality whose purpose is the witnessing to the fact of His resurrection, the discipling of all the nations, and the edifying of this gathered flock. Nor may I doubt that this spiritual service shall continue until "we all attain unto the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ." This the purpose, what characteristics of the agency doth our own reason suggest as necessary for its accomplishment? Mark that, for the present, I pass by all consideration of the question whether any particular form of organization has been authoritatively prescribed. I further pass by all consideration of Christian history, and strive to shut my eyes to the lessons there so plainly written in the stories of success and of failure. But looking out to-day upon the work before us, in our country and age, amid the peculiar conditions of our time, even the work of bearing witness to the fact of the resurrection, of making disciples of the Crucified, and of upbuilding the temple which shall be the very Body of Christ because composed of "living stones," living with His life, what machinery of organization would our wisdom devise? Recognizing fully that the Holy Ghost, Whom the Risen Lord did promise to send, alone can enable any man to "call Jesus Lord;" that He alone can make a man a member of Christ; that He alone can "order the unruly wills and affections of sinful men;" yet, what shall be the human agent of His divine operation, what the system of the organization and what its movement, through which and by which He shall most quickly and most readily finish His work? I answer, first, we must have a living witness who can testify to the reality of that great central fact whereon doth rest the whole superstructure of our hope, even that, on the third day of His appointment, the crucified Jesus rose again from the dead. The Bible and the Bible only will not make this plain to the unbelieving intellect of to-day. Everywhere we hear the triumphant shout of a multitude proclaiming that in the light of their new science they have discovered its boasted antiquity to be a fraud, and that many of our sacred scrolls are but palimpsests containing new versions of older legends. The sound of their noisy assertion of their own achievement "is gone out into all lands," and the ignorant and the unlearned, and still more, the half-learned, are despoiled of their hope. Tell them the argu-

ments by which the authenticity and the genuineness of our books are secured, and they cannot or will not understand. Their faith is not stayed, for the old veneration for the Book is dead, killed by the blows of the Critic and of the Reviser. Tell them of spiritual experience stronger than "proof of Holy Writ," and they mock at the unreality, the pitiful delusion. Is there not, must there not be, a living witness, older than the book, who stood and saw what is therein recorded, who rolled the great stone to the door of the sepulchre, and who did thereafter eat and drink with the Risen One Whom his hands had laid in the tomb? Beyond a question the need of to-day is a Church whose life began where the cloud chariot waited that the King of Glory might call it into being; a Church which heard His words of authority, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." The transmission of authority from generation to generation, the delivery of the deposit of faith from hand to hand, the succession of the officers of Christ's kingdom, regular, continuous, unbroken, is a necessary evidence of the fact of His resurrection demanded for the conversion of the world of to-day.

I say nothing now as to any particular form of church government in which this succession must be maintained. I can understand that in any one of a half-dozen forms the maintenance might be equally secure. But somehow there must have been regular transmission of authority—authority to witness—else can the desired evidence not be afforded. The one living witness must be at hand, that he may answer the myriads of to-day who, like Thomas, declare, "Except I shall see in His hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into His side, I will not believe." (S. John, xx. 25.) Yes, for such doubters to-day, honest, it may be, brave, and truth-loving as Thomas was, we need the answer, "Reach hither thy finger and behold my hands, and reach hither thy hand and thrust it into my side, and be not faithless but believing." (S. John, xx. 27.) The Church, the Body of Christ, must point to wound-prints in hands and side, even the marks of the continued life of Christ, benefiting and blessing mankind by the sacrifice of self. Succession of the Ministry in some shape is a necessity, for only thereby can continuous witness be borne to the resurrection of Christ.

But (2) granting a Ministry in succession from the beginning, I can, I think, see that, for fullest efficiency and largest success,

that Ministry should be constituted in orders of differing rank and privilege, demanding different degrees of ability and acquirement, imposing burdens and cares of unequal weight, and all moving together in the harmony of due subordination. Nature seems to teach me this by the busy loyalty of the beehive, and the well-ordered procession of the birds in their flight. And man, learning from nature, or by an instinct divinely given, follows ever the same plan. The camp of the soldier, the court of the magistrate, the academy of the scholar, the mill, the factory, the counting-house, are all alike organized that unity of purpose may control the operations, and largest results be secured by the devotion of every hand and of every brain to that for which it is best fitted. Must it not be so in the army of the King of Kings, in the court of the great Judge, in the school of the wisest Teacher, in the great storehouse of God? Do not the different degrees of intellectual endowment, of opportunity for cultivation, of general ability, as well as the needs of the service, all alike demand this differentiation? But let me suggest the limitation I am taught by my observation. Every hive will have its own queen, and each flock of birds its own leader, each camp its commander, each school its master, while all are alike responsible to the king and ruler, it may be, far away. An overgrown business may be, and in time must be, unwieldy, and beyond the capacity of its head to direct, and so we may look for limitation of the process of unifying the servants of Jesus Christ, for here nor pride nor greed may interfere with the controlling purpose that what is best be done.

But (3) I note that for fullest success in evangelizing our country, we need that the messengers shall speak in simplest form the message they were sent to speak, and that every addition made by their inference, even though its design and its tendency be to make and to maintain more devoted loyalty to the King, will hinder the progress of their work, and delay the consummation the Master has in view. I note that the priceless treasure which God has given us in His written word is not a theological treatise, nor a formal, systematic statement of religious truth, but is a collection of writings of different characters, evoked by different occasions, and confessedly giving account of the progress and of the difficulties of the beginnings of the Church's life, and not direction how that life shall be begun. And, remembering this, I am not surprised that *pious opinions* thence obtained, perfectly legiti-

mate *as opinions*, to teacher or to pupil, are yet but too often made to be parts of the divine message, and their acceptance condition of admission into the one Body; and that inability or unwillingness to receive them has sent away sorrowful many a man who would fain enter in. Therefore I can see a need that for all alike there shall be one prescribed formula of belief, containing that and only that which has been believed "always everywhere, and by all," and that this confession shall be the sufficient shibboleth at the door of the kingdom, this confession of belief with mind and heart of Jesus and His resurrection, which St. Paul declares bringeth salvation.

Yes, despite the fact that the Ministry be ordered with due subordination of the weak and the unlearned to the stronger and the more cultivated, and that all in the one great school are placed under the control of the head master, whose sufficiency has been tried and proven, yet will there be ever danger that ignorance and pride will combine to bring in novelties of opinion and of practice to disturb the peace. And, therefore, I can see the necessity for written law, and can rejoice with thanksgiving that the great Master did teach by His Spirit the holy men of old to write His unchanging word; and though it be true that it may be wrested to their hurt by weak and unstable souls, yet without it no church can conquer.

(4.) I notice that this country of ours is denominated a Christian country. Certainly, Christian rites sanctify its official ceremonies; its President kisses the book of the Gospel in token of his sincere devotion to the organic law, and Christian prayer is offered daily in its legislative halls. But more real than all this, a vast multitude of our citizens do worship Jesus Christ in spirit and in truth. Now, therefore, a chief, if not the chief, duty of the Church of Christ here, is to build up these Christians in their holy faith, to guide them to bring up their children in like precious hope, and to help them and their little ones to grow daily in the knowledge of the Son of God. How may this best be done? It seems to me, in the first place, looking at the subject as far as I can apart from revelation or history, that we need to bring our children in their infancy within the Body itself, that they may share its spirit, and so grow up into Christ. We cannot with safety suffer our little ones to go away into a far country, and hope by and by to bring them back as penitent prodigals: we must keep

them where we are. Whether or not infant discipleship was ever known before, it must be begun now. We need it for the Church's work in our land.

For the system that shall succeed in winning this people for Christ must have as its largest element the idea and practice of *training*. Old and young, the graybeard and the infant, alike are they babes in Christ, almost alike ignorant of the truth that shall make them free. They alike need to be taught, to be trained; they need words to be put into their mouths, which shall be the suggestion and the vehicle of the new thoughts of the heart, and speak cheer to their own souls and praise to their Father. Not the passionate pleading for surrender to Him against Whom they are in open rebellion, not the portrayal of the bliss of His home, and of the flames which shall burn up His enemies; not this the food they need, that they may grow thereby, but exhortation to obedience, and exposition of the details of commandment, of the wiles of the destroyer, and of the noble duty of sworn allegiance. They are already the pledged servants of the Master, the members of His Body; we must *train* them that as such they learn to live.

(5.) But exhortation is a passing sound, and sermons are soon forgotten. Can there not be devised some method by which child and adult alike may become each his own mentor? Can we not place words in the memory which shall enforce the truth that is life, and whose often utterance shall drive home to the heart the consciousness of sin and the hope of salvation, the duty to be done and the inability to do, the sufficiency of Christ and the offered gift of grace? Cannot sign and sacrament, visible material pledges, speak to ears that are dull and heavy, and set before men's eyes mysteries full of blessing which words cannot declare? As I look around me on the conditions of our people, as I call to mind that my own eyes have seen of Christianized paganism, of conscience seared as with a hot iron by the fiery rhetoric of controversial preaching, of religion being made a profession of miraculous experience, and worship the listening to a florid speech, I look for, as the conquering Church of America, the one that will teach rather than excite; which shall train, and not merely alarm and arouse; which shall preach the simplest gospel in simplest words, and repeat it so often that it must be learned; that will hold up an ideal of character as the only test of faith, and teach prayer

and worship, self-denial and alms-deeds, as the means of attaining that character.

(6.) Lastly, when I look upon the raging fury of sectarian strife, and upon its grievous results; when in almost every country town I see a half-dozen houses of worship equally eloquent, in their dilapidation, of the evils of division, and find, upon inquiry, the natural effect in the mocking unbelief of the people, then I look for and pray for some society to be a center upon which all may rally. I search for some Christian body which has never let go the chain which binds to the beginning of organic Christianity; whose Ministers have authority duly given by those who received it in regular succession from the Apostles, and which has yet made no change in the faith once for all delivered; which recites the ancient Creeds in the very words the martyrs spoke, and ministers the blessed Sacrament in form of words and act identical with that of the persecuted confessors who died for their Lord; and which yet loves the open Bible, which scatters it far and wide, and fills its service of worship with thoughts and words from that book; which, rejoicing to hear from God's appointed ambassador the proclamation with authority of the terms of His pardon, yet will give place, not for an instant, to any mediator between God and man, save the man Christ Jesus; which, standing upon the old foundation of Evangelic truth and Apostolic order, may call in loving tones to all the churches that they come and stand together where all once stood, and, standing, conquered. Can such a Church be found—Catholic, Protestant, Evangelical, Scriptural—no matter how small or feeble, it may be the nucleus around which shall gather, from the muddy solution of our modern Christianity, the pure white crystal unity for which the Master prayed in the night of His betrayal, that all might be one as He was in His Father and His Father in Him, organically one, that the world might believe that God did send Him.

Such the characteristics which my sober thought requires in the body which shall best witness to the resurrection of Jesus, disciple the nations, edify the body of Christ: and I am a Churchman because I believe that in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America, as in her sisters of the Anglican communion, now planted and flourishing in every land where the English language is spoken, I find them in fullest development. Let us look hurriedly at the principles of this Church as set forth in her formularies.

1. The Anglican Church speaks with no uncertain voice as to the necessity for an authorized, an Apostolic, ministry. In the preface to her ordinal she says: "It is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's church—bishops, priests, and deacons. Which offices were evermore had in such reverend estimation that no man might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as are requisite for the same; and also by public prayer, with imposition of hands, were approved and admitted thereto by lawful authority. And, therefore, to the intent that these orders may be continued, and reverently used and esteemed in this church, no man shall be accounted, or taken to be, a lawful bishop, priest, or deacon in this Church, or suffered to execute any of the said functions, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the form hereafter following, or hath had Episcopal consecration or ordination." Here is written her doctrine of Apostolical succession; even that *authority* must be conveyed from one ambassador to his successor, that the herald must receive from duly empowered officers, and not learn by hearsay, the message of amnesty and pardon he comes to deliver; that the sentinel at the door of the kingdom must be taught by his commanding officer the pass-word he must demand for entrance; that the minister must learn from them that went before how to bear the authoritative witness handed down in unbroken succession from them that "were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word" (S. Luke, i. 2.) Here is no theory of "channel of grace," provoking the cheap jest of "broken channel and spilled grace;" here is no claim to impart miraculous power; but here, as in the form of ordination to which reference is herein made, is declared that from man to man, from bishop to bishop, and from bishop to each lower order of the Ministry, is given *authority* to read the Gospel, or to dispense the word of God and His holy sacraments, in all and by all his life and doctrine, to witness unto Jesus and the resurrection, to disciple the unbelieving, to edify the Body of Christ. And mark that of the candidates for the second or the third order is demanded the promise of obedience to the bishop or other chief ministers, who, according to the Canons of the Church, may have the charge and government over them, that so order may charac-

terize the movement of the great army, and the result be obtained, which is consequent upon the due subordination of every part.

But note also that here is no vast aggregation of innumerable subordinates under one chief, such that he cannot even understand the various languages wherein they were born and which they speak, much less have personal knowledge of them and their capacity, of their faults and their failures, their necessities and their trials. The territory they occupy is not given to many nations, but to one, and is even but a part of that one nation's home. The commanding officer may easily and frequently visit every part of it; he may be well known not only to all the ministers, but to all to whom they minister. His eye and brain and heart may take in all the work and all the workers, and so there may be unity of action, that unity which is the chief value of the subordination of parts, and the means of producing the resultant success.

But do these Ministers, thus regularly appointed, and in such harmonious order ranged, speak with one voice the one message? Can we dare sing, marching in mimic onset upon unseen foes, "We are not divided, all one body we"? The Reverend writer of a recent magazine article quotes the line with a sneer, as he is setting the divisions of Christianity over against the more perfect unity of the disciples of Buddha. Is his sneer with warrant? Certainly, so long as Ministers are men, so long as their manhood shall not have been sunk in their office, so long as they shall exercise liberty of thought, which is part of the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, the teachers of His religion, even the authorized Ministers of His Apostolic Church, will legitimately differ in religious *opinion*. Just as certainly it will doubtless be true that pride of opinion will often intrude itself into the domain of faith, and a very "abomination of desolation" stand where it ought not. In the years to come, as in the years that are past, the zealous Evangelical will demand from the neophyte just timidly entering upon his preparation for the study of theology, and even from the Catechumen desiring Confirmation, the acceptance of his whole body of divinity, the very terms of which the youth cannot understand. The Ritualist (so called) will still scatter his catechisms of emasculated, illogical Romanism, one of which seems to have raised the Irish gorge of a recent contributor to this series of articles, and almost to have given color and shape to his paper. Some very Broad-Churchmen will still "sneer at Scripture, read

Greek poetry, and be liberal in their views." But notwithstanding all these wide differences of opinion, which are lawful, and notwithstanding the occasional proffer of individual opinion as a test of communion, which is unlawful, still we are not divided in any real sense; still are we one Body holding the one faith, and administering the one baptism upon the confession of that one faith. Though the preacher philosophize and though the priest materialize, though the prophet speak the smooth things of a modern rationalism or the priest ape the pretty things of a Romanism not much older, yet the Church's words, which they *must repeat*, and which the people may read, will testify to the simplicity of the Gospel and its demands, to the one Creed to be confessed by all, and to the liberty of opinion, as to all else. Whatever be the opinions of the individual minister, preach he Romanism or Calvinism, when he stands by the font he can say only this: "Dost thou believe all the articles of the Christian faith as contained in the Apostles' Creed?" These, then, I find to be the characteristics of the Protestant Episcopal Church as to her teaching: On the one side authority and definiteness; on the other side liberty and silence. In essentials there is, for there must be, *unity;* in non-essentials there is, as there should be, *liberty;* and so there is best hope that in all things there will be *charity.*

Again, I affirm that the Anglican Church gives true honor to the Holy Scripture. Be it remembered that her sons did roll away the stone from the sepulchre of unknown tongues in which the Bible lay buried; and be it remembered as well that the sons of this same mother died in vindication of the truth thus disclosed to the people. Search her Prayer Book, and see how saturated with Scripture are her prayers and her offices. Note how, by her appointment, nearly the whole of the Old Testament must be read to her children during the year, and the whole New Testament twice; and that more Scripture is read, at each regular service of this Church, than in the worship of any other company of Christians. Above all, note that she has declared, in her Articles of Religion, "The Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." More than this, she declares that even the ancient Creeds, the symbols of her faith, "ought thoroughly to be

received and believed, for they may be proved by most certain warrant of Holy Scripture." Note that every candidate for her Ministry must, before his ordination to the lowest office, sign a declaration in these words: "I do believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the Word of God." Note all these marks, and answer: Is not this Church, which is catholic in her reverence for antiquity, in her preservation of an Apostolic Ministry, in her rule of faith, "*Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditum;*" which is Protestant in her repudiation of the additions to that faith from Rome or Geneva; of the diminutions of it by rationalist compromise with the enemies of Christ; is she not also scriptural in her uplifting of the standard of Holy Writ to be the impregnable defense of what she was given to guard? True, that she does not make claims for the Bible which it makes not for itself. She does not declare the Bible, and the Bible only, to be the religion of Protestants. She is mindful of the fact that the Church existed and had won mighty victories before a line of the New Testament was written. She is herself the only witness to declare unto men what are the books of the Bible, and she bears equal witness to facts of Church life to which often but partial and passing reference is made in the sacred records. The Creeds of Christendom, she tells us plainly, "are to be thoroughly received and believed, for they may be proven by most certain warrant of Holy Scripture," and for the rest she leaves her children untrammeled in their exploring search of these mines of truth. But as to many things for which there is no "certain warrant" of Holy Scripture, things "concerning the kingdom of God," its life, its ordering, its customs and usages, she teaches her children that which she has received as handed down from the beginning. So she says "that the baptism of young children is in anywise to be retained in the Church as most agreeable with the institution of Christ." She teaches us, and she only, that only the first day of the week shall be kept holy. She teaches us, and she only, that women may partake of the Lord's Supper. For these, and many other things, we rest upon the testimony not of the Bible but of the Church. But mark that she herself, the "witness and keeper of Holy Writ," enthrones the Book of God amid her assembled councilors, and declares that, having "power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith," she yet may not "ordain anything that is

contrary to God's Word written, neither so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another;" nor may she "besides the Scripture," "enforce anything to be believed for necessity of salvation." So does she honor the Bible.

What, now, is her system for performing the duty assigned by the Lord to His Church, of evangelizing the nations and building up His people into likeness to Him? I answer that her system is all wrapt up in the one word *training*. The fathers and mothers, whose hearts the Lord has opened to give heed unto the things spoken by His Ministers, are straightway exhorted that they delay not to bring their little ones with them into the ark of safety; and those who by reason of their tender age cannot perform the promises which are demanded in baptism, are permitted to have others promise for them, *even as is done every day in matters of mere temporal concern*. The child is declared regenerate, born anew into a life of covenant blessing, born by the Holy Ghost, Whose gift the Father has promised by the Son to all who ask in His name. And then we hear, "Take this child and bring it up for me." "Ye are to take care that this child be virtuously brought up to lead a godly and a Christian life, for baptism representeth unto us our profession, which is to follow the example of our Saviour, Christ, and to be made like unto Him." "Take care that this child be brought to the Bishop to be confirmed by him, so soon as he can say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and is sufficiently instructed in the other parts of the Church Catechism."

T. U. DUDLEY.

(*To be concluded.*)

# SOME WAR LETTERS.

## I.

THE authentic history of the Rebellion will at last be made up from the writings of its leaders on both sides. It is fortunate for history that, in the North at least, the great commanders could not only make events, but *tell* of them. No future writer on the war will care to go much back of the narratives of Generals Grant and Sherman. They will be accepted as true, and history will use them as its only basis—them and the sketches, fragments, and letters written by the same hands, or by the hands of other leaders with them.

Their letters are as reliable, and often more interesting, than their books. The time will never come when the world will not like to read the letters, especially the private ones, of men who have been its leaders.

The letters following here are not all private. Some are semi-official, some quite so, and all of interest, as being written by men whose every act helped to make history.

No excuse is made for their publication. It is done with permission, and the public has an interest in them.

## II.

"Time will decide," writes General Grant to Sherman, speaking of the Johnston surrender. Time has decided, and many events proven Sherman's action to have been loyal and far-seeing. Grant made a treaty with Lee, and *compelled* the Secretary of War to observe its provisions, by which no man of all Lee's army could be arrested or tried for crimes committed while a rebel. Sherman's terms to Johnston never could have been stretched so far as this. The two Union commanders had simply adopted different means to reach the same end. Time has approved them both.

"HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE U. S.,
"WASHINGTON, D. C., *May* 6, 1865.

"DEAR GENERAL: Your letters to Rawlins and myself, written but the day after my departure from Raleigh, have just reached me. I answered immediately, but concluded not to mail to Petersburg, thinking it doubtful whether, now that it is so late, it would reach you before starting back.

"I will not furnish copies of your letters to the Secretary of War, and ask the publication of them, until I see you.

"I do not know how to answer your dispatch asking if you should submit to Halleck's insult, contained in a dispatch published in the New York 'Herald' of the 28th. I never saw that dispatch, except as published in the paper. I question whether it was not an answer, in Halleck's style, to directions from the Secretary of War, giving him instructions to do as he did. I do not know this to be the case, although I have spoken to Mr. Stanton on the subject.

"Your correspondence with Johnston has not yet been published. I have been absent from the city four or five days, and returning to-day and finding this to be so, I requested its publication. It is promised for to-morrow.

"Although I did not agree with you in the advisability of adopting your agreement with Johnston, of April 8th, yet it made no change in my estimate of the services you have rendered, or of the services you can still render, and will, on all proper occasions. I know very well it is a difference of opinion, which *time* alone *will decide* who was right.

"Yours truly,
"U. S. GRANT.

"Maj.-Gen. W. T. SHERMAN,
"Comd'g Mil. Div. of the Miss.

III.

Here is a most interesting letter from General Halleck, on the ingratitude of man, the failure of the "draft," and Northern copperheads.

"*Private.*

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
"WASHINGTON, *October* 1, 1863.

"MAJOR-GENERAL SHERMAN, Vicksburg:

"MY DEAR GENERAL: I have received and read with interest yours of Sept. 17. I fully concur with you that this rebellion must be put down by military force; it cannot be by compromise and offers of peace, as proposed by Northern copperheads. The conquered territory must also be governed by military authority, until the time arrives for reconstruction. I have always opposed the organization of a civico-military government under civilians. It merely embarrasses the military authorities, without effecting any good. Nevertheless, if the people of any section will organize locally against the Confederacy, and in favor of the Union, it would give us great assistance. Gen'l Banks thinks that this can be done in Louisiana—perhaps he is too sanguine.

"In asking the views of yourself, Gen. Grant and others who have had full and personal experience with these people, I hoped to be able to give the President correct opinions whenever he should ask them. The advice of *politicians* generally, on this question, I regard as utterly worthless—mere utopian theories.

"Your letter in regard to Gen. Buell hits the nail on the head. I have never had other than friendly feelings toward Buell, and saved him several times when the Government had determined on his removal. Instead of any gratitude for this, he and his friends have not ceased to abuse me, and to claim for him credit he does not deserve. He never once suggested the operations on Forts Henry and Donaldson, and up the Tennessee River, but strenuously opposed the plan, and I could get no assistance from him till I appealed to the President.

"The same with McClellan. I did everything in my power to prevent his removal after I arrived here. This he *knew* perfectly well. Instead of any gratitude for this, he and his friends, then and ever since, have done all in their power to injure me. I have made no reply to their misstatements and abuse, nor do I intend to, so long as the war lasts, or I am in command. If I do not survive the war, sufficient materials for a correct understanding of my acts are on record, and will be found by the future historian who seeks the *truth*. We all have enough to occupy us in the present without discussing the past or seeking for premature fame. Those who indulge most in personal discussions will find it the worse for them in the end. *Duty, Duty, Duty,* is the only proper motto now for military officers.

"I am sorry to say that many of the generals commanding armies exhibit a very bad spirit. They seek rather to embarrass the Government, and make reputations for themselves, than to put down the rebellion. General Grant and a few others are most honorable exceptions.

"Your ranks cannot be filled by the present draft. It is almost a failure, as nearly everybody is exempt. It takes more soldiers to enforce it than we get by it. A more complicated, defective, and impracticable law could scarcely have been framed. Moreover, the copperheads of the North have done everything in their power to render it inoperative.

"Yours truly,

"H. W. HALLECK."

IV.

How well Grant could keep his military plans a secret may be gathered from the way he managed affairs preparatory to the successful attack on Fort Fisher.

"HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,
"CITY POINT, VA., *December* 30, 1864.

"DEAR ADMIRAL: Please hold where you are for a few days, and I will endeavor to be back again with an increased force, and without the former commander.

"It is desirable the enemy should be lulled into all the security possible, in hopes he will send back here, or against Sherman, the re-enforcements sent to

defend Wilmington. At the same time it will be necessary to observe that the enemy does not intrench further, and if he attempts it to prevent it. I will suggest whether it may not be made to appear that the ordinary blockading squadron is doing this. You, however, understand this matter much better than I do.

"I cannot say what day our troops will be down. Your dispatch to the Secretary of the Navy, which informed me that you were still off Wilmington, and still thought the capture of that place practicable, was only received to-day. I took immediate steps to have transports collected, and am assured they will be ready with the coal and water on board by noon of the 2d of January. There will be no delay in embarking and sending off the troops. There is not a soul here, except my Chief of Staff and Asst. Adjutant-Genl. and myself, know of this intended renewal of our efforts against Wilmington. In Washington but two persons know of it, and I am assured more will not. The commander of the expedition will probably be Maj.-Gen. Terry. He will not know of it until he gets out to sea. He will go with sealed orders. It will not be necessary for me to let troops or commander know even that they are going, and place, until the steamers intended to carry them reach Fort Monroe, as I will have all rations and other stores loaded beforehand. The same troops that were with the first expedition, reinforced by a brigade, will be sent now. If they effect a lodgment they can at least fortify and maintain themselves until reinforcements can be sent.

"Please answer by bearer, and designate where you will have the fleet congregate.

"I am, Admiral, very truly your friend,

"U. S. GRANT, *Lieut.-Genl.*

"ADMIRAL DAVID D. PORTER,
"Com'd'g North Atlantic B. Squadron."

V.

The following, from Admiral Porter, not only shows the patriotism of one of the naval heroes, but the prophet's eye as to the coming battle-storm in Georgia, and its results. The truth was, harder fighting, or more of it, than the 120 days' battle from Chattanooga to Atlanta, never occurred on the American continent.

"U. S. MISSISSIPPI SQUADRON,
"Flagship 'Black Hawk,'
"CAIRO, *October* 19, 1863.

"DEAR GENERAL: I rec'd your letter of the 14th from Corinth to-day. I have kept the run of you since you left Vicksburg, and tracked you along in imagination since you left Memphis. I should have gone down to that place to see you, but at that moment Capt. Pennock was away, and I could not leave, there being so much to do.

"The Gov't offered me a leave on the ground 'that there being nothing to do, and the work all done,' I could run on to Washington, D. C. I heard something hinted about my going to Charleston, but, as I did not want to leave

my pet Mississippi in the doldrums, and having no anxiety to split on the rock where Dupont and Dahlgren have bumped their heads, I thought best to stay where I was and straighten out the squadron, and I have it so fixed that you can travel from one end of the Mississippi to the other without getting more than an occasional shot now and then.

"I was in hopes to have given you a pleasant surprise by having the gunboats at East Port or Florence by the time you arrived there, but it would not rain, and of course the Ohio would not rise, but all my attention will be directed towards that point from this time forth. The great battles are to be fought between Chattanooga and Atlanta, and I am sure, now that you and Genl. Grant have gone there together, that the result will be in our favor. I am sure you will agree with me that it was a wise move in sending Grant to take command. I saw him on his way up, and he looked but little the worse for his fall. He was on crutches, but still fit for the field. Now that communication is open, you shall hear from me often, and if I possibly can do so, I will run up and see you; but the work here is terrible. I am almost worn out with writing.

"And now, my dear general, allow me to offer my warmest sympathy for the bereavement you have met with in the loss of your little boy. I know how deeply you must feel, for I have gone through that severe trial myself, and lost, within six months of each other, two lovely girls of sixteen. Still these griefs should not let us falter in the duty we have before us, and I have offered two of my boys on the altar of our country, praying to God they may come off unharmed. I have witnessed so many scenes of misery and wretchedness in this war that I cease to think of my own disappointments. I have six still with whom to divide my affection. I hope you have more with which to divide yours. Even in the loss of my children my philosophy does not forsake me. I argue that it is all for the best, and ordained by a Power that never errs.

"There is little news from the North. Meade is backing and filling with that big army of his; Lee seems to be making his last desperate effort to get into Washington. Meade has a heavier load than he can carry, but if he acts on the defensive, and does nothing foolish, will hold his own until after the Battle of Atlanta, which will correspond somewhat with the Battle of Armageddon foretold in the Scriptures. If we can ever get the rebels south of that range of mountains which separates North Carolina from Tennessee, and stand where a man can touch the boundaries of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, with the richest market behind us in the country, the Rebellion will go up like old Malory's Ram Fleet; but I fear not till then. All this is within the range of probability, and I expect to see it done, though I have had no hopes heretofore.

"I shall be delighted when the army and gunboats are working together again, it does not look natural not to be doing so.

"And now, dear general, I wish you the greatest success, and I am sure that a new era will commence from this time forth.

"Very truly and sincerely yours,

"DAVID D. PORTER.

"Major-General W. T. SHERMAN, Commanding 15th Army Corps, on the road to Florence, Alabama."

VI.

The Battle of Chattanooga won, Sherman's forces, though worn out with four hundred miles of marching, and the fatigue of a two-days' hard battle, hurried off to relieve Burnside, cooped up in Knoxville.

Here is a thankful little note, written in pencil, on the fly-leaf of a book, and sent out of the beleaguered town through a scout. It is two o'clock in the morning. The note is faded now, but it is one of the relics of the war.

[In pencil.] "HEADQUARTERS, KNOXVILLE,
"*December* 6, 2 A.M.

"MY DEAR GENERAL: Gen'l Wilson has arrived and Captain Audenried is starting. I sincerely thank you for your prompt movement to our assistance. But for your approach we would still have been besieged, and no doubt finally captured. I have explained to the captain my views, and hope to see you as early to-morrow as possible.

"Sincerely your friend,
"A. E. BURNSIDE."

VII.

This picture, by General Bragg, of affairs in Louisiana, just as the war was about to break out, is not a flattering one. Bragg was a rich sugar-planter then, and, among other offices, he held that of a Commissioner of the Military Seminary where Sherman was then the head.

Sherman's part in this seminary came to an end with the first move at secession. The war came, and with it no opportunity for bettering society in the South; whether the twenty years since the war have revolutionized the young man in Louisiana, Southerners will consider.

"BATON ROUGE, 13*th February*, 1860.

"MY DEAR SHERMAN: Your two favors are received, the last this morning, with its enclosure. I find a general feeling in favor of the seminary, and most of its friends, as far as my acquaintance extends, are decidedly in favor of military organization. Still there is great cause to fear a failure of every efficient measure for its organization. In a conversation with the Doctor (Smith), a few days since, I regretted to observe what I took to be a lurking satisfaction at the trouble you had in enforcing what he called rigid *military* discipline at the academy. I most emphatically expressed my hope that you would carry the thing out in its fullest extent—and I am glad to find I was not mistaken in you—and show the boys at the start that you were their commander and intended to be so. Unless this is done in the outset, we had as well give up the

experiment, for it must share the fate of all previous efforts in the State. The more you see of our society, especially our young men, the more you will be impressed with the importance of a change in our system of education, if we expect the next generation to be anything more than a mere aggregation of loafers, charged with the duty of squandering their fathers' legacies and disgracing their names. I hoped, and still hope, your seminary may be the entering college for a reformation, but should it fail, under the auspices now before us, I shall despair of the honors of office. Of all the loose, disorganized, maladministered state of affairs I have ever seen, the public affairs of this State are the worst. Nobody is responsible. Every disbursing officer keeps his own accounts, draws his own warrants on the treasury, and, if he can only get a dishonest man to consent to sign a voucher and a warrant, they draw the money and there is the end of it. No one ever settles an account with the State.

"Truly yours,

"BRAXTON BRAGG."

VIII.

"BATON ROUGE, *27th January*, 1861.

"MY DEAR SHERMAN: It is with the deepest regret that the enclosed papers are forwarded to you. I am so occupied with other matters that I do not know what the Board of Supervisors have done, or will do, about your successor. Doctor Smith has made arrangements, I think, to settle your salary as ordnance officer.

"The ordinance of secession passed the convention yesterday by a very large vote, and a convention of Southern States will immediately meet to organize a new Confederacy. It will be in operation, a *de facto* government, before March 4th. We hope this course will lead to a *peaceable* solution of the matters. A separation is inevitable. Nothing can *prevent* it now. Why should there be any strife over it?

"Still, it is not for individuals to control these matters. We can only strive and hope.

"Wherever you go, my fervent prayers attend you for success and happiness.

"Sincerely your friend,

"BRAXTON BRAGG."

The inevitable separation, and the *peaceful solution*, looked for by General Bragg so close to the clash of arms, never came, and a few weeks from then saw the rich sugar-planter leading battalions into the strife he deplored. Bragg lost all he had by the war, and years afterward gladly accepted help at the hands of his old-time friend, who, in the meantime, had destroyed his battalions at the storming of Missionary Ridge.

The next letter is from Secretary Chase, and refers to the great financial burden of the war.

S. H. M. BYERS.

(*To be continued.*)

# RAILWAY LEGISLATION.

NATIONAL legislation in respect to the railways of the country must necessarily affect, either for good or for evil, the administration of 128,967 miles of railway, a property represented by $7,842,533,179 of capital ($3,765,727,066 of funded indebtedness, and $3,817,697,832 of share capital); that in 1884 earned $772,568,833; that paid upward of $400,000,000 for labor to nearly 800,000 employees, and divided, among the holders of its share capital and indebtedness, $350,054,252.

In formulating legislation affecting interests of such magnitude, care should be taken not to unnecessarily interfere with commercial customs and trade laws, nor with the administration and use of the railway properties and the police arrangements necessary for their safe and economical management, nor with the rights of individual owners of such property; for railway property has an individual ownership, and is entitled to protection in like manner and to the same extent as other private property.

The traffic transported on the railways of the country is of two kinds:

I. *Interstate traffic;* the trade or traffic that, originating in one State or Territory, is carried therefrom, into or through one or more other States or Territories. This is by far the larger class. It includes coal, iron, and other minerals; provisions, live stock, wool, grain, cotton, tobacco, and other agricultural products; manufactures and the raw materials used, and the larger portion of all foreign and coastwise imports and exports; and its volume is estimated at not less than eighty per cent. of the entire traffic of the railways of the country. Congress alone can legislate in respect to interstate traffic, as the Constitution vests in that body the sole power "to *regulate* commerce with foreign nations and among the several States," and "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing power."

II. *State traffic;* or the domestic trade and traffic that originates in one State or Territory, and is confined within its territorial limits. With such traffic Congress has nothing to do, as the power is retained by each State to regulate, within its own limits, all such traffic. It follows, therefore, that railway transportation can be properly "regulated" only under national laws, supplemented by State laws, as in no other way can uniform legislation be obtained to cover all classes of traffic.

Last year the railways moved 351,427,088 passengers, and 437,040,099 tons of freight. It is important, therefore, in discussing proposed legislation affecting such important commercial interests, to ascertain what public and private rights and interests require legislative protection.

The public desire that all persons and all localities shall be placed upon an equality in respect to rates and facilities for doing business; and that extortionate charges, and unreasonable and unjust discrimination of every kind, shall be absolutely prohibited. This is just and proper, so long as it is not expected that the railway companies shall, at their own cost, equalize advantages in location of one town or section of country over other towns and localities. If the rule is enforced that all individual shippers, and all localities, situated alike, shall be treated alike, there can be no just cause for complaint.

The public interests require that legislation in respect to common carriers shall be uniform in all the States and Territories; that it shall be such as will secure prompt shipment of traffic, without preference; the protection of property of railway companies, and of all persons and property in transit; the prompt and safe delivery of trains at destination, and the protection of the officers and employés of the railways while in the discharge of their duties.

To provide for intelligent supplemental legislation, officers of the General and State governments should have access to and knowledge of the charter papers of railroad corporations, and current information as to the charges for transportation on different roads, the character and volume of traffic carried, the earnings from each class—State and Interstate—the results from operating the several roads, and the financial condition of each transportation company, as shown by its books.

What legislation will best secure these desired results?

Legislation, to be of practical benefit to the public, must be such as will secure protection and prompt redress under the law. The Federal Judiciary are appointed for life; they are men generally outside of politics, whose ambition is to be preferred in the line of their profession; and they almost universally command the confidence and respect of the public. It is believed that all differences between railway companies and the public can be more satisfactorily adjusted through the Federal Courts than in any other manner. The common-carrier laws of the country are the result of the wisdom and experience of generations. They prohibit extortionate charges and unjust and unreasonable discrimination of every kind, and are based on the principle that every person and every locality, alike situated, must be treated alike. If all railway companies carrying interstate traffic shall be brought directly under these laws, with a provision for their enforcement through the Federal Courts, very little additional legislation will be required.

Railway companies are private corporations with special powers and privileges derived from State and congressional legislation; but, as the public is dependent upon them for transportation, the Government should protect the public from misuse or abuse of their powers, without cost to the individual injured.

To do this, a law should be passed, providing that complaints against carrying companies may be lodged with a United States District Attorney, whose duty it shall be to investigate them, and when, in his opinion, there is reasonable ground for complaint that injustice has been done and the law violated, if the company shall refuse, on his request or demand, to make proper reparation, it should be his duty to bring a suit in the United States District or Circuit Court having jurisdiction, in name of the United States against the offending company, for violation of law, and for damages to the party or parties injured; all such suits to have precedence on the calendar. Prompt action can so be obtained, and the party injured put to no expense other than that incident to his becoming a witness for the prosecution. In suits of such a character, involving private rights, no intelligent manager of a railway will ever stand a trial that can be avoided by reasonable concessions, without great confidence in the justice of his defense. Federal decisions in such cases will have the effect of additional legislation by becoming recognized law, and they will necessarily

cover similar complaints against railways in other sections of the country.

One great difficulty in formulating legislation in respect to railways arises from a want of information as to the nature and character of the wrongs to be righted; and, as a general law applicable to the older and more densely-populated States will often be found to work inequitably in the States and Territories more sparsely settled, it is believed that the plan of making United States District Attorneys and the Federal Courts a medium for adjusting differences between individuals and transportation companies will enable the Government to obtain, through the Attorney-General's office, full and complete information from all sections of the country, from which to formulate such supplemental legislation as experience may determine to be necessary to complete a national system of supervision and regulation of interstate railways.

Disagreements among railway managers often result in "railway wars," that, undoubtedly, produce more ill-feeling toward railway corporations, and cause a greater loss and injury to the public, than arise from individual cases of injustice from the wrongful acts of railway companies. What the public wants is that transportation rates shall be fair and reasonable at all times, and not subject to frequent and sudden changes; as fluctuations seriously affect values, and work an injury to all classes of traffic in the territory tributary to such transportation lines. Unreasonably low rates always have the effect of discrimination against localities; and by unsettling values, merchants and manufacturers are placed at a disadvantage with each other, from shippers at "war" rates being able to undersell their neighbors in the same or adjoining towns. To correct this evil the law should provide that when the managers of any two or more railway corporations shall fail to agree as to a connection of their roads for interchange of business, or on proper rates for competitive traffic; or if from any cause a "cut" or unreasonable reduction in rates shall be made, so much below the ordinary charge for like transportation as to be manifestly below cost of service; on complaint, with a sworn statement of facts, filed with the United States District Attorney by the president and vice-president, or by two directors of any corporations unfavorably affected by such disagreement or reduction of rates; or, on like complaint and statement made by any share-

holder or other person interested, that such reduction in rates is working an injury to the party complainant, to a corporation in which he may be interested, or to any locality ; a suit shall at once be brought in name of the United States against such company or companies ; and on application of the prosecuting officer the judge of any United States District or Circuit Court having jurisdiction, or any Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, shall appoint three disinterested persons to act as a special Board of Commissioners; one, a civil engineer, familiar with railway construction, one with experience in the operative management of railways, and one with a knowledge of traffic management and rates. Such Board of Commissioners should have authority to hold their meetings when and where they please ; they should keep a record of their proceedings, and be vested with power to send for persons and papers, and to examine under oath all persons having knowledge of the matters to be investigated. After a full investigation and hearing of parties desiring to be heard, a report should be made in writing, setting forth the facts, with such suggestions and recommendations as, in the opinion of the commissioners, will adjust the differences on an equitable basis. Such report, with the record of evidence taken, should then be presented to the court, notice being given to the proper officers of the disagreeing lines, to be present by counsel or otherwise. After reading the report, and hearing such arguments and statements as the parties in interest may desire to make, the court should issue an order or decree in respect to the matters of difference, *to be immediately effective* and binding upon the several railway and transportation lines and other parties interested. This would secure the immediate restoration of rates, as violation of such an order or decree, by any of the parties, would be contempt of court that would be summarily dealt with.

The effect of such legislation would be to force railway managers to settle their company differences, without indulging in a war of rates that is certain to injure the property in their charge, and, by unsettling values, is equally certain to injuriously affect local merchants and manufacturing interests, and the traffic of the country tributary to such railroads, and all connecting lines.

Such Federal decisions, with the testimony and other record evidence in respect to disagreements between transportation companies, would be of public record, and useful in all similar cases of

difference. They would be accessible to Government officials, and to the public, through the office of the Attorney-General of the United States; and the decisions would have the effect of supplemental legislation in respect to common-carrier laws, by adapting them to exceptional cases, and to current changes in commercial customs, and trade laws that govern commercial intercourse between different sections of our country.

The property of citizens in transit on land is entitled to like protection as similar property in transit on the water. Our present common-carrier laws require that all traffic shall be shipped without preference, as nearly as possible in the order of its delivery; and they should also provide that all officers, managers, and employés in every department of railway service shall, so far as their duty and power lies, be responsible, personally and officially, for the prompt shipment of traffic offered; that the rates charged are just and equitable; for the prompt movement of trains carrying interstate traffic and the United States mails; and for the protection and safe delivery at destination of all such trains and property in their charge and keeping.

They should also provide that any person or persons who shall willfully obstruct or delay the movement of such railway trains; or any officer, agent, or other employé in charge, who shall desert a train *en route*, or refuse to take it through to destination, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction shall be subject to a penalty therefor, and in addition shall be liable for both actual and exemplary damages. If a bale of goods is shipped from New York by steamer to New Orleans, once started, it is protected through to destination under United States laws; and if any officer or man in charge, or any other person, shall willfully or maliciously damage goods so shipped, or prevent their safe carriage, or delivery at destination, he commits an offense that subjects him to punishment under a United States statute, that can be enforced in a Federal Court whose criminal jurisdiction is not limited by State or municipal boundary lines. There is no reason why the Federal Courts shall not afford like protection to a bale of goods shipped by railway, that must pass through nine intervening States that lie between New York and New Orleans.

Primarily, in the interest of the Government, for the purpose of procuring information needed to formulate intelligent supplemental legislation, there should be established in the Interior De-

partment an "Interstate Transportation Bureau," to be in charge of a chief commissioner; and all original records and returns relating to interstate railroads and transportation should be in charge of such bureau. It should be the duty of such commissioner to see that the provisions and requirements of the common-carrier laws, and of all other laws relating to transportation between States, are strictly complied with and carried into practical effect. He should have authority, under direction of the Secretary of the Interior, to examine the books and records of every such corporation, and to examine under oath the officers, agents, and servants of such company in respect to the rights, powers, and duties of the corporation, and as to any other matter proper to be known for the due regulation of interstate commerce.

Every interstate railway corporation should be required to furnish the Interior Department with copies of all charter and other papers relating to its organization and powers, and of all leases, contracts, and agreements by which the property and rights of other corporations are controlled and operated. They should file copies of all yearly reports, with current statements (on blanks furnished by the Secretary of the Interior) showing the capital stock of the company, the amount and character of its liabilities, with copies of its mortgage and guaranty obligations; the tonnage of interstate and State traffic transported; the gross receipts from interstate and State traffic, and from other sources; its working expenses; its fixed charges for interest and rental; and its current expenditures charged to construction, betterment, and improvement accounts.

Uniform statements of this character will be of great service to the Government, and they will enable comparisons to be made, in respect to the administration and management of different railway properties, that will greatly benefit the public, especially shippers, and all share and bond holders, and others interested in the management of railway companies.

National legislation in the direction indicated will, if enforced, amply protect the public, without interfering with the rights of individuals or of corporations; and, what is of equal importance, will not be liable to interfere with the trade laws and customs that control the commerce of the country. It will require no new machinery to put it in force, unless it be, perhaps, to enlarge the powers and extend the jurisdiction of the present Pacific Railroad

Bureau of the Department of the Interior; and it will not only provide for a prompt adjustment of differences between the public and carrying companies, but it will secure full investigation, locally, by officers of the Federal Courts resident in the district where the offense is committed—the most intelligent and disinterested tribunal that it is possible to have adjudicate in such cases.

State traffic will not, of course, be covered by national laws, but it can be as well protected by the passage of State laws in harmony with national laws, and supplementing them. As it is now, every State has its own distinct code of laws relating to railway transportation, that can be enforced only within State boundary lines.

The effect of a recognized national code of laws, relating to interstate traffic, will be certain to secure corresponding State legislation, applicable to State or domestic traffic. This, of itself, will be a great gain to the public and to the railway companies.

Such a plan for adjusting complaints of the public against transportation lines, and differences between railway companies, will secure redress more promptly and effectively than can be done through a National Board of Railway Commissioners, however intelligent and experienced they may be; as it will be impossible for members of a commission, acting either separately or as a body, to properly investigate the complaints of shippers and others interested in transportation over 129,000 miles of railway that extend through forty-five States and Territories of our country. It would be physically impossible for a commission to act as promptly and intelligently as officials of the Federal Courts resident in the judicial districts; and it is *prompt* redress of injury that is required by the public.

The tendency of both national and State legislation has always been in the direction of "controlling" instead of "regulating" railways and railway transportation.

It is properly within the province of legislation to *regulate* railways; as, for instance, by requiring that automatic brakes and other safety appliances be used on all trains; by limiting the speed when running through towns; by designating the number of employés to be in charge of trains: but it certainly is not within the province of Congress to undertake to *control* the railways of the country by arbitrarily fixing the number of trains to be run daily on railroads, and the hours for their departure and arrival; or by

requiring that trains shall always consist of the same number and kind of cars; or that they shall be run at the same rate of speed between all stations; or that they shall be hauled over the entire length of each road, in order that the people at all stations may have the same accommodations and facilities in their use. And yet such legislation would be no more unwise than, for a similar reason, to enact laws that will restrict the free movement of traffic —such as is proposed by bills that prohibit pooling arrangements; that fix rigid and inflexible rates for transportation; that provide severe penalties for changes in rates by rebates, allowances, or commissions; laws that, if passed, must inevitably prove impediments to commerce.

Pooling is a system of federation for railway companies, for the purpose of securing what the public need—stability in rates, and uniformity in other matters connected with transportation. Such organizations correspond in many respects to the Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade that are established by merchants; and in both cases they furnish the best-known methods for securing reliable commercial statistics and records in respect to the traffic of the country, and uniformity in the quotation of rates and prices. They generally secure, under their own rules and regulations, the prompt adjustment of differences that arise from commercial transactions, which is so necessary when parties are engaged in the same kind of business; and the public is greatly benefited by such organizations.

To arbitrarily prohibit rebates, allowances, and commissions would be unwise, as it is not the proper use of such methods in making temporary changes in rates, but their abuse, that works injury to the public.

Enforcement of the common-carrier laws through the Federal Courts will always protect the public against injury from pooling arrangements; and from changes in rates, by rebates, allowances, or commissions.

Recognized commercial rules and customs form a code of unwritten laws recognized among merchants and traders everywhere, and while they are not the same in all localities, the same fundamental principles govern, the changes being only such as are found necessary to adapt them to different trade centers. As such changes are always adjusted by the parties directly interested, there should be as little legislation in respect to them as possible;

only such as may be necessary to prevent injustice and wrong-doing. Legislation that restricts the action of these trade laws and customs in any other way, will be found to act as impediments to commerce. If our law-makers will recognize this self-evident fact, there will be much less general and State legislation in respect to railways and railway transportation, but what laws are enacted will be of a more practical character.

FRANK S. BOND.

# NOTES AND COMMENTS.

## I.

### THE SOUTH IN THE UNION ARMY.

When Mr. Blaine made the remarkable prediction, in his Augusta address, that under the administration of President Cleveland not a single Democrat at the South, who had been an original Unionist, would have the slightest chance for appointment or promotion, it did not occur to him that the Southern and Border slave States, according to the official reports of the War Department, furnished over 350,000 white volunteer soldiers for the Union army, and nearly 100,000 colored troops for the same service.

It has long been a popular delusion that, in the late civil war, the loyal North was, *par excellence*, the seat of all the political virtue and patriotism extant in the country, while the disloyal South was the hot-bed of "all sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion." Touching this controverted point, it may be instructive and interesting to examine the logic of statistics. From the beginning of the war until its close, the Northern States furnished the Union army 2,390,091 men, while the Border and Southern States contributed 469,041 of the grand total of 2,859,132 soldiers. Of this number 776,829 were drawn under the draft, but only 46,347 were held for service, the remainder having failed to report, or were exempted, or furnished substitutes.

Turning first to Delaware, among the old slave States, we learn with amazement that she furnished a larger number of soldiers for the Union army, in proportion to military population, than any other State of the National Union! In 1860 this heroic little State had only about 18,000 white males between the ages of 18 and 45, yet she sent 13,670 men into the Union army, or 75 per cent. of her available strength. New Hampshire contributed 54 per cent.; Vermont and Massachusetts, 58 each; Maine, 59; Rhode Island, 66; Illinois and Ohio, 69; Kansas, 72; and Indiana, 74. The other Border States did almost as creditably. Maryland furnished the Union cause 49 per cent.; Kentucky, 44; Missouri, 47; West Virginia, 48; and Tennessee, one of the seceded States, furnished to the Union cause over 35,000 white soldiers. Of the number contributed by the "Volunteer State," at least 25,000 white soldiers came from the Eastern Division, a section containing less than one-third of the population of the State. It should also be remembered that this contingent were all volunteers *en vérité*. There was no draft to encourage enlistment, and no bounty fund to reward and allure. It was simple patriotism, sublime in principle and pathetic in its circumstances, that inspired the brave and self-sacrificing loyalists

of that historic region to leave their homes and families, and brave the dangers of guarded mountain passes to enlist in the Federal army, and return—except those, and they were many, who had gone from their homes and friends forever—under the triumphant and protecting flag of the National Union! The noble people of East Tennessee, "whose faith stood firm as rocky mountains" in the hour of our country's extremest trial, will occupy a proud and enviable place in the history of the Nation, and will be the theme of the poet and novelist as long as the heroic deeds of men are glorified in the fair and unfading realms of the imagination!

It is the opinion of one Northern writer that nearly one-eighth of the Union army came from the South, and that the National cause could not have triumphed without this help. As it was, the struggle was long and sharp; and if the largely more than 300,000 men had never been added to the fighting force of the Union army, but had yielded to the pressure and espoused the cause of the Confederacy, the success of the Federal Government could hardly have been hoped for.

Besides, Republicanism, in a partisan sense, was not the prevailing color in the complexion of the Union army. The *ante bellum* affiliations of a majority had been Democratic; and the importance of the Democratic contribution to the Union army is strikingly illustrated by a political analysis of the Southern contingent. In the South only 23,430 votes were cast for the Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1860. Delaware gave Lincoln less than one-quarter of her votes, and Vermont more than three-quarters, yet the latter, as we have seen, sent only 58 per cent. of her available men into the Union army, while the former contributed nearly 20 per cent. more! In other words, Vermont furnished 11 per cent. of her troops in proportion to the population of the State, while Delaware contributed 12 per cent. Missouri gave Lincoln 10 per cent. of her votes, and Massachusetts 63, yet the former sent 47 per cent. of her voters into the Union army, and the latter less than 12 per cent. more. Iowa gave Lincoln 54 per cent. of her votes, and Maryland less than 3 per cent., yet the latter contributed 49 per cent. of her voters to the Union cause, and the former only 55 per cent. In Kentucky Lincoln received less than 1,400 votes, while Wisconsin gave him more than 86,000, yet Kentucky's contribution to the Union army was 44 per cent., as against 60 from Wisconsin. The same truth is further illustrated by the fact, that the close State of Indiana led the North in proportion of soldiers to available force, while that other close and uncertain State, Connecticut, surpassed the "Republican strongholds" of Vermont and Iowa. It is also notable and "worthy of all acceptation" that the slave-holding and unenfranchised District of Columbia surpassed them all in her contribution to the army of the Union. The proportion of her Union volunteers to the population of the District was over 22 per cent.! Of her 75,000 people she sent nearly 17,000 troops, or 4 per cent. more than even Kansas, and 10 per cent. more than Massachusetts.

It is also worthy of note that, in the Southern States, there was no draft, or conscript, except for the Confederate cause, and no bounties raised for Union volunteers. The total amount of bounty fund raised in the New England, Middle and Western States exceeded $275,500,000. In Massachusetts it was

about $150 for each soldier, and in New York it was more than $180 for each.

*À propos* of the large volunteer force added to the Union army from the Southern and Border slave States, I must not omit reference to the gallant and meritorious officers of Southern lineage, or who resided in Border slave, or Southern States, and became conspicuous in the cause of the Union. Without the tedious enumeration of those of lower rank, I would mention the names of Generals Fremont, Buell, Sykes, Reno, Newton, Reynolds, Canby, Ord, Brannan, Nelson, Crittenden, Blair, Sanders, Johnson, Wood, Buford, Terrill, Graham, Davidson, Cook, Alexander, Getty, French, Pope, Hunter, Gillem, Brownlow, and Carter (since retired as Rear Admiral, U. S. N.),* and lastly, but not least, or even second to any Federal general, George H. Thomas. Also, with exceptional pride as a Tennesseean, I will add the distinguished name of Admiral Farragut. Nor should the name of General Scott be omitted from the list, for, although disqualified for active service by reason of his advanced age, yet the moral force and effect of his loyal devotion to the Union cause cannot be overestimated.

Without the conservative Union element of the Southern and Border slave States the dismemberment of the Federal Union would have been inevitable; and had it not been for the conservative stand taken by the Union Democrats of East Tennessee and other portions of the South at the close of the war, the condition of the ex-Confederates would have been miserable beyond measure. Disfranchised, their property taken, and they themselves pursued as political outlaws and traitors, thousands of those who had but lately been arrayed against them in deadly conflict, stood like a break-water between them and utter and unutterable ruin, and this, too, without any hope or expectation of reward from any source. Thus it will be seen that these loyal friends of the National Government were as generous in peace as they had been brave in battle. The country, therefore, owes much to the Union sentiment at the South, and ex-Confederates are under an infinite obligation to the brave and unselfish Unionists who, unable to indorse the proscriptive policy of the dominant majority, met their "enemy in the gates," and, placing themselves in a hopeless minority, advocated their civil and political rights at a time when they were deprived of both.

FELIX A. REEVE.

## II.

### INDUSTRIAL ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION.

IN his admirable article on Arbitration, in the October number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, Prof. Richard T. Ely says:

"Arbitration appears so natural that one would imagine *a priori* it must ever have been an accompaniment of the wages system of modern times. Yet such has not been the case."

* Carter was a loyal East Tennesseean, who, at the beginning of the war, resigned his rank in the navy, and was appointed Brigadier-General of Volunteers. At the close of the war he returned to the naval service.

He further says:

"A permanent 'Board of Arbitration and Conciliation' was first established in Nottingham, England, in 1860, in the glove and hosiery trade."

As a wrong inference respecting the novelty of arbitration might possibly be drawn from these statements, I venture to cite a few facts that bear on the subject, and show the new departure in the adjustment of industrial struggles and differences to have been made, in England at least, much earlier than 1860. Without any desire to strain the point, I would remind your readers that at so remote a time as the reign of Edward III. laws were passed to regulate wages, thus taking the question out of the control of either masters or men. The Court, indeed, was made the arbitrator. Anticipatory of just such a state of affairs as now prevails in Charleston, a special Royal Order, issued in 1362, after a great storm, provided that the wages of roofers were not to be enhanced by reason of the damage done. This is, in its essence, arbitration on wages, by a third party, and is the fairer because it is not forgetful of the unprotected public. The main principle comes out even more clearly in an ordinance of the city of London, passed in 1350, wherein it is set up as a rule that "from henceforth, if there be any dispute moved between any master and his men in the said trade, such dispute shall be settled by the warden of the trade." Here are the primal, evolutionary stages of the arbitration of to-day. Again, by the statute of apprentices, 5 Elizabeth. c. 4, wages were to be assessed yearly by the justices of the peace, who were to settle all disputes between masters and apprentices, and to guard the interests of the latter. An Act of James I. increased the powers of the justices in this direction. They were now authorized to fix the rates of remuneration so as to "yield unto the hired person, both in the time of scarcity and in the time of plenty, a convenient proportion of wages." I believe that the discontinuance of this oft-enacted legal arbitration—little as it may accord with our modern ideas of *laissez faire*—led more than once to the labor agitations of which strikes and lockouts are to-day the sequence and the representatives.

With regard to the second statement, quoted above from Prof. Ely's article, it may be noted that a voluntary court of arbitration was established at Macclesfield, England, in 1849, by the silk manufacturers and weavers. It was called "The Macclesfield Silk Trade Board." It comprised twelve manufacturers and twelve weavers, as well as a chairman and a secretary, who were not members. The effort after peaceful arbitrament failed; but we need not be surprised, in view of the fact that strikes were approved as a coercive measure by both parties, and that, in case of a strike, some of the manufacturers went the length of collecting funds to help bring their fellow employer, in revolt, to submission. Still the board lasted four years, and did good work. In the London printing trade, a board of arbitration was formed about 1853. It consisted of three master printers and three compositors, and a barrister as umpire. The court sat only on occasion. In neither instance, it is true, was the court or board "permanent," but each had a useful term of existence, and antedated the board of 1860. I might go further back than 1849, and recall the special report on labor, made to Parliament by a committee in 1824, in which it was said to be proven "that *the practice of settling disputes by arbitration* between masters

and workmen *has been attended with good effects*, and it is desirable that the laws which direct and regulate arbitration should be consolidated, amended, and made applicable to all trades." As one immediate effect of the report, came the Act of George IV., of 1824, making some very broad and liberal provisions for arbitration and for the appointment of referees. Unfortunately, the Act did not seek to establish permanent boards, which Prof. Ely regards wisely as "one condition of the largest measure of success," though he does not favor governmental interference in the matter to any great extent. Is public opinion sufficiently authoritative to enforce its conclusions, against industrial warfare and in support of arbitration, without the help of law?

THOMAS COMMERFORD MARTIN.

## III.

### ROME OR REASON.

WHEN a great system of theology arrives at that stage of decadence where it feels called upon to apologize for its cruelties and explain away its inconsistencies, it is far past the meridian line, and it does not require a prophet to foretell its future. That the Protestant Church has arrived at this stage no careful observer can doubt. The intellect of this Church has embarked on a sea of apologetics, while the body of the faithful have re-embarked for Rome. It has been well said that, in the Christian religion, there can be no permanent abiding place between Rome and Reason, and the history of the past century, as well as the present attitude of the churches, renders this pregnant alliteration luminous. The farce of "private judgment," which may judge only far enough to become a Protestant, has been played to its last act. The "sacred right of reason," which extends only to the limit of the bishop's capacity, or brings up against the stone wall of an absolute creed, is simply a play upon words and a sop thrown to Cerberus. It deceives only the simple, and is less dignified and infinitely less consistent than the frank, if not altogether complimentary, statements of Rome. In substance, the Pope says: "As a rule you have no intellects worth mentioning. Those of you who are not thus afflicted are forbidden to use the modicum which you do possess. Such scraps of information as I may possess, or as I deem good for the welfare of the Church and on a level with your capacity, I shall impart to you when I see fit. At certain times you will open your mouths and I shall fill them with such food as I have on hand, and you will pay a good price for the same. It may not be what you wanted, and it may not agree with your digestion, but that is no affair of yours. You ought to want nothing else. It is your digestion, and not the food that is out of order. Stale nourishment is good for you. Anything fresh might prove fatal." "What makes you think so, my Lord?" "Excommunicate that questioner," says Rome. "He is a dangerous heretic. He asks questions about spoiled food before he eats it, and he looks sick afterward." Thus was made the first Protestant. But by and by a Protestant came who not only asked questions, but absolutely declined to eat the latest Roman dilution, furnished from Westminster. He preferred strawberries and cream. He was the first Agnostic. As long as berries grow and he is able to milk the Alder-

ney, there will be trouble for the bishop and good food for skeptics. Then the Protestant who is too feeble to gather berries or too lazy to milk will return to Rome for sop, and take that through a straw. The rest will develop an appetite for short-cake and take to making cheese. Westminster will be horrified; she will struggle and pray, but she will die and leave the only two logical and vigorous contestants alone in the field—Rome and Reason. The preacher had his province, but he has had his day. The priest and the scientist could not be "reconciled" by his efforts, but since his efforts showed this fact he has not lived in vain. He took the god of Reason from the dungeon and tried the experiment of keeping him in a cage; but the cage had an open window, and the preacher lost his captive. He is lonely and dazed to-day. To-morrow he will start on a new journey. Will he travel, foot-sore and weary, back to Rome and beg for a cell in which to lay him down in darkness and hunger alone to die? Or will he take his children by the hand and, with his wife and loved ones, gather the flowers of truth and beauty in the broad fields of Humanity, under the glorious sunlight of liberty and love, on his way to the eternal city of Reason? The Protestant Church of to-day is making this choice. The trend is plain. The dividing line is already sharply drawn. The weaklings have decided for Rome, the intellects for Reason. The camp followers are so engaged packing up their spring bonnets and cigar-cases that they have not yet inquired where they are going. A summer trip is in store. "Our beloved pastor is going to take us on an excursion." "Where?" "I forgot to ask, but with his exquisite taste it will be a nice place, of course; and is it not lovely of him to ask us to go at all? Do you think this over-skirt sets well?" "Beautifully! Don't forget to put in my cane and cigar-case. Call me when it is time to start. I'll take a nap now." And while the masculine element is taking a comfortable nap, and the women are lost in admiration for their draperies and their pastor, the necessary papers for the final settlement are being drawn up and duly signed for them by the real parties to the contract. That a large number of Protestant clergymen have, of late years, deeded their congregations bodily to Rome is plainly indicated by "mass," the rigid observance of "Holy" week, candles, confession, the establishment of "sisterhoods," the creation of "monks," and other similar manifestations, which have ceased to arouse even comment in the Protestant Churches, so common have they become. Even Presbyterians go into "retreat" for a part of "Lent," while "second," or even "full mourning," is not uncommonly worn, during that interesting season, by many of the more seriously mentally afflicted Protestants, whose pastors have presented them to Rome. All this would have cost pastor and people dear some years ago, and their expulsion from any and all Protestant communion would have been a question of days only. But since the development of the theory of evolution, the fight has become so real and so constant that, to prevent a panic, Westminster has surrendered fully to Rome, and she has taken a large number of her adopted and step-children with her. It is true that a few of them are still coquetting with Science and flirting with Progress before their engagement to the Pope is finally announced; but it is only a question of time, and the next alarming scientific discovery or agnostic revival, then apologies will cease and Rome will receive her own. No one

recognizes this more fully than the Pope. Monseigneur Capel was his forerunner and observer in this country. Protestantism does not yet fully realize the near approach of her own charming nuptials, she is so busy with the minor details and with apologies for her careworn appearance and attitude of surrender; but Reason and Rome are alert, and both know that the day approaches when they will be the only two real contestants left in the field.

HELEN H. GARDENER.

## IV.

### EARTHQUAKE STUDIES.

THE physical history of every land has left many curious traces in the vernacular of its inhabitants, and, from the contemporary language of our own country, the Max Müllers of the future would readily infer that the home of the Anglo-Saxon race, and all its parent nations, must for ages have been a sea-girt, storm-swept, but almost entirely non-volcanic region. The Spanish Americans have some twenty terms for as many distinct varieties of earthquakes; we have hardly two, but we have at least two dozen words for all possible disturbances of the atmosphere, besides the synonyms borrowed from the mariners of foreign seas—the Chinese typhoons, the West Indian tornadoes, the monsoons of the Indian Ocean. In the same way, yearly visits to the Iceland seal-cliffs have enriched our nomenclature for the phenomena of the Arctic seas, and our American experience will yet give us a chance to enlarge our vocabulary of earthquake terms.

The completion of the Manzanillo branch of the Mexican Central Railroad will considerably promote that chance. The advocates of the "Subsidence Theory" distinguish between the jars produced by the occasional collapse of the primary rocks and the more frequent upheavals caused by the explosion of expansive vapors, and the coast regions of Colima and Michoacan are chronically subject to the latter kind of disturbances. In 1759, the subterranean furnaces of Central America seemed to have suffered an obstruction of their usual vents, and the volcanic regions of the Pacific Slope were agitated for weeks, till at last the pent-up forces exploded in the plains of Michoacan. A group of new hills rose like bubbles from a vat of seething pitch, and Mount Jorullo, the highest of the erupted mountains, became an active volcano, and continues to rise under the accumulation of its cinder hillocks. The others collapsed to the level of the Malpais, the volcanic "Badlands," of Michoacan, and it would seem as if the subterranean channels had again become partially obstructed, as their ejections force their upward way with a violence which every now and then jars the hills in a circle of half a hundred miles around the remaining vent. Near the village of Mescalita, southwest of the Badlands, the old military road to the Pacific crosses the famous Barranca of Santiago, an apparently bottomless chasm, receiving the drainage of several dozen lateral ravines, and near the brink of that abyss the traveler need rarely linger for more than a week to hear the boom of a rock-avalanche, either following or preceding the tremor of a volcanic concussion. Few stone walls have resisted those concussions, judging from the number of ruins and the prevalence of log cabins in a region where stone

buildings were once as common as in the neighborhood of Cadiz. The frequency of those shocks has taught the natives some useful lessons.

They have learned to diagnose the first symptoms of a dangerous earthquake. In nineteen out of twenty cases the degree of that danger is indicated by the *scale* of the vibrations, the increasing or decreasing violence of the successive shocks. In the former case the first concussion, or series of concussions, is a warning of worse things to come ; in the latter a rule, with few exceptions, encourages the hope that Seismos has done his worst for that day, and probably for that month. For the same rule holds good for a protracted series of tremors. If a period of earthquakes begins with a day of destructive shocks, followed by a week of feeble reverberations, the omen gives promise of peace, and Wiggins' prediction of a very characteristic period of that sort being but the prelude of a far more ruinous upheaval would have made few dupes in any part of Spanish America.

Experience has also proved that earthquake shocks, as a rule, do not spread in eddies. The violence of the upheaval at any given point cannot be measured by the distance from an initiative center of the disturbance. The tremor may be felt with equal distinctness along a number of divergent lines, extending for a hundred miles or more from a common focus, but sparing the intermediate regions—regions of a geological character often apparently identical with that of the upheaved districts. A seismic wave may traverse a mountain range at right angles with the main axis of its strata, break down cliffs which a ton of dynamite would have failed to move, and a few miles farther to the left or right spare a slender pinnacle of the same mineralogical formation. Even narrower areas have such safety-points. The great earthquake of 1812 spared the Calle de San Martin, a straggling hill street of Caracas, and spared it again in 1826, when in streets and lanes on both sides of the favored district not a house was left standing. On the small island of Sumbawa, a few villages on the north coast have thus far escaped the repeated cataclysms that rent the very rocks of the surrounding hills. A press-dispatch from Charleston (" New York Star," September 5), mentioned a building, considered a weak structure, which nevertheless escaped without any injury, while east, north and west of that building (on a corner of Market Street), massive blocks had been turned into a chaos of *débris*.

It is true, though, that the criteria of weakness or strength in resisting a tornado do not apply to the danger from earthquake shocks. The Charlestonians wondered at the utter destruction of massive brick buildings and the comparative immunity of frame houses, which a hurricane would have carried away like so many bundles of wheat straw. The explanation is, that an earthquake lacks the propulsive horizontal power of a storm, while its upheaval force is so absolutely irresistible that *weight* counts for nothing in securing the safety of a building. A light *coherent* structure will escape where a mountainous mass of brick would be shaken to pieces as easily as a heap of cobble-stones. A well-joined log cabin could be made almost earthquake-proof. Its chimneys might collapse at the first shock, but the walls would hold their own, and the safety of the low and squat stone buildings of Spanish American earthquake cities is founded on the circumstance that a low wall of broad, flat stones can

be rocked like a ship in a storm without outswaying its equilibrium. But if an exceptional concussion manages to accomplish that feat, such houses become the grave of all who have trusted to the safety of their massive walls; hence the fearful destruction of life in the South European and South American cities, which have now and then been visited by the resistless shocks of such earthquakes—differing from a common tremor as the rush of the maelstrom differs from the ripple of a summer sea.

That concussions of that sort have caught thousands of human beings asleep might seem a conclusive proof that the caprices of the Titan, Seismos, cannot be predicted for a single hour; yet those who have suffered the most from his spite would be the last to admit that any serious earthquake ever failed to send its warnings before, though they might confess that the symptoms of those warnings are neither infallible nor free from the ambiguity of certain weaker prognostics. A low barometer, for instance, may portend a storm, a period of tedious thaws, or a first-class earthquake. In a volcanic region a premonitory shock may be the death-knell of thousands, or as insignificant as a puff of wind on a breezy sea-coast. The "restlessness of animals" may indicate all sorts of things—a storm, a forest fire, a heavy thunder-shower. The invasion of their eyries often sets water-fowl circling about the sky with ominous cries. The "sudden silence of locusts and crickets," which a Virginia correspondent of the New York "Staats Zeitung" noticed on the evening of the Charleston earthquake, is as often observed in any chilly night, or before a heavy gale. Domestic animals may become "restless" from a mere disorder of the digestive process.

The *niebla*, or earthquake haze, is a less ambiguous symptom. Both before and during volcanic disturbances, a curious, wide-spread mist has been so often observed in the plutonic mountain regions of Spanish America that the natives have come to regard it as an almost infallible omen either of an earthquake or an unusually violent eruption. On the last day of August, it was observed all over the western Alleghanies, as far west as Huntsville, Alabama, as well as all along the coast-waters of our Atlantic border. Captain Smitherick, of the American bark "Robert Dixon," felt a shock as if the vessel had grounded, and remarks that "for a day or two the weather had been strangely murky, seeming to portend the approach of a storm." At the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay the United States revenue-cutter "Ewing" was overtaken by a storm, coming and going in abnormally fitful blasts, while the horizon was clouded by a grayish haze, which reminded one of the officers of the appearance of the sky on the eve of the great eruption of 1868, when a tidal wave nearly swamped the United States steamer "Wateree," then off Arica, on the coast of Peru. Before the earthquake of 1826, a similar mist was for weeks observed along the west coast of South America, and as far north as the West Indian archipelago, where the creoles regarded it with growing alarm, dreading another outbreak of the volcano which nearly exploded the island of Saint Vincent in 1812. In the volcanic uplands of Java, where it is an almost yearly phenomenon, the natives unhesitatingly ascribe it to the action of subterranean fires; and it should, indeed, be presumed that the expansive vapors, upheaving a continent, would now and then succeed in forcing their way through the fissures and caverns of

a mountain region ; and it is a curious fact that the appearance of the earthquake haze often coincides with the sudden outburst of hot springs (or geysers, as in the valley of the Yellowstone).

It is not easy to see how either phenomenon could be explained by the *impending* "collapse of the primary rocks"—owing to the gradual contraction of the earth's crust, which the advocates of the subsidence theory identify with the main cause of seismic disturbances. Nor could the subsidence of subterranean strata explain the peculiar long-continued rhythmical vibrations, which so often follow a severe earthquake shock, and which the originator of a more plausible theory explains as follows: "When the subterranean fires effect an irruption at the bottom of the sea, a vast volume of steam is evolved explosively, and being forced against the deep and cold water of the sea, a blow of the most tremendous sort is thus given at the volcanic focus, and transmitted outwardly as the earthquake shock. The surface of the ignited material, though now cooled down below the point at which steam can be generated rapidly, still *keeps up a fierce ebullition, which is transmitted as the vibration after the shock.*"—(Mr. Henry Mallet's report to the British Association.)

Whenever such steam explosions force their way into the rock-caverns of the nether world, the interaction of the irruptive force and the resisting pressure of the imprisoned air would explain the still more curious phenomenon of subterranean thunders which have often almost deafened the inhabitants of volcanic districts, as in 1842, when the Roars (*los Bramidos*) of Vera Paz stampeded the natives of a Guatemala mountain village, and continued for nearly half a month with ever-increasing violence, though attended only by trifling tremors of the upper rock strata.

The progress of geology has encouraged the hope that its revelations will yet enable us to predict earthquakes with nearly as much certainty as our meteorologists have already learned to predict atmospheric disturbances. The possibility of such forecasts would, however, depend on a more precise determination of the primary causes of seismic phenomena, and an important step in that direction would be the explosion of sham theories, and what might be called the compromise tenets, attempting to bridge the chasms between science and mythology.

The serious refutation of such self-contradictory cant as the ratiocination of the astrological oracle-school would be an insult, not only to science, but to the memory of those quasi-scientific empirics who for hundreds of years made the aspect of the firmament the basis for speculations on all sorts of natural and supernatural events, and could hardly have failed to recognize the synchronism of planetary conjunctions and such notable phenomena as earthquakes and earth-shaking hurricanes. But science may find it a harder task to explode the fallacies of logical inferences based on erroneous premises, and which, in spite of the evident unsoundness of that basis, still continue to obstruct the path to the goal of a tenable exegesis. That exegesis may prove to be at variance with all sorts of established dogmas; but, like the Copernican theory, it will prevail by solving many riddles.

FELIX L. OSWALD.

## FRESH AIR AND BATHING AS RESTORATIVES.

We believe in the theory and the practice of resorting to fresh air, mountain retreats, quiet country homes, seaside rambles, etc., as restoratives to enfeebled constitutions, but there are many chronically afflicted who find only temporary relief, and need a different revitalizing agent. The following letter illustrates this point and shows the wisdom of the one most interested in the case.

One of the favorably known merchants of New York—one who has been planted and rooted for a long time in the same place—is Mr. J. H. Johnston, jeweler, of No. 150 Bowery, New York, where he has been established over thirty years.

Mr. Johnston has one of the coziest suburban homes in the vicinity of New York, situated at Mott Haven, just across the Harlem River, in the northern part of the city. His wife is a most estimable lady, and is known as a writer of marked ability. Those who see her now, in the enjoyment of excellent health, would hardly suppose that four years ago she was an invalid wavering between the love of life and a constant prospect of death. To one of our correspondents who visited her, Mrs. Johnston said:

"When I went to Washington to attend the inauguration of President Garfield, I was exposed in stormy weather and caught a severe cold. It settled on my lungs, producing serious results, among which were an obstinate cough and sharp pains in my lungs. Mr. Johnston became alarmed, and took me to Florida the following winter. I was, by this time, unable to sit up for a moment, and was with great difficulty conveyed to the steamer, overhearing the remark from a bystander, as I was being transferred from the carriage to my berth, '*There goes another to be brought back in a box.*' The sunny days partially restored my health, but on the approach of winter again my cough increased and strength vanished. My appetite was entirely gone. I swallowed food in daily decreasing quantities and from a sense of duty only. Still, I fought the idea that I had entered on the decline that ends in death.

"I had heard of Compound Oxygen, and I determined to investigate it. My husband and I went to Philadelphia to learn its merits at headquarters. Dr. Starkey examined me, and told me what I already realized, namely, that my case was a serious one, and that unless the hemorrhages were checked I would not live over three months. I was deeply impressed with his earnestness. I tried the Compound Oxygen at once and found a prompt benefit. This increased daily, and the cure eventually proved permanent. I was inspired with an enthusiasm for life to which I had long been a stranger. The weary, nervous depression to which I had yielded gave way to sunshine and hope; the pains in my lungs gradually faded away and the severe aches in my side no longer afflicted me; my sleep, before restless, became even and quiet; shortness of breath was succeeded by a facility for using the full breathing-power of my lungs; my capricious appetite became a natural one and I began once more to enjoy life. Though I believe myself cured, I exercise care in avoiding exposure to colds. I always keep the Compound Oxygen in the house, and take it on the slightest provocation. It always acts beneficially.

"I ascribe my cure to Compound Oxygen alone, as I took no other medicine and the weather prevented any out-door exercise. However, I never used it according to directions, but in sudden attacks of congestion or threatened pneumonia, have taken it, not as it could be inhaled every few minutes, until relieved from the pain and suffocation, and when able to live in the sushine, took the Compound only before retiring. I really believe it is *the remedy* for all lung diseases, and you are at liberty to use my name in recommending it."

## THE MYSTERY OF HUMAN MECHANISM.

How often do physicians find, upon a second visit, that the medicines they had left, or the prescription they had ordered, had either failed to effect the desired change, or produced an unlooked-for result. Over and over again the most skillful and learned in the medical profession are made to pause and ponder at the obstinate resistance of the malady to yield to the proffered remedy, or at the surprising and almost opposite effect to what was desired or expected; thus proving that the human system is not a mere machine, to be taken apart, cleaned, repaired, readjusted, and restored to complete running order. To the educated and well developed mind this fact needs no demonstration. Yet it is surprising how many, when they send for a doctor, do so with the idea that if they tell him "I feel all out of sorts," "I think my liver is out of order," "I have a pain in my heart," "I feel as if I would suffocate," or, "I have a misery in my back," "Now, doctor, won't you give me some medicine to cure me and make me well again?" As well might the owner of a factory go to some machinist, or send for him to come to his counting-room, and there tell him, "Sir, there seems something wrong with the machinery," or, "The engines don't work right," or, "There seems something wrong with the boiler, won't you send up something that will make it all right again, or will you tell me what to send for and what to do, and then my mill can go right on?" What would be the machinist's reply? "Why, you fool, I can't tell you what to do till I see what is the matter. It may be a loose pulley in the machinery. It may be a broken bolt or broken key in the piston-rod. It may be the fault of the pump, or one of a thousand other things; and I must examine: I must see what is the matter before I can tell what should be necessary to be done." If the doctor could act the part of a machinist—could take out the heart as he would take off the force-pump, unscrew the cylinder, take out the piston, open and examine the valves, wipe out all the chambers, put in new screws, renew the packing, oil the journals, redress the valves, then, when he put it together again, he could say with confidence as he would go away, "There, when you start that pump or heart again, it will work all right." Smart indeed, and justly famous, would be the jeweler who could take up a useless watch, look on its face, feel its dead stillness, or listen, with it close to his ear, to the wondrous tick of its escapement, and without opening it, and without using his eyeglass to peer into its movements, say off-hand, and at once, "Your watch has a worn pinion, or has dust among the cogs and in the ratchet-wheel. All that is wanted is a little cleaning out, and it will run all right."

Why is it that so much more is expected of a physician to heal the parts of human mechanism, that he has never seen, and cannot see until after the death of the patient, than of a machinist, who has fashioned the engine?

And how ready we are to grumble at our doctor if we do not get well, and become restored to health as rapidly as we desired. Is he not the true physician, then, who says, "I cannot look into your body, and discern clearly the exact condition of each affected organ. Such and such organs appear to be affected. I will endeavor to assist nature, by giving it an extra supply of the needed material elements to take the place of the diseased atoms and expel them." Such is the effect of true, pure, and simple revitalizing agents. They do not and will not aggravate the body, but their essential attribute is to render aid to all efforts of nature to eliminate discordant elements, and never to retard nature's work. Such is the Compound Oxygen Treatment.

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**IV. Subscribers whose subscriptions expire with the December number, by re before the 20th of the current month, will greatly facilitate the work of the I Department, and prevent any delay in the delivery of the January issue.**

## NOTE FROM MR. GEORGE.

NEW YORK, November 16,

*Editor North American Review:*

DEAR SIR: I regret to find that it is impossible for me to furnish my concluding a Labor in Pennsylvania for your December number, but hope to have it for January.

Yours truly, HENRY G

**REMITTANCES.**—Subscribers should remit by Express M Order, Draft, Post-Office Order, or Registered Letter.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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DECEMBER, 1886.

# MY CAMPAIGN IN EAST KENTUCKY.

## I.

The following account of General Garfield's brilliant operations in Kentucky, by which that State was held to her moorings in the Union, was written as data for a life of him, which I wrote in 1880. It is printed exactly as it was originally written, excepting in the opening paragraph, which the General began in the first person singular and then changed to the third person. It is now first published. EDMUND KIRKE.

## II.

J. A. GARFIELD was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of U. S. Volunteers August 14th, 1861, and was mustered into the service on the 21st of the same month. His regiment was not at that time raised, as it was then the practice to appoint field officers to recruit regiments. He preferred to be a Lieutenant-Colonel, if he could have a graduate of the Military Academy as Colonel.

He immediately reported for duty to Brig.-Gen. Charles E. Hill, commander of Camp Chase, near Columbus, O., and entered upon camp duty—attended the drills and studied the tactics. By the aid of blocks to represent companies, officers and non-commissioned officers, he thoroughly mastered the Infantry Tactics in his quarters, and attended and participated in the drills in camp. It is remarkable with what facility the American mind adapts itself to situations, and this has never been so strikingly illustrated as in the great movements of 1861, which

transformed in so short a time so great a multitude of young men from the unlimited independence of American citizens to the willing but severe restraints of military discipline. Colonel Garfield, writing to a friend at that time, said: "I have had a curious interest in watching the process in my own mind, by which the fabric of my life is being demolished and reconstructed, to meet the new condition of affairs. One by one my old plans and aims, modes of thought and feeling, are found to be inconsistent with present duty, and are set aside to give place to the new structure of military life. It is not without a regret almost tearful at times that I look upon the ruins. But if, as the result of the broken plans and shattered individual lives of thousands of American citizens, we can see, on the ruins of our old national errors, a new and enduring fabric arise, based on larger freedom and higher justice, it will be a small sacrifice indeed. For myself, I am contented with such a prospect, and, regarding my life as given to the country, am only anxious to make as much of it as possible before the mortgage upon it is foreclosed."

Governor Dennison, concluding that it was best that Garfield should be at the head of a regiment, promoted him to a colonelcy on the 5th of September, and appointed Judge Sheldon, of Elyria, O., and Don A. Pardee, of Medina, O., lieutenant-colonel and major, and directed them to raise the Forty-second Regiment of Ohio Volunteers. About the middle of September these three officers went into the vicinity of their several homes and began the work of recruiting for their regiment. Colonel Garfield addressed the students of his academy and the citizens of his neighborhood, and raised the first company for the regiment in two or three days. This company was composed mainly of his students, many of them far advanced in the college course. It reached Camp Chase, and was mustered into the service on the 20th of September. In the following seven days six additional companies were added, and drilling began. The final complete muster of the full regiment was not made till the 27th of November, 1862. Before the end of September, however, Colonel Garfield organized a school for the officers of his regiment, and required thorough recitations in the tactics, illustrating the manœuvres by the blocks which he had prepared for his own use. Regimental, company and squad drill, skirmish drill and bayonet exercises, were constantly kept up from six to eight hours per day. It was generally

admitted that no better drilled and disciplined regiment ever went out of the State.

On the 16th of December, 1861, Colonel Garfield received orders to move at once with his regiment, via Cincinnati, to Catlettsburg, Ky., at the mouth of the Big Sandy River. On the following morning (Sunday, the 17th) the regiment left camp. Before taking the cars, at Columbus, a solemn and impressive prayer was offered by the chaplain, Rev. I. H. Jones, and a beautiful banner was presented to the regiment by Governor Dennison, on behalf of the students of the Eclectic Institute, of which Colonel Garfield was President. On arriving at Cincinnati, Colonel Garfield received a dispatch from General Buell, ordering him to send his regiment to Catlettsburg, but to report immediately in person to Department Headquarters at Louisville. On arriving there, General Buell informed him that he was to be sent against the rebel general Humphrey Marshall, who was then invading Eastern Kentucky from the Virginia border, and had already descended the Big Sandy as far as Prestonburg. He directed the Colonel to study the problem carefully, and call next Sunday morning to consult on a general plan of operations. It was a trying and unexpected responsibility to be placed on the shoulders of one who had never heard a hostile gun. Colonel Garfield went to his hotel, and spent nearly the whole night in studying the geography of the country through which he was to operate, in making notes of such suggestions and queries as occurred to his mind and sketching the outlines of the plan which seemed to him feasible for conducting a successful campaign. He has frequently spoken of his interview with the Commanding General on the following morning as one of peculiar interest. Few officers in the service possess more reticence, terse logic, and severe habits of military discipline than General Buell, and the interview between him and the military tyro was a peculiarly interesting one. The one, submitting his plans and queries, and curiously and anxiously watching the face of the commander, but finding no look or expression to indicate his opinion, either of the good sense of the queries or the feasibility of the plan. The queries were answered in a quick, sententious manner, but no word was spoken by the General to indicate approval or disapproval of the plan. The conference was closed with the single remark: "Your orders will be sent to your hotel at six o'clock this evening."

Promptly at that hour the order was received, organizing the Eighteenth Brigade of the Army of the Ohio, Colonel Garfield commanding, and a letter of instruction in General Buell's own handwriting, giving general instructions for the campaign. They were, with but slight modifications, the same as the plan submitted by Colonel Garfield. He prepared at once to take the next train for Cincinnati, but, before leaving, was sent for by General Buell, who gave him maps of the country, funds for necessary purchase of supplies, and detailed a quartermaster and a commissary to serve on the brigade staff. The officers thus assigned, Capt. Ralph Plumb, A. Q. M., and Capt. Jacob Heator, A. C. S., proved to be old friends of Colonel Garfield from northern Ohio. They remained with him for nearly two years, and shared his fortunes and dangers.

He took leave of General Buell on the morning of the 20th of December, receiving his final advice, concluding with the remark: "Colonel, you will be at so great a distance from me, and communication will be so slow and uncertain, that I shall commit all matters of detail, and much of the fate of the campaign, to your discretion. I shall hope to hear a good account of you."

Proceeding at once to Paris, Ky., he remained there till evening, when the Fortieth Ohio Volunteers, under Colonel Cranor, arrived from Cincinnati, in obedience to a telegraphic order from Department Headquarters.

At Paris, Colonel Garfield issued his first general order, assuming command of the Eighteenth Brigade and announcing his staff. While awaiting the arrival of the Fortieth Ohio, he called on several of the leading Union men of Paris, to learn the character of the country and the inhabitants between there and Prestonburg. Hearing of a bold mountaineer at Mount Sterling, fifteen miles distant, who had lately arrived from the neighborhood of Marshall's camp, he sent for him, and on his arrival, about midnight, gathered all the information of the country, the plans and purposes of the rebels, and engaged him to serve Colonel Cranor as guide and scout. During the same night, the Fortieth Ohio Volunteers arrived at Paris. They were directed to await the arrival of their field train, and then march at once toward Prestonburg, *via* Mount Sterling and McCormick's Gap. In their route, they were to be joined by three squadrons of Walford's First Kentucky Cavalry (commonly known as the Wild Cat Cavalry), from Stamford, Ky.

Colonel Garfield immediately started for the Big Sandy, via Cincinnati, and reached Catlettsburg on the 22d of December, and proceeded at once to join his command at Louisa, twenty-eight miles up the Big Sandy.

On the arrival of the Forty-second at Catlettsburg, two days previous, there was a state of great alarm in the community. The only force of Union troops in the Sandy Valley had been stationed at Louisa, but had hastily retreated to the mouth of the river during the night of the 19th, under the impression that Marshall was following with his whole force. The citizens were preparing to cross the Ohio for safety. The only forces at Colonel Garfield's command in the Valley were the Forty-second Ohio Infantry, the First Independent Squadron of Ohio Cavalry and the Fourteenth Kentucky Volunteer Infantry, containing at that time not more than 500 men imperfectly armed and equipped. Colonel Garfield had sent forward an order for all this force to commence its march up the valley without waiting for his arrival. On the morning of the 24th, he started up the river from Louisa with such of his command as were in readiness. The river roads were impassable for trains, and the close proximity of the enemy made it unsafe to make so wide a detour from the river as would be required to send trains round by the table-lands to the westward. Many of the wagons were taken apart and conveyed up the river on push-boats, and others men hauled with great difficulty, though empty, along the river road. It was found necessary to rely wholly upon the river for supplies, and only use the army train when the troops should move away from the river. The Big Sandy is a narrow, fickle stream, and finds its way to the Ohio through the roughest and [Manuscript torn].

In time of high water, small steamers can reach Piketon, but heavy freshets render navigation impracticable, in consequence of the swift current filled with floating timber, and the overhanging trees, which almost touch each other from the opposite banks. The supply of a brigade in midwinter, at any considerable distance from the mouth of the river, was a matter of great difficulty. Colonel Garfield engaged two or three small steamers, and hired or impressed all the push-boats on the river, and ordered others built, to insure a supply of forage and provisions for his expedition.

On the first day of January, 1863, he had accumulated ten days' supplies at the mouth of George's Creek, forty miles up the Big

Sandy, and on the following day commenced his march toward Paintville, near which place Marshall held a strongly fortified position with 5,000 men, including two batteries of field artillery and 500 cavalry.

The advance was difficult and slow, the train not being able to make more than five or six miles a day, and sometimes a considerably less distance.

On the 6th of January, Colonel Garfield arrived within seven miles of Paintville. There were three roads leading to the enemy's position: one on the left, bearing down to the river, and along its western bank; the second, a circuitous one to the right, coming in on Paint Creek to the westward of the village; the third, a central and more direct route, but leading over a succession of almost impassable hills.

Marshall's main force occupied the fortified camp three miles south of Paintville, which place was held as an outpost by a regiment of infantry, and the three roads between himself and Garfield's advance were held by strong pickets.

In order to deceive Marshall as to his real designs, Colonel Garfield ordered a small force of infantry and cavalry to advance along the river road, drive in the pickets, and move rapidly after them as if with the design of attacking Paintville.

Two hours after this force started, another similar one with similar orders was started to the right, on the road leading to Paintville, via the mouth of Jenny's Creek, and two hours later a third took the middle route. The effect was that the pickets on the first route, being vigorously attacked and driven, retreated in confusion to Paintville, and sent word to the Confederate headquarters that the Union force of cavalry and infantry was advancing on Paintville by the river road. Marshall at once sent a thousand infantry and a battery to meet this supposed column and resist its advance. When this detachment had been gone an hour and a half, the Confederate General heard from the routed pickets on the right that the Federal troops were advancing there. Countermanding his first order, he directed the 1,000 infantry and the battery to check the new danger, and also hurried his troops at Paintville up to the mouth of Jenny's Creek, to make a stand there. Two hours later the pickets on the middle route were driven in, and, finding Paintville abandoned, fled precipitately to the fortified camp with the story that the Union

forces were at their heels, and probably were then occupying Paintville.

Conceiving that he had thus lost Paintville, Marshall hastily withdrew his infantry to the fortified camp, and hearing of the near approach from the west of Colonel Cranor's column, which had been started from Paris, Ky., he retreated precipitately on the evening of January 8th toward Prestonburg, having abandoned or burned a large portion of his supplies.

On the same day, Colonel Garfield entered Paintville, and sent his cavalry, now increased by the temporary addition of 450 of the First Virginia Cavalry which General Cox had sent to him, to attack the Confederate cavalry at the mouth of Jenny's Creek, while he proceeded to build a bridge near the village across Paint Creek, then very much swollen by the rains; and, taking 1,000 men, made a reconnoissance of the rebel intrenched camp, of which he took possession at 9 P. M. of January 8th. The camp-fires were still burning and the blazing stores not yet consumed. Colonel Garfield immediately sent out a reconnoitering party to ascertain the direction of the retreat, and moved with the remainder of his force down the Jenny's Creek road, to intercept the rebel cavalry in case they had not yet retreated. He found that his cavalry had already attacked and routed them, driving them five miles, and killing and wounding twenty-five. In consequence of having to build two bridges across Jenny's Creek, the command did not reach Paintville till daylight of the 9th. Here they were joined by Colonel Cranor's column from Paris, consisting of the Fortieth Ohio Volunteers and 300 Kentucky cavalry. They had marched nearly 100 miles, were without rations, and completely exhausted. The brigade had also been increased on the 22d by infantry, 400 strong, from Maysville. After distributing the supplies on hand, it was found that there were not three full days' rations for the command.

Colonel Garfield, however, determined to follow up his advantage, and selecting from his infantry force 1,100 men, all that were not too much exhausted to march, he set out at noon of the 9th toward Prestonburg, at the same time sending all the available cavalry force to follow the line of the enemy's retreat up the Jenny's Creek road, and harass and delay his march.

The infantry force reached the mouth of Abbott's Creek, three miles below Prestonburg, at 9 P. M., and Colonel Garfield, finding that Marshall was encamped for the night on the same stream,

three miles higher up, threw his command into bivouac in the midst of a sleety rain, and sent back an order to Lieutenant-Colonel Sheldon at Paintville to bring up every available man with all possible dispatch, for he should force Marshall to battle next morning. Most of the night was spent by the Colonel in learning the character of the surrounding country. He determined, in order to compel his enemy to fight, to cross Abbott's Creek, and, if possible, occupy the road on which he was retreating where it crossed Middle Creek, the stream that entered the Big Sandy next above Abbott's, near Prestonburg. For this purpose, he broke up his bivouac at 4 o'clock A. M. of the 10th, and commenced the movement. On reaching the valley of Middle Creek, he encountered the enemy's cavalry pickets, and captured a quantity of quartermaster stores which the rebels were endeavoring to take away from Prestonburg. Skirmishing continued till about noon, when the enemy's pickets had been driven back to the main body, which was strongly posted on a semi-circular hill at the forks of Middle Creek, three miles from its mouth.

The battle began at 1 o'clock P. M., and continued till dark. (See Official Report.) On the following day, Colonel Garfield showed his officers an intercepted letter, which had been forwarded to him by General Buell, written by Marshall to his wife two weeks before, giving a full statement of the strength and composition of his force. He acknowledged that he had 5,000 men. Colonel Garfield did not consider it prudent to let the facts of the letter be known till the battle was over.

The pursuit was continued on the 11th by the cavalry, and a few more prisoners taken. Prestonburg was also occupied, and a considerable quantity of stores captured. This battle was the first of that series of successes which followed the disasters of 1861. Ten days later, General Thomas won the battle of Mill Spring, and the tide of success swept steadily southward and westward up the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers.

The balance of January was spent in getting supplies up the river, and clearing the valley and surrounding country of guerrillas. For several weeks the low water rendered it impossible to transport the necessary provisions, and when a heavy freshet came, about the beginning of February, a steamboat load of stores was brought up the river by General Garfield when all the masters of steamers refused to venture it. Having secured a sufficient supply

of provisions, General Garfield advanced about the middle of February to Piketon, 120 miles from the mouth of the river, driving out the small force of rebels there. Marshall immediately retreated with his main force across the mountains, to the vicinity of Abingdon, Va., but left a garrison of 500 infantry to hold Pound Gap, the only pass across the mountains north of Cumberland Gap. After having cleared the upper valley of guerrillas in a series of successful scouting expeditions, General Garfield determined to dislodge the rebels from their stronghold at Pound Gap, and thus effect their complete expulsion from Eastern Kentucky.

On the 14th of March, he left Piketon with 600 infantry and 150 cavalry. In the night of the 15th, he had reached the foot of the mountain, forty miles distant from Piketon, and about three miles from the Gap. The rebel camp at the crest of the mountain, where the old stage road crosses from Kentucky to Virginia, was strongly fortified, and the road was obstructed by heavy trees thrown across it. At daybreak of the 16th, General Garfield had arranged his plan of attack, which was to send his cavalry around by the regular road, and at a given hour attack the enemy's pickets, drive them in, and make a demonstration upon their works to attract their attention. In the mean time, he would lead his infantry in person up the mountain, where the ascent was precipitous and without a path, and reaching the crest about two miles from the Gap, move along the ridge, and attack the enemy in flank and rear. The weather favored his plan. The ascent was made in the midst of a furious snow-storm, which not only concealed the movement from observation, but muffled every footstep. After three hours' struggle with snow and mountain, the summit was reached without discovery, and the column moved along the crest in silence. As it drew near the rebel camp at the Gap, the brisk fire of the cavalry skirmishing was heard, and it was found that the enemy had given his entire attention to the force in front, and had gone outside their works to drive the Union cavalry down the mountain. General Garfield put his infantry upon the double-quick, and was within rifle-shot of the camp before the movement was discovered. The rebels rallied, formed line of battle, but before they had gained a position to make successful resistance, they received a volley and were charged upon with the bayonet. In a fight of less than twenty minutes' duration, they were utterly routed, and their camp, con-

sisting of sixty log-houses, capable of accommodating 1,200 men, and all their stores, were in the hands of the attacking party.

After spending the night in these comfortable quarters, General Garfield burned the camp and all the stores which he could not carry away, and returned to Piketon without the loss of a man, having marched over 90 miles in the worst of winter weather. The whole expedition consumed less than five days. This completed the expulsion of the last organized rebel force from Eastern Kentucky.

Previous to this expedition, General Garfield had corresponded with General Rosecrans, then commanding the Department of Western Virginia, and they had united in proposing a plan to the War Department to destroy the Virginia and East Tennessee Railroad, then the only direct line of communication between Richmond and the Gulf States. General Rosecrans was to send a force up New River in Western Virginia, to cut the railroad near Newburn, while General Garfield was to pass through Pound Gap and cut it at Abingdon, Va., and destroy the salt-works at that place. The two great rebel armies of the East and the West were at that time fully occupied, and the destruction could have been made very complete. But toward the end of March orders were received creating the Mountain Department for General Fremont. General Rosecrans was relieved, and General Garfield was ordered to leave a small force to hold the Sandy Valley, and join General Buell with the rest of his command. He reached Louisville with a part of his brigade, and found an order directing him to proceed to Nashville, Tenn., and report to General Buell in person. On his arrival there, he found that General Buell was hurrying to the relief of General Grant at Pittsburgh Landing. He overtook General Buell on the 5th of April, was at once assigned to the command of the Twentieth Brigade, Sixth Division, of the Army of the Ohio, and reached the battle-field of Shiloh on the afternoon of the second day, in time to participate in the victory.

He continued with Buell's army in its operations around Corinth and on its subsequent march across Northern Alabama.

In August, 1862, his health failed, and he was sent north on sick leave. About the time of his leaving for home, he was assigned, by order of the War Department, to the command of the forces at Cumberland Gap, but was too ill to accept. When he was partially convalescent, he was ordered to Washington to serve as a member of

the court-martial for the trial of Maj.-Gen. Fitz-John Porter. In January, 1863, on the dissolution of the court, General Garfield was ordered to report to Maj.-Gen. Rosecrans at Murfreesboro', Tenn. He was at once appointed Chief of Staff of the Army of the Cumberland, in which capacity he served through all the campaigns of that army till October, 1863. He was appointed a Major-General of Volunteers "for distinguished and gallant services in the battle of Chickamauga," and ranked as such from the 19th day of September, 1863. On the 5th day of December, 1863, he resigned his commission, and on the 7th took his seat as Representative of the Nineteenth Congressional District of Ohio, in the Thirty-eighth Congress.

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

# LABOR AND CONDENSED LABOR.

WHEN any one, at the present day, takes the side of labor in its struggle for existence, he is called a "socialist." To the superficial observer, to the untrained thinker, this word conveys the impression of arson, riot, and the unbalancing of all old ideas of quiet and the safety of property. It seems incredible, in this age of reason, that the friends and advocates of labor should be classed with nihilists, anarchists, and dynamiters, and that murder and destruction of property should be considered a part of their mission. That such an opinion is general cannot be denied ; but, to reach the conclusion that the world is not yet coming to an end by means of socialism, I think it is only necessary to give a little study to the relations of capital and labor.

In the first place, what is capital ? Merely the accumulated tokens of past labor, saved by thrifty and prudent men, for the use of the present army of those who toil for their bread. Why should labor be jealous of capital ? One might as well expect the earth to be jealous of the clouds, which hold condensed moisture, returning it in rain, to enable the parched land to produce food for its famishing thousands. The capitalist is merely a laborer, who, by industry and judicious savings, has condensed some of labor's past wages, to distribute them to his fellows, that they may again produce a living, and that some small portion may be recondensed, to reproduce itself, and enable suffering humanity to live. That labor should quarrel with capital seems as strange, to an intelligent being, as that young birds should be jealous of their mother's experience, which fits her to provide for their helpless daily wants.

The rights of labor at this time engage the attention of all intelligent persons ; and the future of capital and labor makes old women and miserly capitalists shudder, for fear of parting with their dollars in acknowledging the rights of their co-laborers.

They forget that they are merely the custodians of the condensed labor of poor workers, and cannot justly hold it except for the benefit of other workers who follow them. They cannot bury it ; for it would produce no interest. They must necessarily lend it to the laborers of the time, to enable such laborers to produce and live.

The rights of labor have been written about in many ways, none of which strike me as meeting the question.

For many years I have employed large numbers of persons, and have carefully considered their conditions and prospects. I have tried to devise some way of benefiting those hard-worked persons who thoroughly represent the side of labor. I have a plan, which I believe is original, for securing in their behalf perfect justice and political equality, so that they cannot say justice is all on the side of capital. This plan I will briefly describe.

In each Congressional district I would have the trades send delegates to a meeting, for the purpose of choosing representatives to a Labor Congress for one year. These chosen representatives should nominate two senators to represent their State in a National Labor Senate—one senator elected for two years, the other for five years. This body of labor senators and representatives should hold an annual Labor Congress one month in each year. The delegates from the Congressional districts would reflect the wishes of their constituents; *i. e.*, the various trades of their districts. The Senate chosen by these representatives, but elected for a longer term, would, by its greater experience, control the more extreme radicals coming annually fresh from the people. There might also be a small body of experienced men, chosen by the senators —these men forming an advisory body, similar to the United States Supreme Court, their number being limited to seven judges. This board should decide all labor questions, the trades to submit to their decisions. This organized labor congress would not be expensive. It could direct and act promptly on all questions, nominating or indorsing proper persons for all offices, local, State, and national. It would receive proper respect from all parties. Fair and equal justice would be meted out to labor distributed and to labor condensed.

For legislation, I believe in limited political socialism : that oceans, rivers, canals, railways, postal and telegraph systems should be owned by the National Government, for the use of all,

at as low a toll as will provide for their proper maintenance; that is, for the use of labor in both its forms, industry and capital.

Rights of private property should be respected. A man's earnings, whether by ability, luck or wit, should be his entirely and without restraint during his life. There should be no income-tax, which only offers a premium on fraud, and oppresses the energy of both labor and capital. A legacy-tax should be laid, to the extent of say ten per cent., on all fortunes in excess of $200,000. This legacy-tax would not oppress the heir receiving so much property, and should not be regretted by the dead, who was indebted to the protection of the government which enabled him to accumulate his wealth. This legacy-tax, leading to distribution through division of estates, could be fairly collected. It would give handsome returns to the State, and cause a considerable reduction of taxes. It would render the perpetuation of immense fortunes in a few families impossible, and would thus obviate that grave impending danger, the concentration of wealth in single families, which wrecked the Roman Empire.

I trust that these few words will be of some service to my brother-workers, Labor and Capital. I wish to see them work hand in hand for that great end, the improvement and enlightenment of the industrious humanity now closing our nineteenth century.

PIERRE LORILLARD.

# HEATHENDOM AND CHRISTENDOM UNDER TEST.

In dealing with the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith, I can only plead to our learned Sanhedrim, professors in theological seminaries and reverend doctors of divinity, the Pauline argument: Let no man think me a fool: if otherwise, yet as a fool receive me. For ye suffer fools gladly, seeing ye yourselves are wise.

A very interesting correspondence between the Reverend Professor Phelps, of Andover, and Reverend Cyrus Hamlin, D.D., concerning the heathen world, has lately been published. I have not been asked to take part in this correspondence, and unhappily have no reason to suppose that any one wishes me to do so. But I am very much interested in the heathen world. It has long seemed to me that Christendom is rather pushing the heathen to the wall. We consign them to perdition without even hearing their side of the case. It is not American that we should have what has been called damnation without representation. Even the hardened tyrants of the Inquisition used to give to the victims they were about to burn, a "Devil's Advocate" who should at least make some show of justice and defense. Therefore, even though I be considered only a Devil's Advocate, and even though I speak as a fool, I may yet speak apostolically, because the schools and the pulpits are full of wise people. If I am not gladly received, it must be because the brethren themselves are not wise according to Scripture!

If I understand the position of these two mighty men of God, known and loved in all the churches, it is, that without a knowledge of Christ the masses of mankind go into eternity unsaved—that is, are doomed to an eternity of anguish; that this loss and penalty, though indisputable, is not inevitable; that without Christianity the heathen masses can know God, but never do know Him; that His eternal power and Godhead are revealed in

the phenomena of the material universe and in the intuitions of the human conscience ; and that this constitutes the groundwork of a just and benevolent probation. It makes a fair trial. If men are not saved under it, their own is the fault. God is under no obligation to do anything more for them. He is not bound to reveal to them, in addition, Christ. Knowledge of Christ is no man's moral right. If God provides such knowledge, it is a free gift. It is over and above what they deserve ; therefore, though the masses of mankind do go into eternity without knowledge of Christ, and will therefore be doomed to eternal pain, it is not their misfortune, but their penalty. They know enough of God outside of Christ to save them if they choose to be saved. God has given them so much opportunity as to meet all demands upon His honor.

I may say, in passing, that this is not exactly the belief in which I have supposed myself to be reared. I have always supposed the orthodox doctrine to be that all the world, including the heathen, was lost, and could not be saved without Christ. In the printed minutes of the first annual meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, this insufficiency of heathen knowledge is certainly assumed : " When millions are perishing for *lack of knowledge.*" It does not say for lack of using their knowledge rightly, but for lack of knowledge. In a late pamphlet, Secretary Treat, of the same American Board, is quoted approvingly as saying, " We are awe-struck and confounded—myriads upon myriads, millions upon millions, all journeying like ourselves to the judgment-seat, and all *ignorant of the way of life.*" It is not claimed that they refused to walk in the way of life, but that they knew nothing about it.

Again, in "A Plea for Enlarged Efforts in Behalf of Missions," we read : " Twenty-four millions every year have reached the extremest edge of that plane on which their probation had been spent, and then dropped into an abyss, the depth whereof, and the blackness whereof, *no friendly warning had disclosed.*"

This plea was adopted by the Board, printed and circulated among the churches. It seems to be conclusive. The churches were instigated to send missionaries to the heathen because, if they did not, the heathen had no means of knowing, had no warning of their danger.

The idea now advanced that the heathen really did have suffi-

cient warning of their danger, would they have heeded it; that they were not perishing for lack of knowledge, but for misusing it; that they did know the way of life, but preferred the way of death, seems like an afterthought, to meet and head off another line of reasoning. Common humanity argued in response to the American Board that if twenty-four millions were perishing, would perish, for lack of knowledge, then that knowledge of Christ which failed to reach them here, must certainly be furnished hereafter; to which theology made answer, announcing the sufficiency of what is called natural religion. It may be added, though rather in an aside, that the reasoning which establishes the sufficiency of heathen knowledge would hardly hold in every-day affairs. If a queen mother should decide and decree that one pair of woolen stockings should be ample provision for each child during the winter, and if all the families of her kingdom for many succeeding winters should find that one pair was not enough, that they were worn to shreds long before the winter was out, and that the great majority of little feet became frost-bitten, sore, useless, and finally had to be amputated, we should not infer that it was the children's fault in not keeping their stockings whole. We should say that the queen had fallen into an error of judgment.

If now, leaving the question of theology out of view, we look abroad upon the world for mere personal observation, to judge of it as a mere experiment in world-making, and a completed experiment, we should say that it was a good deal of a failure. If it is finished, it is very defective. If it is only in process, we have everything to hope, because the tendency is upward. If impatient theologians would only give our Creator time, His ways would, no doubt, be vindicated; but if it is imperative that the "plan of salvation" be instantly and wholly formulated and accepted, it must be at the expense of the Divine justice; for we see nation after nation struggling up into light only to perish in darkness. We see Christian nations stealing, gambling, robbing, murdering, slandering, beating wives, rearing children to crime. The cry of the wisest and best of all ages is for more light. The passionate wail of humanity is that He is a God that hideth Himself. The passionate prayer of humanity is that God should reveal Himself. The very fact that after centuries without Christ, Christ came, is indisputable proof that natural religion is not enough. Paul said it is enough, and on the

line whereon he was then reasoning his statement is correct; but the Judge of all the earth, surveying things from the Divine point of sight, saw that it was not enough, sent Christ besides, and sent Paul to preach Christ. Paul, with illumined eyes, saw God clearly in nature, and may well have been impatient with darkened eyes that saw not; but the Father and Creator has evermore compassion on darkened eyes, and always and in all ways, as men can bear the light, sheds his light upon the world. God, we may be sure, does nothing that is not necessary. No revelation of Himself is enough, or ever will be enough, until he has reconciled the world unto Himself.

Without this belief, however, which the professors present—the belief that the heathen have a sufficient knowledge of God without Christianity, and therefore if they do not avail themselves of that knowledge before they leave this world, they will be forever lost—Professors Phelps and Hamlin think it probable that Christian missions would never have existed.

On the other hand, they think they detect and they resolutely antagonize a rising theory that knowledge of Christ is not necessary to the salvation of the heathen; that heathen in past ages have been saved without knowledge of Christ; that the ethnic religions, antedating Christianity in their origin, have been providential and even preparatory to Christianity; that they contain truth enough to constitute a saving power to the nations which have inherited nothing better, and that, so far as they have not worked out the salvation of their believers, the failure will be rectified by a Christian probation in another life; that restriction of any man's probation to one lifetime, and that under impoverished conditions, is unworthy of God.

It is easy to see that there are two sorts of questions here—one of fact, ascertainable; the other of consequence, inferential.

And first of fact, in one department of which, at least, the antagonism posited by them does not exist. Their own setting forth reveals it not as antagonism, but identity. What possible difference is there between a belief that God has revealed Himself to the heathen sufficiently for their salvation through the splendor and power of the material universe and the intuitions of the human universe; and the theory of the "new theology" and of "advanced culture" that the ethnic religions contained truth enough to constitute a saving power to the nations that inherited them?

There is no "new departure" here, only a new name. Old theology calls it natural religion, and new theology calls it ethnic religion, but to the secular mind the things defined under these names are one and the same. I cannot place the two theories side by side in any words that do not make the one theory a mere repetition of the other.

After this point, however, there is a divergence. Old orthodoxy believes natural revelation to have been an entire and appalling failure. New orthodoxy thinks it to have been a partial success. Old orthodoxy thinks the masses of mankind, without knowledge of Christ, were utterly lost. New orthodoxy thinks the world has been gradually uplifted by the ethnic religions; that former systems of faith, imperfect but advancing, and beneficial in their total result, have been preparing the way for Him whose feet are wholly beautiful upon the mountains.

Very well, says Professor Phelps in substance, and in substance justly; it is a question of historic fact. Let us have the proof. If the unevangelized nations are already in the line of redemption, individual character should often indicate it. Private virtues should give signs of thrift. Public morals should be healthy; in a word, the civilizations existing in heathen lands should indicate that society is morally on an ascending grade. The ethnic, the preparatory religions, should seem to be prophetic of Christianity, should be full of sublime and mysterious hints of its revelation, and the civilizations growing out of them should display the moral buoyancy of nascent and crescent, not of effete and decadent, races.

As I have hinted, Professor Phelps does not ask me whether all or any part of this is true. He asks Dr. Hamlin. It is indeed to be feared that he better knew beforehand what Dr. Hamlin would say. At least, Dr. Hamlin says it. There is nothing of Devil's Advocacy in his position. His trumpet gives no uncertain sound, and it pipes no music for the heathen. Dr. Hamlin roundly affirms that he cannot find the first instance of any one of the heathen or Mohammedan systems working in the line of redemption or developing any power toward a purer and better state of society, toward the elevation of the people. Heathen, Moslems, Greek, and Armenian apostates are all embarked in the same boat, rowing toward the same Dead Sea. And Dr. Hamlin speaks with the authority of one who has lived among them.

This has a dark look for the heathen. Something may indeed be said regarding the conclusiveness of such a comparison; but even on the basis of this comparison I can happily throw a little light over the shaded picture, and it shall be from as sound a missionary source as Dr. Hamlin. I suppose it could not be from a sounder, and I am sure that Professor Phelps will admit that it might have saved some heartache if he had asked me in the beginning.

Mrs. S. L. Baldwin, a missionary of the Methodist Board in China, now living in East Boston, addressed to the present Congress a petition which was presented in the Senate, praying that she might be allowed to import a heathen to this country, because of his great superiority to the Christians here; because the private virtues of the heathen showed far stronger signs of thrift than our own. That I may not, however undesignedly, misrepresent her testimony, I give her own words:

"During a long residence in China, as the wife of a missionary, I have been accustomed to Chinese servants. I know the peace and comfort possible with them. One cook served us during the entire twenty years we lived in China. I have made many efforts to secure good and needed service from the help found in this land. I have given four years' patient trial to those of every nationality, not excepting our own. I have paid the highest usual wages, have planned my work with a view to my servants' comfort, have treated them with courtesy and kindness, keeping in mind the Golden Rule, have paid them promptly, and, in return, have only asked that they do properly the work they have agreed to perform. But all in vain! Not one has seemed to feel under the slightest obligation to give any fair return for wages received, or to have the slightest regard to my interests. Untidiness, badly-cooked food, waste, breakage, impertinence and disobedience have exhausted my purse and my patience, and imperiled the comfort and health of myself and my family.

"Notwithstanding the fact that in China our servants loved us and left our employ reluctantly, I might still think that in some way I am unwittingly to blame for this unhappy state of affairs, had I not found, in a very extended acquaintance in this country, that my experience is simply that of a large majority of the housekeepers of this land. . . .

"Therefore . . . I earnestly petition that you will make an

exception to the anti-Chinese law in my favor, and allow me to import a Chinese servant. It is the only solution of the problem of housekeeping in this country now."

Is it possible to misrepresent or to misunderstand the significance of this statement—all the more significant because it is unintended testimony? In this Christian country private virtues are so submerged beneath ingratitude, selfishness, dishonesty, extravagance, impertinence, disobedience, that we fly for refuge to the peace, comfort, fidelity, love, found only in heathen character and heathen service.

These are high qualities. They are Scripturally stamped as a preparatory course for the kingdom of Heaven. When John the Baptist came preaching in the wilderness: Repent ye: for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand, he preached exactly the Gospel that Mrs. Baldwin craves. The way of the Lord which he prepared was precisely the way that Mrs. Baldwin had had for twenty years in China.

"Repent ye: for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand!" thundered the stern ascetic.

"What shall we do, then?" cried the poor, selfish, but startled people.

"He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none." Charity.

And the corrupt, extortionate, alarmed tax-gatherers cried:

"What shall we do?"

One look into their rapacious and hated faces, and the answer was: "Exact no more than that which is appointed you!" Justice, Honesty.

"What shall we do?" cried the cruel, turbulent, tyrannical soldiers.

"Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely, and be content with your wages." Fidelity, Obedience.

No adherence to creed, no change of faith, no form of worship, but to each man this forerunner of Christ preached faithful performance of work; faithful discharge of daily and hourly duty; continued resistance by each man of his own peculiar temptations.

Who can doubt that if John the Baptist should come preaching in the wilderness of Mrs. Baldwin's American kitchen: "Repent ye: for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand," and if repentant Bridget should ask, "What shall I do?" he would say:

"Destroy not the range by over-heaping up the coal, and send in the coffee hot."

And if Katy ask: "What shall I do?" his answer would be:

"Thoroughly air the beds and let not dust and lint gather beneath them."

And if James should ask: "What shall I do?" he would reply:

"See that the vestibule and steps are kept clean, and do not nick the china." For this is the John Baptist way of making straight the paths of the Lord. Does not Professor Phelps himself see that this Chinese civilization, which by its honesty, fidelity, gratitude, love, has given to Mrs. Baldwin's home twenty years of peace and comfort, must be in the line of redemption; is the same sort of preparation for the kingdom of Heaven that John the Baptist preached in the wilderness of Judea; meets exactly the tests which Professor Phelps imposed; by signs of thrift in private virtues, by excellence in individual character, seems to be prophetic of Christianity; seems in its practical application of the maxim of Confucius: "Do not unto others as you would not that others should do unto you," to give not only a hint, but an exemplification of the Christian revelation: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them"?

It is true that one swallow does not make a summer, but a Baldwin swallow makes just as much of a summer as does a Hamlin swallow. The lifetime of one person is very short in which to judge the progressive tendency of civilization, but it is no shorter for an upward than for a downward grade. It furnishes no less time for a nascent than for a decadent decision. It remains that two equal facts meet face to face, and bid each other stand. Of two intelligent, experienced Christian missionaries, one declares that heathendom is developing no power toward improvement, no sign of ever having been in the line of redemption, no hint of preparation for Christianity. The other declares that the only solution of a great problem of Christianity is the immediate introduction of heathendom.

GAIL HAMILTON.

# WHY AM I A CHURCHMAN?

## II.

See how it is repeated again and again! "Train this Christian child for Christ." Teach him forms of sound words, for "the words of the wise are as goads" to pierce the heart; teach him forms of sound words, for they shall be as "nails fastened by the masters of assemblies," which shall strengthen and confirm the trembling desire to live the Christian life. And then, by and by, when sufficient age has brought maturity of understanding and of purpose, when mind and heart have mastered the elements of Christian truth, when the birthright conferred in infancy has been realized, then bring the boy into the great congregation that he may be there invested with his Christian "toga virilis;" let the maiden rejoicingly come with her fellows to be welcomed as the handmaiden of the Lord, while the Bishop's hands onlaid shall be visible sign that God's fatherly hand shall protect in time to come, as in the days that are gone, even that God to whom the Bishop prays for their defending. Then week after week, when the first day has come, the sacred feast is spread to which all are bidden, that taking the Holy Sacrament, they may have new and more loving remembrance of the death of their Lord, receive new pledge of the love that will save them, "be filled with His grace and heavenly benediction and made one body with Him, that He may dwell in them and they in Him." See that this Church erects no barrier about the holy table, save only those which the Lord Himself did build. "Repent ye truly for your sins past; have a lively and steadfast faith in Christ our Saviour; amend your lives, and be in perfect charity with all men; so shall ye be meet partakers of these holy mysteries." No confession is demanded either in the secrecy of the confessional box, or in the noisy excitement of the class-room. If a man cannot quiet his own conscience, as an earnest Christian man surely ought to be able to do, then he may

come to some minister of God's word and open his grief, "*that he may receive such godly counsel and advice as may tend to the quieting of his conscience, and the removal of all scruple and doubtfulness.*" I emphasize these words of the Church because of the unwarrantable vagaries on this subject of a few of her Ministers, who have caused great sorrow to many hearts by their perilous approach to the enforced confessional of Rome, and have given great occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme. The good physician of souls will administer a remedy called for by disease, even though the remedy be dangerous, but he will not encourage or permit that its use become habitual.

And I would call attention to the fact that neither in the Liturgy nor in the Articles is there presented any theory of the nature and operation of the Holy Sacrament. The Master said to His disciples, "This is My body," "This is My blood," and He commanded the eating and drinking in remembrance of Him. His Apostle S. Paul wrote to the church at Corinth (I. Cor. x. 16, R. V.): "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a communion (participation in) of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a communion (participation in) of the body of Christ?" Therefore the Church uses like phraseology in the act of administration, and in her Article (xxviii.) sets forth her belief "that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ; and likewise the cup of blessing is a participation of the blood of Christ." But here is nor theory nor exposition. What was done in the beginning, that she does; what was believed in the beginning, that she would believe; and to this end will employ as terms of description only the words given her by the Apostle. But she will add to protect this ancient unexplained confession in word and act, her protest against the denial which pretended explanation makes. "Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of the bread and wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ, but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions."

And so of every other utterance in reference to the Holy Sacrament; it is negative rather than positive, a defense of the ancient reality against the degrading exposition which would make it only a sign, or the no less degrading exaltation of the sign into the

thing signified. She comes not to broach theories, but to witness to a fact, and to offer that fact for man's salvation. Let each child have his own theory within the limits of protection she has set, but let all eat the precious food that they may live thereby.

Such the system of training from the cradle to the grave. She consecrates with the cross sign the newly born; she teaches the infant tongue to lisp words of prayer and praise; her hands are laid in benediction upon the kneeling knight ere he sets forth upon his life quest; her hands feed him with the heavenly food; her voice speaks gladness at the wedding feast, sympathy and comfort in the chamber of the dying, and proclaims the certain and sure hope of resurrection as she stands by the grave of the dead. Her system is to make the Spirit of Christ the atmosphere of human life, by taking her place by man's side at every step of his way. The earthquake and the storm may be needed once and again to disintegrate the rocks and renew the soil; but the sweet influences of sun and shade, of the dew and the frost, silent, regular, constant,—these bring the joy to the harvest's master.

And I may not forget to mention, that as part of her inheritance of the ancient wisdom, she has that device of marvelous beauty, the Christian year, wherein the seasons are made to move round about the Son of God as the central power, and thereby of necessity the people must hear, as the months pass by, all the counsel of God. No one phase of the Christian truth may be forever presented to the exclusion of all others, for whatever be the preacher's prepossession, he must in the Church's service present them all—nay, his sermons will be suggested by the season. He could not preach of the cross and the grave while the little children are singing their praises at the manger-cradle; nor could the coldest philosophic intelligence discourse of abstract virtue when he has just read the lessons, the prayers, the Gospel, all full of the one thought of Him who as on that day "was contented to be betrayed and delivered into the hands of wicked men, and to suffer death upon the cross." The Church year is a mighty weapon to defend the analogy of the faith, but more precious still as an object-lesson in the life of the Lord Jesus.

But realizing, as does this Anglican Church, the outline I had formed of the church of my desire, having a Ministry armed with the authority of long descent, and ordered for unity and effective service, teaching a doctrine simple and definite, but silent and

giving liberty in all that Scripture has not made essential, honoring Scripture as the supreme tribunal, yet holding fast the ancient usages to which only herself bears witness, having a system incomparable for the training of the child, the education of the race, can I yet hope that she may become the centre of long-desired unity, the possible rendezvous of disordered Christianity? Why not? True that if the Anglican Church be but a department of the British goverment, and if her rightful autonomy in America and the colonies of Great Britain must be forever surrendered to the unhappy precedents afforded by a Church "by law established," then were there no hope that ever she shall become the peacemaker among the alienated sisters. That such is her natural and inevitable condition seems to be suggested, most unfairly as I conceive, by the giant divine, who recently in this REVIEW gave his reasons for being a Presbyterian. He is elaborating the point that "Presbyterianism is well adapted to work on a line parallel with that of the civil institutions in the United States." He begins: "Election of officers by the people—*an element which the Anglican Church in England largely ignores.*" The italics are ours. I must call attention to this one sentence, and ask why it was thrust, by parenthesis, into an argument where it has no place. What possible connection with the democracy of Presbyterianism can be found in a statement that the Anglican Church in England largely ignores election of its officers by the people? Was it introduced to suggest that the Anglican Church in America is equally guilty of undemocratic practice; that, being prelatical, it must be aristocratic; that it is not possible for the ancient polity to conform itself to our new conditions? If so, why not say so, except that the Protestant Episcopal Church in America has proven that the Constitution of the Church of Christ was made for all men in all ages, for it has adapted itself perfectly to the environment of a republic; nay, it did but return to that which was in the beginning. It is a free Church in a free State, untrammeled in its development because entangled by no alliance with the State, and perhaps the best description of its constitution would be a *representative federal republic.* A Parish is made up of independent Christian men whose affairs are managed by a Vestry of their own choosing. This Vestry elects the Rector and provides for his support, and in spiritual things only has he control. Delegates chosen by the Vestry, together with the Rector,

represent the Parish in the Council or Convention of the Diocese. The Diocesan Council elects its representative to the National Convention wherein all Dioceses have equal voice, and where the Bishops sitting as a separate house are a coequal branch, as is the Senate of the United States. Wherein is there violation of republican principle? Is it that the Bishops receive their authority to rule and to ordain, not from the people, but from other Bishops? Is it that the ordination of Ministers is reserved to the Bishops, and that the people have no part therein? The people do have a part, for no Bishop can ordain any man until he has been approved by a certain number of Clergy and of Laymen. The people do have a voice equal to that of the Clergy in the choice of their Bishop. But the power to ordain is lodged exclusively in the hands of the Bishop, like as in another system it is lodged in the hands of the Presbytery. It must be so, for only so can, as we have seen, the corporate life of the Church be perpetuated and the continuous witness borne. It must be so, *for so hath the Lord ordained.* This, then, brings us to consider the ordinance of the Lord Jesus Christ in the establishment of His Church, as revealed to us in Holy Scripture and in the history of that Church; for it matters not what may be our prepossessions and desires, what the seeming fitness of particular modes of operation: the question of questions is, Has the Lord made any appointment, and if so, what? The answer to this question demands a volume, rather than the few pages of this article which I have left for its statement. But the volumes are at hand, setting forth in ample detail the argument for our position, and making reply to the objections urged against its stability. I shall attempt but to indicate the points which our Doctors have thoroughly elaborated. But I will venture to commend to the special attention of any who may be interested in the discussion, a recent publication entitled, "PLAIN FOOTPRINTS; OR, DIVERS ORDERS TRACED IN THE SCRIPTURES," by the REV. HEMAN R. TIMLOW. This author presents the whole question fairly, logically, and satisfactorily, in smallest compass.

Confessedly the Church of the early days was distinguished for its piety and zeal. It is hardly credible that, within a century after the death of the Apostles, there could have been any serious departure from their teaching and practice as to any matter of consequence. It is well-nigh impossible that within this period, for

example, the order of Church government which they established, and which as already existing is alluded to in the New Testament, can have been completely overthrown and replaced by another.

"If, then, it can be proved that the Episcopate appears in the early age of the Church, and before corruptions from Apostolic simplicity and purity prevailed, we see not how its Scriptural origin can be denied."—"Footprints," p. 7.

Now, then, Mr. Timlow summons as witnesses the leaders of non-Episcopal religious bodies, and we will hear their testimony. Dr. Schaff, in his "Apostolic Church," asserts that

"The impartial reader must allow that *this phraseology* (of St. John's language in the addresses to the angels of the seven churches) of *the Apocalypse already looks toward the idea of Episcopacy in its primitive form;* that is, to a monarchical concentration of governmental power in one person, bearing a patriarchal relation to the congregation, and responsible in an eminent sense for the spiritual condition of the whole. This view is confirmed by the fact that among the immediate disciples of John we find at least one—Polycarp—who, according to the unanimous tradition of Irenæus (his own disciple, himself a Bishop), of Tertullian, Eusebius, and Jerome, was by Apostolical appointment, actually Bishop of Smyrna, one of the seven churches of the Apocalypse. . . . And we assuredly have much in favor of the hypothesis so ingeniously and learnedly set forth of late by Dr. Rothe, that *the germs of Episcopacy are to be found as early as the close of the first century*, and particularly in the sphere of the later labors of St. John. . . . At all events, *it needs a strong infusion of skepticism or of traditional prejudice to enable one in the face of these facts and witnesses to pronounce the Episcopal government of the ancient church a sheer apostasy from the Apostolic form, and a radical revolution.*"

In a later edition of this work, Dr. Schaff says:

"The institution of Episcopacy cannot be traced to the Apostolic age, so far as *documentary* evidence goes, but is very apparent and well-nigh universal about the middle of the second century."

Dr. Fisher of New Haven, in his "Beginnings of Christianity" (p. 379), says:

"All candid scholars must concede that the *Episcopal arrangement in the form described may be traced back to the very verge of the Apostolic age, if not beyond; and that early in the second century it had become widely established.*"

He adds, that accepting the genuineness of the shorter Greek epistles of Ignatius, as he does,

"we must allow that the precedence of the bishop was an established feature in the polity of the Churches of Antioch and Asia Minor, *in the first decade of the second century.*"

In another place, he says:

"Irenæus, who wrote in the last quarter of the second century, knows of no different organization of the Church, as having ever existed . . . and Irenæus,

it should be observed, was a youth in the middle of the second century." (He was born about A.D. 130.)

Mosheim, in his "Historical Commentaries" (vol. i., p. 170), says:

". . . it appears to me that the bare consideration alone of the state of the Church in its infancy must be sufficient to convince any rational, unprejudiced person, that the Order of Bishops could not have originated at a period considerably more recent than that which gave birth to Christianity itself."

Hase ("History," sec. 59) refers to the alleged ecclesiastical change as occurring *at about the close of the Apostolic age,* and cites Ignatius to show that it was at that time held that "the Episcopate was the divinely appointed pillar which sustains the whole ecclesiastical fabric."

Neander ("History," vol i., pp. 190–1) traces the rise of the Episcopate to near the time "dividing the first and second centuries."

The Rev. Dr. Hill of Scotland ("Divinity," p. 7) says:

"Allowing there is a chasm of many years after the Apostles in which there is no evidence of a succession of persons having these peculiar powers, ascribed to bishops, yet it is certain that the history of the Christian Church presents to every observer that form of government which is called Episcopal."

And Gibbon in his famous "fifteenth chapter" says:

"The advantages of the Episcopal form of government, *which appears to have been introduced before the end of the first century,* were so obvious, etc."

Such the testimony which affirms that the Episcopate was established in the age immediately succeeding that of the Apostles, so near, as to be probably, if not necessarily, connected with that age. Can I believe that on "the verge of the Apostolic age" the Church should upset wholly the ordinance of Christ and His Apostles; that the holiest Christians, martyrs many of them, should submit to the overthrow of principles and methods which came from the Master himself, and that there should be absolutely not a syllable of record to tell of such revolution?

No, if "divers orders" existed then, they must have existed from the beginning, for as Dr. Woods says ("Lectures on Church Government," p. 78):

"Christians who lived at that time, and some of whom had even been personally acquainted with the Apostles, undoubtedly knew what the mind of the Apostles was."

But, say the objectors, granting that Episcopacy was thus uni-

versal before the middle of the second century, still in the beginning it was not so, and the Bishop is but a development of the president or moderator of the presbytery, under the influence of pride and ambition. The chairman of a local Presbytery of equals is first voted to be moderator for life, and then usurps all power and becomes a Bishop! But note the difficulties in the way of accepting this theory. We do but suggest them, and again refer to Mr. Timlow's most admirable exposition of their force.

(1.) The absolute silence of all primitive history as to any fundamental change in the constitution of the Ministry.

(2.) The theory is incapable of proof by confession of the leading minds who adopt it—*e. g.*, Schaff, Neander, and others.

(3.) When did this great ecclesiastical revolution take place?

(4.) Why do we not find two ecclesiastical systems struggling for supremacy?

(5.) All the circumstances of the case make such an ecclesiastical apostasy incredible.

(6.) No names of those engaged in it have come down to us.

(7.) The universality of the change within the time specified is incredible.

(8.) Can we believe that the Presbyters tolerated that some of their equals should be constituted a new and superior order with supreme authority? Can we believe that they were silently submissive to the ambition of the chairman of the Presbytery, to the extent of sacrificing what Christ and his Apostles instituted, and of depriving themselves of their most valued rights and privileges? Did *ruling elders* patiently suffer themselves to be deprived of all their rights as rulers, and become simple members, while at the same time another class of Laymen called Deacons are advanced beyond them to become a grade of the Ministry?

(9.) Is it to be believed that *no attempt* was ever made in later councils to restore primitive principles and ways?

(10.) Why does *no writer* of the early Church refer to this change as illustrating the spiritual declension of the times?

(11.) Why do not heretics, apostates and pagan enemies refer to it as justifying their opposition to the gospel? Especially is this strange when we know that ancient defenders of the faith constantly appealed to the Apostolic succession of the Bishops of the Church, as ground for accepting their teaching, and challenged

the heretics and schismatics to produce like evidence of their authority.

(12.) Are we to believe that the outward form of the Church was lost until the sixteenth century; that for centuries there was not an office or an officer as the Lord had appointed; that for 1500 years the gates of hell did prevail against the Church?

Such are the difficulties in the way of accepting the theory by which alone it is sought to explain the Order of the Church of Christ which history "presents to the observer."

But again, the demand is heard, "What saith the Scripture?" For "the Bible and the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants." It is conceded by all that the Holy Scripture does not explicitly prescribe a form of Church government. It is equally conceded that in the beginning, as recorded in the New Testament, there were three classes of officers in the Church—Apostles, Presbyters and Deacons. Was a change then made when the Apostles passed away? There is no record of such supposed alteration, and therefore I believe that none was designed or effected. Have these three orders existed in the Church "from the Apostles' times?" I maintain that from the silence of Scripture as to any change, and from the history of their continued distinct existence, we may answer, "Yes." Well says Dr. Schaff that

> "The Episcopal and Presbyterian controversy turns ultimately upon the question whether the office of the apostles and their delegates had a permanent or merely a temporary character."

The learned writer in this REVIEW to whom I have already referred, settles the question by a parenthesis (p. 563)—"(The Apostles, in the nature of things, could have no successors)." I ask most respectfully, in the name of 1900 years of belief to the contrary, why not? I read that standing on the Mount of Ascension the Master spoke to *eleven men*, the commandment to go and evangelize the nations, to teach all that he had commanded; and the added promise, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." No other order of Ministers yet existed; these all to whom He spake were Apostles, is not the natural interpretation of His promise that he will be with them, and the successors in their office to the end of the days?

I read that St. Paul declares himself an Apostle, *not of men, neither by men*, but by Jesus Christ, which seems to imply that there were Apostles who have been made such by man. I read that

"Apostles" are among the enumerated gifts of Christ to his Church (Eph. iv. 11–13), which would indicate their continuance. I read that Deacons were appointed to relieve the Apostles of some duties they had discharged, that they might give themselves continually to other duties. If Deacons are a permanent order, why not the Apostles whom they are appointed to help? And above all, why is it never intimated that the Apostolate was to cease? But, says Dr. Hall, "the Apostles, *in the nature of things*, could have no successors." We suppose "*the nature of things*" was described by the Westminster divines when they declared the Apostolate temporary, because (1) "The Apostles were immediately called by Christ;" *but Matthias was not so called.* (2) "They had seen Christ, and so were personal witnesses of Christ's resurrection." But is not this a qualification necessary for the particular *work* of that time rather than for the *office?*

Unquestionably it was the former, but if it was also the latter did St. Paul possess it? True, he saw the Lord after his resurrection, but we do not know that he ever saw him before his crucifixion; and we do know that he had not "companied with them" from the time of John's baptism until the Ascension.

(3.) "They were endowed with the spirit of infallibility in delivering truth." Then were Mark and Luke Apostles, because they shared this gift?

(4.) "They had power to give the Holy Ghost," but so apparently had Ananias (Acts, ix. 17).

(5.) "They had the power of miracles." But in St. Mark, xvi. 17–18, we are told that this power shall be given unto "*them that believe.*" Alas! if this test shall try all discipleship!

Again, I repeat that all these supposed qualifications for the *office* are rather those for the peculiar *work* to be done, and so do not settle the question as to the permanency of the office in the Church.

And the records of the New Testament furnish examples of the extended Apostolate which do determine it. (1) Matthias was ordained into the room of the traitor, and according to St. Luke, *writing thirty years after the event,* "he was numbered with the eleven Apostles" (Acts, i. 26). (2) St. Paul. (3) "James the Lord's brother," whom St. Paul calls an Apostle (Gal., i. 19). (4) Barnabas, whom St. Luke describes by the same term which he applies to St. Paul (Acts, xiv. 14). (5) Timothy, who (1 Thess., i. 1 and ii. 6) is called an Apostle by St. Paul, and to whom is committed

the authority to ordain, to govern, to discipline the Elders, with never a mention of any local authority with equal powers. (6) Titus, who is left in Crete *to ordain Elders* (Titus, i. 5).

Let these suffice without mention of others called Apostles, or of the Angels of the Churches in Asia Minor. To these men was given the authority to ordain, and to these only, "called to be Apostles," for this distinctive duty was never transferred to another office, so far as history discloses.

The challenge of Hooker is still unanswered. "We require you to find out but one Church upon the face of the whole earth that hath been ordered by your discipline, or hath not been ordered by ours—that is to say, by Episcopal regimen—since the time the blessed Apostles were here conversant."—(E. P., Pref., sec. 4.)

Or, as it is put even more plainly by the writer we have so often quoted: "Show us the 'Presbytery' that had not an Apostle as a member. Show us a scriptural 'Presbytery' of which a Presbyter is declared to be a member. Cite a text that gives authority to a Presbyter to ordain. Cite an instance of ordination by a Presbyter alone. Cite a text that even implies a transfer of right to Presbyters to ordain. Until this is done, we will insist that Apostles only and their successors have the power to perpetuate the Ministry."

Because then I see and feel *à priori* the need of a Ministry with authority transmitted in unbroken line from the Apostles; because I learn from ancient authors and from Holy Scripture that the organization made by Christ was never changed—that Apostles, Elders, and Deacons still constitute His Ministry, with which is His covenanted presence; therefore I am a Churchman.

Were there time, I would love to set forth how from the Church of the earliest days, and because of her descent from her, the Anglican Church has learned to witness to the One Faith; how from the beginning has been demanded as the confession in baptism, only that Apostles' Creed which the Anglican Church repeats as her battle cry; how from the beginning has been granted the liberty of religious opinion which the Anglican Church still protects; and how from the beginning the same system of training by catechism, and liturgy, and sacrament has been the use of the Church. But I may not marvel at such unbroken continuity of practice and belief, at the conservative grasp of all ancient truth and the elastic adaptability to every environment, for I remember the promise, "Lo, I am with you alway."

Because then, in a word, like the men who gladly received the word on the day of Pentecost, I would "continue steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in the breaking of the bread and the prayers," therefore I am a Churchman.

T. U. DUDLEY.

# EDUCATIONAL METHODS.

SINCE the differences and divergencies in personality are almost as diverse and multiplicative as the atoms comprising the universe, there can be only foolhardiness and failure in any attempt at formulating a general system for mental training. None, however generous, can be made sufficiently catholic to cope with recognizable needs. Schools and colleges, except in a few isolated cases, can, at best, only lay the foundation of what may, afterward, by individual effort, become sound and practical mental culture.

Each person has tastes, aspirations, and needs, which are peculiar to that person. No two persons were ever exactly alike, physically—a fact which every one who thinks at all must readily grant. And close scrutiny and comparison would soon convince the veriest skeptic that these outward dissimilarities are even much greater than casual observance makes them seem. Yet, the man who would accept this truth concerning physical differences, without criticism or challenge, would do combat against any one who dared declare that there were still vaster and wider mental divergencies. This latter fact is rarely, if ever, taken into earnest consideration by those to whom the culture of undeveloped minds is intrusted. Young people who are the offspring of such antagonistic or otherwise markedly varying classes that they cannot, possibly, hold any aim, interest, or ambition in common, are, when it comes to a matter of mental training, melted, as it were, and then run into the same mold.

The process is like that of raveling a large number of shawls, mixing the fibres, and then weaving the whole mass of material into one tremendous piece of goods. The total weight is unchanged, and there are, also, the same number of square feet of woven goods. Cut them up, if you like, into the same number of shawls you originally had,—but here the merest semblance of the former condition of things is at an end. Each shawl is like its former self

only in size and weight. The respective personality of each is destroyed; each retaining only in part the elements which lent it distinction from the others; neither possessing any attribute which all the others cannot also boast. All are now brought upon nearly a common level, but originality is slain, and there is general demoralization.

Some of the shawls, in the beginning, were of cotton; some were of linen; some were of fine silk. The proportion of silk was less than that of linen, and that of linen less than that of cotton. So the value of the shawls of silk was most harmed. In each shawl, now, there is a preponderance of cotton, a wee bit of silk, and a quantity of linen about midway between the two. The coarser substance loses, rather than gains by contrast, by its alliance with the finer; and the other, the linen, is about equally harmed by the splendor of the one and the meanness of the other. The silk is marred and tarnished by both.

In their primal condition, as silk, linen, and cotton, each had a place and a value in the economy of life; contact, association, amalgamation, have so wrought upon the elements which accorded value to each, in the abstract, that neither have practical worth now until the separation of respective particles is again made, and each is once more resolved into something as near as possible like its primal condition of individuality.

But there is still something to be deplored: the cotton is no longer content to be its humble self, having been companion with the linen and the silk; the linen, permeated with the fibre of the cotton, and dazzled with the lustre of the silk, laments that it is neither the one nor the other, but a mere convenient medium between the two instead; while in the silk there still hangs and lingers the common odor of the linen and the cotton.

Children born into one sphere are constantly and persistently being reminded of their utter unlikeness to the children of all other spheres, except in matters of education: croaking and moralizing are perpetually given to matters of little moment, compared with mental training, wherein their ways are different from the ways of others. Food, dress, deportment—really all things of minor consideration—are taken gravely into account; but, when it comes to shaping processes of thought, there is no radical difference between the training of the son of a king and the son of a peasant, or the son of a savant and the son of a mechanic. Socially,

in matters of taste, in every other thing but this one thing, it is admitted that there is, between them, not only no sympathy, but the most imperfect resemblance; while in this, perhaps the most vital of all of their manifold interests, it seems to be taken for granted that they are met upon one plane.

More particularly, however, than to class distinctions, do I refer to the more important—because more dangerous—degrees, conditions, and differences of mentality.

It is granted, with the utmost readiness, that in matured and developed minds there exists an element, which, for want of a more clearly descriptive term, we call individuality. In young people, on the other hand, it seems to be the generally accepted conclusion that the existence of this characteristic is impossible. When individuality, however, *is* recognized in youth, it rarely meets with anything else than the most unflagging and tireless efforts to destroy and quench it—as if it was a thing so terrible and sinister that it menaced church, state, and all great and high human interests.

The sole aim and object seems to be to make something else of the youthful mind than that which it really is. A gentle, sensitive child, of dreamy, poetic temperament, and modest reticence, is scoffed, sneered, and bullied into an artificial creature of coldness and indifference. If he is modest, no effort is left unmade to break in upon that. If he is independent and fearless, battle is done for the breaking and subversion of his will. The paramount purpose, as I have already said, is, if one may be permitted to pass judgment upon what is, on every hand, plainly before one's eyes, to obliterate, wherever it may be existent, every spark, gleam, and trace of individuality and originality.

While this, of course, is not really the purpose of instructors, it is, in most cases, the main result of their labor. Instructors are not, of themselves, so vastly wrong; the system which they follow is where the fault is, and this cannot be changed until more than one hand is uplifted against it.

The very thought of class-drill or instruction, which is wholly incorrect, is in itself abominable and abhorrent to any thinking youth. The forcing of common studies after a general fashion, upon all children, is the blackest crime of the intellectual world. It is a kind of murder—far worse, too, than that which is generally called murder, since *that* mercifully releases the mind from

the hampering flesh, and is the ending, rather than the beginning, of misery.

The hardest, bitterest, and most degenerating task that is the lot of every man and woman, is the unlearning in maturer years of the bulk of that which is taught them as children, and the shaking off, too, of the hindering and obstructing manacles of system, fashion, and method. The emancipator of man and woman from this most direful, unbearable, and disastrous of all bondage, will win for himself more lasting glory than has yet been awarded to any emancipator of other slaves.

But all the wrong is not with the educational system. The social system is also at fault. It is here, in fact, where most of the wrong and evil lie; it is here where they start; it is here where the first wrong step is taken; it is here whence sanction, encouragement, promulgation are drawn. Parents direct the feet of children into paths which lead into something worse than the Valley of Death.

The parental intent is honest, grand—even magnanimous and sublime; but its attributes, great and noble as they are, dwindle into senseless abjection before the awful force and sway of custom. In blind adherence to method, and in the still blinder hope that its workings will, after all, set everything straight in the end, fathers and mothers begin, abet, and enforce upon their children the very rigmarole which perplexed and embittered their own youthful days. They, in the light of matured reason, suffer those who are sprung from them to sweat and smart in the taking up of burdens, which, in after years, can only be put down with grief and vexation. "Our parents," they argue, "did this thing for us, because it was best. If it was right for us, it must also be right for our children." The world is old, but it is not so very wise, after all.

In a single family are three sons. One has tastes and inclinations toward being an artisan; another is enraptured by the sublimities of theology, and the third, being most strongly appealed to by nature, bows before the shrine of art.

Beyond the merest rudiments and principles, they have, because of dissimilarity of their tastes, no educational needs in common. And yet, each is forced to enter and go through the same treadmill. The artist is driven through a perplexing course of mathematics; the artisan, all because of custom and precedent,

must distract and bewilder himself with ethics, and the theologian's sacred studies are broken in upon with much which is quite as foreign to his purposes and uses. It is the silk, the linen and the cotton all over again; that is all. Each imbibes much which the manner of his life compels him, sooner or later, to discard.

The pursuit of unnecessary studious research and investigation is not only a waste of energy and time, but it not unfrequently brings about the inception and evolution of new traits and elements in a student's nature which, in some measure, spoils all the world for him.

A man or woman whose lines happen to be cast where there is no occasion for their taking any part in the great business and machinery of the universe, can, perhaps, afford to follow time-honored customs, and stem the formidable tide of studies which every one is expected to master in some degree. But he or she whose fate it is to take an active part in human affairs cannot, logically, give any portion of the time set apart for preparation to that which can never be of any actual value in the sphere for which preparation is made.

A practical education, as things are now ordered, can only be acquired by private study and special application, long after one's school-days are done. It is then that a full realizing sense of the shallow and superficial inadequacy of mental training, according to present standards, is first arrived at. In the abstract, I have no plans to suggest. I can only deplore the unhappy condition of things.

Those who make a business of mental training may, if they choose, be able to make a practical application of what I have scarcely more than hinted at. Wedded as they are, however, to custom and habit, it is doubtful if they will do aught else than sneer at what they will, most likely, call an old woman's vagaries. Yet, the day will come when individual needs will determine and shape all of that which in any way pertains to the education of immature and undeveloped men and women. It cannot be otherwise. I doubt that the world will always stand still in this respect, any more than it has always stood still in other respects.

If, as men argue, and as I, also, believe, this is a progressive age, progress must eventually affect this, as much as it has already affected other departments in life. Individual needs must wield a swaying power at last. The time is bound to come when

the recognition and fostering of distinctly characteristic traits is made the first and gravest consideration of those to whose lot the education of the young falls.

The only reason of this long and awful night is because the absurdity of it has not yet been seen. Whenever the eyes of the blind old world are opened to anything considerable, changes are quickly made.

In the face and eyes of countless other reforms, wherein the abandonment of old customs came about, this hideous relic of barbarism remains. Its record is a record of crimes against the Giver of the Law which bade man do all things with his might. It has made the soldier a priest, and the priest a knave. It has made the artist a tradesman, and the sailor a merchant. It has sapped genius and suckled artificiality. It has, everywhere, stunted, dwarfed, slaughtered the best, and nourished, fed, and applauded the worst. And its awful carnage-dyed wheels must yet dissever many another fair neck before the appetite of the monster who drives the sacrificial car is sated.

To ask the mason to learn the trade of the painter would be counted absurd; to command the farmer to master the craft of the iron-founder, as an essential step, preparatory to learning the management of his crops, would merit the same characterization. And yet the same thing, this same acquiring of the valueless and the unnecessary, is constantly going on wherever mental training is essayed.

It is argued that the study of these cumbering elements and branches is essential to the development of the mind. It is also admitted that the exhaustion of any one branch of knowledge is a practical impossibility. Since mental development is, of course, a result of study, what matters it whether few or many branches are employed for this purpose? Why not bend all of one's energies upon the investigation of the branches which are to play large parts in one's life, ignoring anything beyond an elementary knowledge of the others? The chemist does not need a knowledge of horse-shoeing, nor the botanist a knowledge of surgery. Why, then, should the best years of every one's life be thus foolishly and aimlessly frittered away in the pursuit of the useless and the irrelevant?

GEORGE SAND.

# LESSONS OF THE NEW YORK CITY ELECTION.

## I.

### THE REPUBLICAN VIEW.

FIRST freedom, then wisdom. The scales have fallen from the eyes of fifty thousand voters in New York City; if they learn to use their sense of sight, they will vote more wisely after a time than they did November 2d. They have escaped from bondage to halls and rings; as they gain wisdom, they will not submit instead to a bondage of unions. It is a good thing that they have learned that the city government is what they and other workers have made it. Their votes for political jobbers, their blind devotion to a party name, have made bad government easy in New York; they will learn in time that blind obedience even to their own unions means government not for the greatest good of the greatest number.

It looked to many like a volcanic outburst, destructive and fatal. Socialism gave a lurid tinge to its oratory; Anarchists floated on the crest of the wave. Appeals to the House of Want against the House of Have, it was feared, would kindle in this country the flames that destroyed Paris. But the generalship of irreproachable phrases and unlimited pipe-clay is not the sort that carries the forlorn hope over the deadly breach. One must not infer that a revolutionary leader would be fiery in speech and unguarded in plan, if burdened with the responsibilities of power. The logical tendency of this outburst was against Anarchy. The shrill scream only gave warning that the safety valve was opened in good time. Men who had not learned that in this country the ballot rules, and that the majority at the polls is also the majority when it comes to blows, have ceased to think of guns and bombs since they have seen that by the ballot, and only by the ballot, can real or fancied evils in this country be remedied. Anarchy lost its battle when Labor began to organize.

Of those who had most faith that the sober sense of American workers would suppress every lawless impulse, many dreaded the power of the Trades Unions. More than once unwise and unjust, in previous struggles, the Unions had come to be feared as enemies of employers, rather than as enemies of abuses. Their tendency, it was thought, was to array labor against capital in a warfare hurtful to both. If Unions are to dictate how men shall vote, it was asked, wherein are these men more free than the mere slaves of party? But the only freedom that is of any use is inside the man. When he ceases to worship a democratic party as the African does his fetich, and begins to use his own eyes, a worker can soon judge for himself whether a Trades Union leads him for his own good or for his harm.

At all events, the leadership of the Unions, if sometimes mistaken, is infinitely better than slavery to the pot-house politicians who rule only to rob. Given 100,000 workers, blindly Democratic, and 10,000 officials and hirelings to pack Democratic caucuses, with 10,000 or 20,000 saloon voters to put votes where the money is spent, and the inevitable net result is a conspiracy to plunder the people by means of their own votes. The 100,000 workers do not want to be plundered. But their votes made the Tweed Ring possible; their votes made Thompson and Squire, the bribed Aldermen, and the officials who can convict a poor man in a day, but cannot get at the cases of rich bribe-givers in six months. If law is unequal, and justice is a costly luxury, the workers' own blind partisanship has made the government what it is. If the carpenter's little home is taxed for all it is worth, while Vanderbilt's millions kindly consent to reside here on condition that forty-eight out of fifty of them shall be exempt from taxation, it is the partisanship of the workers that has made laws and officials. If the city is monopoly-ridden, the votes of labor put on the saddle and tighten the girths. If, in short, government here is not of the people, by the people, or for the people, it is because the workers have voted to have a government of the pot-houses; a government which money can buy, but which claims to own its voters as the ranchmen own their stock.

The marvel is that the volcanic eruption did not come long ago. For many years there has been scarcely the shadow of a pretense that government by the Democratic party in New York City was for the interests, or controlled by a regard for the welfare,

of the working people. The industrious worker of New York does not regard the hired runner of any party as his wisest adviser, or the saloon-keeper as his dearest friend; but he has voted the ticket made up for him by these worthies, and has called that self-government. The consequences having become burdensome, he resolves to vote for once as he pleases, and forthwith the town is in a panic, and property is besought with tears to come out and save itself from confiscation by voting for Mr. Hewitt. But it was not property that was in danger; it was only the power to get property without work. Had the workingmen elected a Mayor, they might have made many sad mistakes, from which they would have learned something, as boys learn to use edged tools. But they would have cleaned out the set of men who put Mr. Hewitt in nomination.

There was no necessity for such a choice. A larger number of the honest and industrious workers than voted for Mr. George had previously voted for Republican principles, holding them essential to the welfare of labor and the good of the country. To that belief most of them had adhered for years, though in a hopeless minority here, but in 1884 their number was swelled to at least 70,000 of the 90,000 votes for Mr. Blaine. Had these voters pleased, they could have drawn to their aid still larger reinforcements, and elected a Mayor. But it pleased some of them to support Mr. George; to transfer their strength to the smaller of the two bodies of workers which were seeking the defeat of Democratic rings. Then it pleased another fraction of the ninety thousand to think property in danger unless they supported Mr. Hewitt. So the honest workers who are Republican from conviction, and the other honest workers who have grown tired of being counted by Democratic drovers as their voting cattle, were both beaten by the rings. At least 153,000 of the votes cast in New York were the votes of industrious citizens who earn honest wages. The government ought to be for the welfare of those voters, and it is not. Perhaps 40,000 of them adhered to the Democratic party, no doubt with sincere conviction, but not one of them can make reply when asked what many years of Democratic government in this city have ever done to help workers. The conviction that Democracy has done nothing, the perception that such government was used to plunder the people, took more than 50,000 workers out of that party in a single month. Besides

47,000 Democrats who actually voted for other Democratic candidates at the same election, but did not vote for Mr. Hewitt, there were as many more as there were Republicans who did vote for him. Thus the phenomenon which has startled men is a revolt of a majority of Democratic workingmen against misgovernment by the Democratic party.

There are politicians who call it a crackling of thorns under a pot; a blazing of dead leaves and dry stubble, which cannot last. Others reckon that it will spread like a prairie fire; that it will sweep the rest of the honest workers out of the Democratic party, leaving only the official vote, the "heelers," and the saloon vote, and the vote of professional, trading, and property-owning Democrats. It will have an especially favorable opportunity in the election of delegates to the constitutional convention. But New York City does not make laws for the State or the nation. A labor party here, if it is to last, must have its roots in national issues, and its interlocking branches in other States. True, Labor elected a Congressman in Virginia and one in Wisconsin. It was barely defeated in one Chicago district, and in Mr. Carlisle's Kentucky district, if, indeed, the Knights are not right in claiming that their candidates in these two districts were counted out. It elected an Assemblyman in Paterson, and cast 6,300 votes for a Congressman in Newark. But these uprisings, like the white cloud that mounts from a working locomotive and the white cloud that hangs over an exploded magazine, though similar in appearance, differ in origin and meaning. The workingmen in this country cast a majority of the votes for each political party. If they were agreed, they could obtain what they want through either party; but they are not agreed. Putting aside other matters, the workingmen are not of one mind on the questions which most largely and permanently affect the welfare of labor. Strong convictions on certain of these questions have drawn a majority of the workingmen in Northern States into the Republican party, and until those questions are settled no labor movement which does not accord with those convictions can enlist the support of more than a minority of the workers themselves. Until colored labor at the South has adequate defense in its rights, until home industry is safe from foreign competition, Mr. George can hardly be the Joshua, or even the Moses, of a new party.

When a Richmond mob howled for blood, because Knights of

Labor had taken a colored member with them to the theatre, Mr. Powderly and other thinking men asked at once: "Would this lawless spirit give decent protection to colored workers in any contest for their rights? If not, could Northern labor afford to compete with labor virtually enslaved?" Remedy there is none, except a free ballot and an honest count for every colored as for every white laborer. But that is exactly what the great body of workingmen who make up the Republican party have urged for fifteen years in vain. Consciences made callous by excusing crimes against free suffrage at the South are now defending the forgery of returns in Ohio and Indiana, the defeat of the labor candidate by the pupils of the convict, Mackin, in Chicago, and the contemptuous treatment of workingmen who claimed their right to inspect the counting of votes in Mr. Carlisle's district, and were driven away with threats of personal violence. He will find it easier now to obtain his seat by the decision of a party majority in the House, than to convince workingmen that he was elected. What faith can a New York workingman have in any labor movement which consents to these crimes against labor? He is forced to understand what Democratic methods are, and what the supremacy of these methods at the South means for him. It means that the votes of a million workers at the South are counted only when they are of no use; that the sheriffs, judges, and other local officials are beholden to employers, but not to workers; that a strike there is a conspiracy, but a lockout is not; and that New York labor must either give to Southern labor the protection of a free ballot and a fair count, or be prepared to compete with a servitude more complete than is known in England, Germany, or France. A labor party that tries to toss this issue into the ash-barrel will go there itself.

Probably Mr. George would say, with some warmth, that he had nothing to do with the Southern question. But he has had something to do with the tariff question, and thereby has made his support impossible for a large body of workers. The labor leaders elsewhere come in with scalps at their belts, because they have defended American industry against foreign competition, and upheld the tariff under which the development of that industry has been shaped for a quarter of a century. In New York, Mr. George stands for abolition of custom-houses and unlimited free trade. To supporters who have come from the Democratic party,

with its "tariff-for-revenue-only" platforms and its Morrison bills, Mr. George may well seem the ideal statesman, who frankly marches, with head erect and eyes front, toward the goal which Democratic politicians would reach by stealthy crawling on hands and knees in the dark. But to voters who appreciate Republican ideas, Mr. George does not seem a safe leader for American labor. He tells them that protection has not helped them; they know by experience that it has doubled the number of employers and of industrial establishments in the country, lifted wages, and aided labor powerfully. Who supposes that this antagonism of convictions and aims, between great bodies of laborers, will disappear or be ignored as trivial? Mr. Powderly does not. The workers who organized to defeat Mr. Morrison, of Illinois, and Mr. Carlisle, of Kentucky, and Mr. Hurd, of Ohio, and Mr. Lawler, of Chicago, and Mr. Griffin, of Virginia, certainly do not. As diversification of industry progresses at the South and West, supporters of protection multiply. Republican gains of four members in Virginia, two in North Carolina, and two in Kentucky, like the gains of five in Ohio, four in Illinois, three in Indiana, and two in Michigan, were largely due to the growing concentration of the votes of wage-earners in support of the policy and the party to which they give credit for a material advance in wages.

A labor party cannot be firm-jointed or long-lived that does not defend Southern labor and all labor; Southern labor, by equal suffrage and faithful administration of laws, and all labor by a protective tariff adapted to the needs of industries, which such a tariff has called into being. If a labor party admits these aims as its own, it will not waste its strength in fighting against the great army of wage-earners, who for twenty years have made the Republican party what it is. The uprising which startles men is not a revolution against the Republican party or its policy. It assails no Republican measures. It asks homes for the homeless, but the homestead bill was enacted by Republicans after many years of opposition by Democrats. It is led by men intelligent enough to know that the new administration found in operation the most efficient and economical government ever known in this country. That uprising has been most victorious where it has been in harmony with Republican principles of national policy. It has been weakest where it has aimed to help only a part of American labor, has handled matters with which Trades Unions

or Knights of Labor come directly into contact, and has ignored larger issues which affect the welfare of all labor. Meanwhile, the army of American workers which seeks to elevate labor through the Republican policy is stronger than it was two years ago. Then President Cleveland had 219 electoral votes, and Mr. Blaine 192 ; this fall, States having 211 electoral votes have sustained the Republican party in the election of Congressmen, and States having only 190 have sustained the Democratic party.

The labor movement in New York prepares the way for a larger acceptance of Republican principles by the workingmen of this city and the nation. It is a breaking up of the old sod, and something well worth harvesting will grow in due season.

A REPUBLICAN.

## II.

### THE LABOR PARTY VIEW.

THE late contest for the chief municipal office of New York marks an historical epoch. The movement to elect Henry George to that office has been something exceptional, in fact, unique, in its inception, in its growth, and in its results, in the character of its originators, in the sympathies it won, and in the opposition it evoked. It has had an unprecedented effect in confusing and disabling political plans and factions ; and it has rendered inevitable, has, in fact, already begun, the disintegration and reconstruction of political parties. It is the beginning of a pacific revolution which is destined to have upon the whole world a more beneficent effect than our first Revolution and the great Declaration which gave it its justification and battle-cry.

All this was substantially said by me at the meeting in Chickering Hall a month before the election, and was then no doubt regarded by not a few as but a campaign extravagance—a mere rhapsody inspired by foolish hopefulness of the perfectibility of human society, and by a simple but absurdly enthusiastic hero-worship. Events, however, have largely justified the declaration made at that meeting.

After our mighty civil struggle had ended, with a Union restored and a race emancipated ; after the question of reconstruction had been settled, and a large part of the burdens of the war discharged ; after its deepest wounds had been healed, and even their scars obliterated, everything might have seemed to promise

a long period of unexampled national prosperity and contentment. Instead of this, a new sense of disappointment and discontent began to steal over the workers of the country. With increasing wealth, they felt the pressure of increasing want. Labor in mill and mine, on railroad and farm, became more and more conscious of a wrong, in the want of opportunity to employ itself, and in the inadequate share of the product of his toil which came back to the toiler. Maddened and blinded, the giant Labor too often struck out wildly to his own hurt, and eagerly snatched at such panaceas as "protection," urged on him by the quacks, who found profit in his ignorance. Strikes, wasteful and sometimes violent; lock-outs, long and heartless, increased and multiplied. Waves of industrial depression followed each other with a regular periodicity which suggested a law of nature. The cry was heard everywhere, "the rich were becoming richer and the poor poorer." "Hail, Columbia, happy land!" was no longer sung with the same heartiness as in the childhood of the nation, and even the Fourth of July seemed to have lost the freshness of its charm. In the reading of the magnificent assertion of the natural equality of man, and his inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, there seemed to many an undertone of mockery. But deeply as the growing wrong was felt, there was a failure to clearly see its cause. Voices many were raised in complaint, but they were now the roar of a strong lion helpless in the toils, and now the wail of a child crying in the night. There was lacking the clear articulate speech of a man who, seeing a great truth, sounds a trumpet-call to all who would taste the fierce delight of battle against wrong.

But the hour came at last, and with it the man. The Duke of Argyll spoke better than he knew, when he sneeringly called Henry George the "Prophet of San Francisco." No heart has sympathized more keenly with the sufferings of the toiler, no other pen has defined the wrong so clearly, and portrayed with such force and pathos the poverty that haunts progress like a spectre. No other voice has rung so loud and clear in calling men to take up the cross of a new crusade for justice, to proclaim the glad tidings of a new evangel to the poor, that shall relieve them from the degradation of want, and the deeper degradation of the fear of want. His cry rang forth, calling on the conscience of men to restore to the disinherited their equal share in the bounties of nature, and

thus to fit their hearts and minds the better to receive and act out the old evangel of Him, who taught the universal Fatherhood of God and the equal Brotherhood of men. The common people of old heard the Christ gladly as He preached to them the blessedness of those that hunger and thirst after justice; and in the common people of to-day the same sure instinct responds to the call for social right-doing.

What gives to the late election its deep importance is that it marks the coming of a great principle into our politics; that it is a flashing into action of sentiments that have spread and are yet spreading wide and deep throughout the land and over the world. Henry George's nomination was no accident. The working-people of New York, like their fellows throughout the country, have been reading and talking over his books, and are better acquainted with them, and have a keener appreciation of them, than most men of leisure and culture. They have learned from Henry George's teachings an effectual and peaceful method of righting their wrongs, by the reformation of law on the lines of justice. They have got from him a new hope and courage; they have learned that the remedy must be political, since the wrong is political, proceeding from enactments that give to a few that which belongs to all. Henry George has taught them that it is not desirable nor possible to divide land equally; that the right of the individual is not to an equal division, but to an equal benefit from a common ownership. Henry George has shown that the beautiful economic law of rent suggests a simple and peaceful means of giving to every human being just what belongs to him of the common estate. He shows that rent is a good, not a bad, thing; that it is a gauge of the degree of progress from semi-barbaric, nomadic conditions up to conditions of the highest civilization. He shows that economic rent—that "unearned increment" which attaches to land by reason of the growth of population and the progress of civilization—is a value produced by the social aggregate, as distinguished from the value produced by the individual, and that thus is provided, by natural law, a common fund which may be drawn on for common needs without hampering capital or oppressing labor by taxes which check production and raise prices. He shows that it is just that he who is permitted to enjoy the advantage or privilege of occupying a larger or choicer portion of the common estate than is open to another, should pay

the highest market price for this advantage: that is rent. The wrong is not in the payment of rent, but in its diversion from a common treasury into private pockets, and in the locking up of natural opportunities by the speculation which the possibility of appropriating this public revenue provokes. Henry George has taught that in this appropriation of rent by private persons, and in the forestalling which it engenders, is to be found the cause of that increasing poverty which is the dark side of progressing civilization, the true cause of the industrial depressions in which productive power is so enormously wasted, and in which willing hands cannot clothe the naked back, or feed the hungry stomach, because labor is shut out from natural opportunies for its employment by the speculation that holds land idle until it can get a blackmail price.

How this speculation in land grinds down the wages of labor, cuts down the profits of capital, and brings about these periodical industrial depressions, "Progress and Poverty" and "Social Problems" have taught the thousands on thousands who have read them. They have shown how the simple remedy of the appropriation of economic rent to its proper purpose, the public use, would destroy speculation in the elements of nature, and thus open to labor the natural opportunities which are required for the production of wealth; how in reality there is no conflict between labor and capital, but that the real conflict is between labor and monopoly. Workingmen have learned from Henry George that the simple reform which would thus give them the highest possible wages would make the cost of living much lower, since the enormous taxes which now fall with oppressive weight on the poor, and are a fruitful source of political corruption, could be entirely remitted, as no longer necessary. All the public needs that are now supplied by taxation, and many public conveniences and advantages which we have not yet become civilized enough to supply at public cost, could be provided for out of the common fund—the rent which individuals would pay to a community that included themselves.

When, therefore, organized labor, as represented in the Central Labor Union of New York City, determined to take political action, it was necessary and fitting that the doctrine of "the land for the people"—the doctrine that all are entitled to share in the benefits provided by their Creator, and the advantages which come

with social growth and improvement—should be made, as it was, the chief principle of their platform,—a platform which, in its bold simplicity, is in inspiriting contrast to the straddling duplicities of the old party declarations. And it was equally fitting that they should call on Henry George to become their spokesman and standard-bearer. No other man could so well fit the platform.

When, some three or four months ago, members of the Central Labor Union began to talk among themselves of the propriety of political action, the most sanguine among them had little hope of doing more than making a small beginning. Mr. George from the first was spoken of as the candidate who could command the strongest following; yet the best they hoped for was that an independent Labor candidate might get some 15,000 votes. For they sadly remember how, a few years ago, a Labor candidate for Mayor polled only 87 votes. They knew by experience how strong were the political organizations of New York, how potent the "influences" on which these relied, and how general was the indisposition of men to "throw their votes away" on a candidate who had not a "regular" nomination. Mr. George's own friends felt that his world-wide reputation, and the cause with which he, more than any other man, is identified, should not be subjected to the risk of being made ridiculous by a hopeless canvass. But pressed to accept the nomination, and anxious to maintain the dignity of his cause, and to inspire those disposed to vote for him with confidence in themselves, Mr. George conditioned his acceptance on a pledge from 30,000 voters, explaining the significance of the movement and of his candidacy in his now famous letter to the Secretary of the Labor Union Conference. That letter began the campaign. It infused into the movement a peculiar dignity and enthusiasm. Clergymen, lawyers, teachers, authors, business men of all kinds, joined the Labor men in requesting Mr. George to be a candidate, and crowded the meetings held to ratify his nomination.

The campaign is so recent that it would be useless to recount it here. Great as must have been the growth in economic and political education, in self-respect and self-restraint, in the ranks of organized labor to produce the astonishing result, yet it must be conceded that no other platform and no other candidate could have secured such a tremendous moral victory. It is the reputation of the candidate, his high genius and exalted character, his

practical wisdom and masterly leadership, his tireless energy, the strange fascination his personality exerts, and the almost religious enthusiasm which he has been able to inspire by his presentation of the cause, that have given to the 68,000 men, who, in spite of all difficulties, voted for him, and to the thousands more in New York who are now prepared to join them, the consciousness of power, the conviction of duty, and the confidence of ultimate success. Thus has come to the front a new Land and Labor party, from henceforth utterly distinct from all other parties, prepared to go forth conquering and to conquer; and on the same platform and under the same leader to repeat, at the earliest possible moment, in the State and in the nation, this magnificent canvass, and to more than repeat the moral victory of the late municipal election in New York.

EDWARD MCGLYNN.

## III.

### THE DEMOCRATIC VIEW.

OUR party names are often misleading. This is especially so to strangers. Often while abroad, I have been asked to explain the differences in the tenets and aims of our political parties. When I have said that the Democratic was the Conservative and the Republican the Radical party, strangers to our politics became confused. When I have undertaken to define the distinguishing features of these parties, no better definition occurred than that which our much-abused platforms give.

The Democratic platform is positive; the Republican platform negative. The salient creed of the former is found in its exposition of the Federal system with its declaration of limited powers, State rights, and anti-consolidation. Jefferson was its political Copernicus. The civil war interrupted but did not destroy this exposition. The Federal Supreme Bench and all other Courts expound it. Governor Gordon, of Georgia, loyally pronounced it in his recent Inaugural.

The excesses which arose from its extreme interpretation swung the pendulum to one extreme; and then the excesses of reconstruction swung it to the other. Republican war-powers and extra-constitutional policies illustrate its last phase. Now, under Democratic ascendency, it is reaching its just poise. It is Jefferson, and not Hamilton, whose political philosophy is dominant.

This is the Ithuriel spear, with its celestial temper, which is the test of false social and political doctrines. From its lightest touch, up starts the perilous fiend of our politics—Centralization.

Amid the multifarious platforms which our politics beget, next to the equality of the States and inclusive of it, is the system of local government for local purposes and the general government for general purposes only. The corollaries of these propositions are in the Tenth Amendment, if indeed, it is not the fountain of them.

The party, new or old, which forgets this exposition has already forged the keys to the vaults of the Treasury and the "enchanted chambers of power."

The Republican party, if not by its origin, by its practice, is the natural ally of corruption; not because its members are dishonest, but because its tenets antagonize the rules of right and the codes of interpretation preservative of honest administration.

The Tenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution was made to nullify the "general welfare" clause. The Democratic faith is founded on this Tenth Amendment. That Amendment is Democratic in its quality and moral in its practical application. Many of the evils, social and otherwise, which threaten our peace, stability, and perpetuity, are found among those who would centralize political power at the Federal centre, and moneyed and landed power in favored classes. Those who would overstep the fixed limits of Federal or State political authority, do not know the meaning of the maxim: that "the world is governed too much," or the safeguard to property, person, and liberty, by limiting government to its written restrictions and granted powers. Whether in land-tenure or taxation, lax interpretation is the mother of injustice and rapine.

The late elections show that party lines are yet held tenaciously, notwithstanding much independent voting. Although the Republican candidate for Mayor in New York City ran 15,071 behind Davenport's vote for Governor last year, still the former vote shows, along with the State vote for Judge Daniels, a permanent element. Besides, the elections reveal a half-dozen close States, as to whose future no *à priori* reasoning is valuable.

What, then, do the elections teach? In so far as they insure

Democratic triumph, they conserve strict construction, local rule, and honest administration. This is the nature of this triumph. A few facts will serve to display its extent. Generally midway in an administration, the dominant party suffers. It is then the target. Then, generally, the Congress-elect is hostile to the Administration. That the Democracy still retains its ascendency —State, National, and municipal—is a sign of success under adverse conditions. It still has the Chief Magistrate of the United States and of the State of New York. It has added to the gubernatorial list the States of Colorado and California. It has preserved its dominance in the Lower House of Congress, though by a less majority,—a result by no means regrettable, when solid work is to be done. Its majority may reach a score. Although it may have lost in Southern States—notably in Virginia, it has on advanced lines of political and economic thought made inroads upon the Western and New England States. Massachusetts and Minnesota, as well as Nebraska and New Hampshire, give sign of intelligent movement. The Legislatures of New Jersey, Indiana, and California are Democratic. There is a gain of three in the Federal Senate. This leaves a doubtful Republican majority of two in that body ; the two Senators on most of the issues which divide the two great parties, inclining to the Democratic side.

What, then, is there to discourage the Democracy, either in the present or for 1888 ? It is not to be found in the Electoral vote as now indicated ; for the Democracy are reasonably sure of over 201 votes. In this estimate, neither Virginia nor any other Southern State is counted adversely ; nor is it necessary to count Colorado, California, or Massachusetts Democratic. New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey are Democratic, and likely to remain so. In the composition of the Lower House, as yet incomplete, the Democrats probably, in case of failure to elect by the Electoral College, have the advantage. Is it, then, too optimistic, in view of the facts, to consider the Electoral College as Democratic ?

I asked a leading New York journalist : "What is the key to this election ?" He said : "New York." True, without New York, the Democracy cannot win. The Republicans with it can win in 1888. New York is the battle-ground. The recent election shows it to be Democratic, on the popular vote for Judge Peckham. Its close vote may have been determined in favor of President Cleveland and Governor Hill by the Prohibitionists.

Give that vote its natural drift, and the Republicans can carry New York, not to speak of New Jersey. The Prohibition vote is thought to be transient and declining. This is not a fair inference from the facts. Its gain from 1884 to 1886 is 97,730. In New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania the gain is 36,980. It is growing in New York, as its vote over that of 1885 shows. Its natural drift would be Republican, just as the Labor vote should be Democratic. If the Labor vote remain compact, it bids fair to favor its enemy, rather than its friend. This is one of the whimsies of politics.

As to the question concerning the currency, there was no special verdict. It seems to have had little effect, and little interest was displayed on that topic. As to the tariff: Is the deplorable defeat of Colonel Morrison and others, who propose its reform, or the narrow escape of Mr. Speaker Carlisle, suggestive of its waning? Admitting the force of these blows at our leaders, the cause survives. Nobody of consequence proposes to abolish the tariff. On articles made abroad which compete with those made here, there will be tariffs, with such discrimination as selfish, local, and industrial interests demand. The Republicans, reckless of revenue, want protection to pet industries; not for revenue only, but that the mass who are consumers shall pay tribute to the few. We are apt to forget that the great interests of this country are not so much from the hand of man, as from Nature. You may protect wool and cotton, and their fabrics, coal, metals, etc. Our land has a larger factory than that which fabricates these articles. It is an enduring factory, in which sun, rain, and soil, and the ceaseless round of seasons, under human industry, ply their shuttles. How insignificant are the products of other factories, run by water or its vapor, compared with the immense laboratory in which our cattle, corn, cotton, cheese, and what not, are produced! It is these products, beyond our home needs, that require not legislation, but repeal. For these, foreign markets are demanded. If they have not an outlet, they will fall in price, and the land with them. To keep that outlet, in years of good harvests, we must barter abroad. We cannot sell unless we buy. Bankruptcy intervenes to stop unmutual trade. The gold and imports which have come to us in the last ten years are not the result of our manufactures, but of our farms. God and man, the elements and not the parties, gave us that prosperity which lifted

us out of troubles, debts, and panics into well-being. In spite of Republican policies, and because of good harvests here and bad ones abroad, resumption was possible.

Good times move *pari passu* with President Cleveland's administration. Paralysis has not stricken our giant limbs; the strong man arose in his might, like Antæus from the earth. In the face of cruel and selfish policies, our crops changed the balance of trade, and made us the provider of the Old World. But shall we therefore forget that there are other fields than our own, where grain-stuffs are harvested? Do we remember that India, even more than Russia, is increasing her facilities of transportation? When her soil-values become competitive with our own, tariff reform will come like a flood.

It is too bad that nature has not rebelled against a Democratic Administration so as to gratify pious statesmen and affect our elections. But our industries refuse to be paralyzed. Business refuses to abandon its marts. Of course, Republicans, and they only, planted the seed, grafted the twigs, and gave to the sweet air the blossom and the fragrance; they culled the fruitage of our Hesperides, and sent it abroad. It was all their work. Bring forth the royal diadem, and crown them Lords of all. Of course, they fought the war, abolished slavery, and paid all the taxes. They did more. They picked the cotton-pod and baled the cotton. They sowed the wheat and planted the corn. They ground the corn into gold and the wheat into silver. Do they believe all the marvels of which they boast? Does the astute statesman of Maine want to build up industries by the same methods which has kept Maine and her ship-building laggard, when every other State under better policies and with providential help is bounding to the front? Would he keep the country in discord for his party's success, or depress, hinder, and anathematize the South, to the general discouragement of business and the embroiling again of the sections? What if the South refuses to be discordant, and the country declines to be in a perpetual panic? What if the Federal representation under the constitution continues to be based on population, and not on votes? The elections indicate a desire for peaceful methods on constitutional bases. If in the Fiftieth Congress an adverse Senate refuses even to consider economic reforms, or second a Democratic House in pursuing both the Republican and Democratic platforms—as well as the doctrines of

the Labor apostle, Mr. George—there is not much lost, in comparison with the action of the Forty-ninth Congress. The gain in the obstructive Senate is on the side of the liberalities of trade and the reduction of taxes.

Is it asked: "How does the election affect the standing of President Cleveland and his administration?" It may be answered that nothing on these points seems absolutely decided. The effect of patronage, civil service, offensive partisanship, non-removal of Republicans, and other features of the Administration, including its foreign policy, is not apparent in the general verdict. In some States, one result is alleged with plausibility; and in another, another result. The truth is, that as there was no uniformity in the cause, or policy, so there is both gain and loss to the Democracy in different States, as a consequence. New England may have one voice, Virginia probably another. The fact remains, that from one cause or another, the Democracy maintain control.

Ah! but there is a lion in the path—a hideous *bête noir*. It is Henry George and the Labor vote. It is not to be disguised that this vote is surprising. In the total of 219,992 in New York city, he polled 68,110. This is the voice of Discontent, peacefully expressed. It is a vehement protest against Plutocracy. But let it be remembered, that in the leading or economic issue for 1888, as Mr. Blaine forces it, Mr. George is along with, if not ahead of, the Democracy. As the Labor element is protective, herein is the seed of its disintegration; for if Mr. George be the persistent advocate, which he is represented to be, he must vindicate his economic thought. If he be not such a champion, he will be unable to weld a permanent party of "Progressive Democracy."

Another element of disintegration of the Labor party may appear if it fail to act in harmony with the Democratic party. Unless thus harmonized, how can it march successfully against unjust inequalities of fortune and monsters of monopoly? Democratic platforms have favored the incorporation of labor organizations and the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of Labor. Not to speak of the numerous laws upon this head which have passed Democratic State Legislatures, nine bills passed the present Democratic Federal branch. Only two of these have passed the Republican Senate. The pledge of the Democratic National

platform of 1880 was "to protect the laboring man alike against the Cormorant and the Commune." Thus it is in accord with the National-Greenback-Labor sentiment, which, when in full tide, denounced the red flag of Communism imported from Europe, which asked for an equal division of property; and equally denounced the corporate Communism which has accomplished by corrupt influences the unequal divisions of property.

Monopolistic schemes, whether by land-grants and tariff, or by judicial decision and legislative enactment, destroy the rewards of toil and the incentives to industry. The Democracy has been and will be, from its constituent elements, the only potential ally of Labor in the coming contests against these chartered irregularities. Some of these wrongs are remediless by statute. The remedy for others is to be found in adherence to the Democratic creed of limited powers. Forfeitures of public lands for misuse or non-use of charters, the regulation of inter-State transportation, questions of taxation, Federal and local, direct and indirect, on personal and real estate, and on inheritances, the mitigation of the legal severities and disabilities of Labor and the elevation of the toiler,—these will find their best association with the Democratic party. If not found there, where will it be found? These questions are of more moment than those of civil-service reform and silver coinage, for they are fundamental. They go to the very existence of society and order.

If it be urged that the vote for Mr. George, the formulation of his ideas and the formation of his party, detract from the Democracy, it may be answered, that there is only one impregnable barrier against excesses. As the function of government, whether Federal, State, or municipal, is limited to the prescript, the conservatism of the country will rally upon the frontier of written and granted powers. There is only one pass over and beyond this boundary. It leads into the wide domain of elementary discussion, where sits the Witenagemote of an omnipotent sovereignty. New York has said that her present constitution requires revision. Her people have accomplished what Gambetta called the peaceful revolution of the horologue. The wisdom of the present has concluded to scrutinize the unwisdom of a half-century ago. New factors of civilization have led to vast advancements in our State, counties and cities. A new political establishment is invoked. As no law is irrevocable, and as the organic law itself is amenable to

change, the labor reformers have here, providentially or accidentally almost, an arena prepared for them. Here is a safe and valid vent for their cherished idealogies. Here they may burn their explosives on the surface harmlessly, subject to "bucolic" ratification. If the prescribed mode be pursued, there is no limitation on the popular power of this State, in establishing its fundamental law, except one—the Federal constitution. The convention crowns popular soverignty! Therein the wildest vagaries may have acceptance or confutation. Does the Labor advocate desire new laws to effectuate his system of taxing the naked land and exempting its improvements? Here is his field! No charges of anarchy, or communism, are here logical. No judicial decision may appall. As the writer said, when in Congress, on the 10th of January, 1865, in favoring the right to amend the Federal constitution, abolishing slavery:

"This power of unlimited amendment is an element of Democracy. Our ancestry, however prudent and wise, did not tie the hands of the children nor shackle their liberties by laws so irrevocable that no mode of change was allowed. In our State constitutions, this power of amendment has been and is being exercised almost every decade. Why? On the principle of Jeremy Bentham (Benthamiana, p. 220), that at each point of time the sovereign for the time possesses such means as the nature of the case affords, for making himself acquainted with the exigencies of his own time. With reference to the future, he has no such means." Bentham thus argues against the transfer of the government from those who possess the best means to those who possess the least means of information. Shall the past century rule the present? No, not unless they are better informed, or feel more interest in the future generation than their own. Why should we of the nineteenth century tie up the hands of the twentieth? Why should the dead forever rule the living? Is a tyranny inexorable because it is established in the past? Is a law immutable because made by the fathers? If the law be despotic, who then shall reverse it? Mr. Bentham says: "Suppose a law a good one, it will be supported not by absurdity and deception, but from its own excellency. A declaration that this or that law is immutable, so far from being a proper argument to enforce its permanency, is rather a presumption that such a law has some mischievous tendency."

Here, then, is the forum for the practical or visionary reformer. Here is the ordeal of "Progressive Democracy." If it have vitality enough to survive this ordeal, it will be armed for 1888. Its Knights of Labor will be thrice armed. If it be right, that the realty alone should be taxed; that no one should hold the land, with its minerals, its crops, or its structures; and that the land, and its increment should go to the State, for the common benefit, then let it be shown. The burden rests on all innovators. The Convention will be open. Let the new theses as to railroad and telegraph ownership by the State; the abolition of taxation upon buildings, improvements, and all other things of human production, and taxation on the value of land alone to provide for purposes of common necessity and benefit, be nailed upon the very door-posts of the Convention!

The success of Mr. Hewitt in challenging these and other propositions has radical significance. It is more extensive than the interests of New York City and State. In making the contest, aloof from the mire of city and State politics; in raising the issue of law with liberty, or liberty without law, above class and party prejudices and the sordid allurement of equalizing possessions, into the purer atmosphere of social and ethical discussion, Mr. Hewitt elevated our municipal conflict. It is now a contest—State, national, and international.

For this, he deserves the meed of praise from every patriot and student of social science. The issue he makes is so relevant to the prevailing discontent, and so clear to the mind of the people, that the strength and weakness of the contending theories, and the consequences of their adoption or rejection, are apparent. We are now enabled to make upon the quivering body politic a vivisection of its vital elements for the instruction of the thoughtful suffragan. Herein lies the most pregnant lesson of the late election; and New York City and State were happily chosen as the theatre for the demonstration.

S. S. Cox.

# JEFFERSON DAVIS AND THE MISSISSIPPI CAMPAIGN.

In Mr. Davis's account of the military operations in Mississippi in 1863, their disastrous result is attributed to my misconduct. My object in the following statement is to exhibit the true causes of those disasters.

The combination of Federal military and naval forces which produced that result was made practicable by the military errors of the Confederate Government in 1862, and was made successful by its repetition of the gravest of those errors in 1863. The Confederate army that fought at Shiloh was reorganized by General Beauregard at Corinth, and occupied that position until the 29th of May, when that officer led it to Tupelo in consequence of the near approach of General Halleck's vastly superior forces. There, about the middle of June, General Beauregard was compelled by ill health to transfer his command to General Bragg. The discipline and instruction of those troops had been greatly improved at Corinth and Tupelo ; so that they were in excellent condition for marches and for battles before the middle of July. They numbered 45,000. And there were 22,000 other Confederate troops in Mississippi, in two bodies, one commanded by Major-General Van Dorn, the other by Major-General Price. Those two officers were independent of each other—and, strange to say, of General Bragg also.

In the first half of July, General Halleck was ordered to Washington as General-in-Chief. Before leaving Corinth, he transferred General Buell, with his troops, to Middle Tennessee, and left General Grant in command of those holding in subjection Northeastern Mississippi and Southern West Tennessee. For this object, they were distributed in Corinth, Memphis, Jackson, and intermediate places. They numbered about 42,000 present for duty by Mr. Davis's estimate. Their wide dispersion put them at the

mercy of any superior or equal force, such as the Confederacy could have brought against them readily; but this opportunity, such a one as has rarely occurred in war, was put aside by the Confederate Government; and the army which, properly used, would have secured to the South the possession of Tennessee and Mississippi was employed in a wild expedition into Kentucky, which could have had only the results of a raid. Mr. Davis extols the strategy of that operation, which, he says, "manœuvred the foe out of a large and to us important territory." This advantage, if it could be called so, was of the briefest. For this "foe" drove us out of Kentucky in a few weeks, and recovered permanently "the large and to us important territory." After General Bragg was compelled to leave Kentucky, the Federal army, which until then had been commanded by General Buell, was established at Nashville, under General Rosecrans. And General Bragg, by a very circuitous route through Southeastern Kentucky and Northeastern Tennessee, brought his troops to the neighborhood of Murfreesboro'. Mr. Davis says (page 384, Vol. II.) that "the strength of the Federal army, as we have ascertained, was 65,000 men." Army returns show that it was a little less than 47,000, and General Bragg's 44,000.

General Grant was then in Northern Mississippi, with an army formed by uniting the detachments that had been occupying Corinth and various points in Southern West Tennessee. He was preparing for the invasion of Mississippi, with the special object of gaining possession of Vicksburg by the combined action of his army and Admiral Porter's squadron, which was in readiness. To oppose him, Lieutenant-General Pemberton, who commanded the department of Mississippi and East Louisiana, had an active army of 23,000 effective infantry and artillery, and above 6,000 cavalry, most of it irregular. There were also entrenched camps at Vicksburg and Port Hudson, each held by about 6,000 men, protecting batteries of old smooth-bore guns, which, it was hoped, would prevent the Federal war vessels from occupying the intermediate part of the Mississippi. Lieutenant-General Holmes was then encamped near Little Rock with an army of above 50,000 men, as General Cooper, Adjutant-General, reported to the President in my presence. There were no Federal forces in Arkansas at the time, except one or two garrisons.

In all the time to which the preceding relates, I had been out

of service from the effects of two severe wounds received in the battle of Seven Pines. On the 12th of November I reported myself fit for duty. The Secretary of War replied that I would be assigned to service in Tennessee and Mississippi in a few days. Thinking myself authorized to make suggestions in relation to the warfare in which I was to be engaged, I proposed to the Secretary, in his office, that, as the Federal forces about to invade Mississippi were united in that State, ours available for its defense should be so likewise; therefore General Holmes should be ordered to unite his forces with General Pemberton's without delay. As a reply, he read me a letter of late date from himself to General Holmes, instructing that officer to make the movement just suggested, and then a note from the President directing him to countermand his order to General Holmes. A few days after this, General Randolph resigned the office of Secretary of War—unfortunately for the Confederacy. On the 24th of November, Mr. Seddon, who had succeeded General Randolph as Secretary of War, assigned me to the command of the departments of General Bragg and Lieut.-Gens. E. Kirby Smith and Pemberton, each to command his department under me. In acknowledging this order, I again suggested the transfer of the army in Arkansas to Mississippi. The suggestion was not adopted or noticed.

The Government placed my headquarters at Chattanooga, but authorized me to move them as occasion might require. On the 4th of December, I received there a telegram from the Adjutant-General, informing me that Lieutenant-General Pemberton was falling back before a very superior force; that "Lieutenant-General Holmes has been peremptorily ordered to reinforce him, but that, as his troops may be too late, the President urges on you the importance of sending a sufficient force from General Bragg's command to the aid of Lieutenant-General Pemberton." I replied that Lieutenant-General Holmes's troops could join the army in Mississippi much sooner than General Bragg's, and that the latter officer could not give adequate aid to the army in Mississippi without exposing himself to inevitable defeat. And further, that there was no object in our retaining troops in Arkansas, where they could find no enemy. For these reasons, I declined to weaken General Bragg without further orders to do so.

About the 9th of December the President passed through

Chattanooga on his way to Murfreesboro', to decide, at General Bragg's headquarters, whether the army of Tennessee or that of Arkansas should furnish the reinforcements necessary to enable the Confederacy to hold the Mississippi and its valley. He returned in two or three days, and directed me to order General Bragg to send 10,000 of his men under Major-General Stevenson, to report to General Pemberton. The order was given as the President's. He then set out to Mississippi, desiring me to accompany him.

In Jackson, which he reached the morning of the 19th, he found the Legislature in session. It had been convened by Governor Pettus to bring out the remaining military resources of the State, to aid in its defense. He addressed that body in a speech full of sound sense and patriotism.

On the 21st and 22d, he inspected the water batteries and land defenses of Vicksburg—which were very extensive, but slight—the usual defect of Confederate engineering. He also conferred with the commander, Major-Gen. M. L. Smith, and me, in reference to the forces required to hold that place and Port Hudson, and to oppose General Grant in the field at the same time. We agreed (General Smith and I) that at least 20,000 more troops were necessary, and I again urged him to transfer the troops in Arkansas to Mississippi. In a friendly note to General Holmes, which I was permitted to read, he pointed out to him that he would benefit the service by sending 20,000 men into Mississippi, but gave him no order; consequently no troops came. And an army outnumbering that which General Grant was then commanding was left idle, while preparations were in progress, near it, for the conquest of a portion of the Confederacy so important as the valley of the Mississippi.

From Vicksburg the President visited General Pemberton's army in the extensive position it was intrenching near Grenada, so extensive that it is fortunate for us, probably, that General Grant was prevented from trying its strength. In conversing with the President concerning the operations impending, General Pemberton and I advocated opposite modes of warfare.

On the 25th the President returned to Jackson, and on the 27th information was received from General Loring, commanding near Grenada, that General Grant's army, which had been advancing, was retiring in consequence of the destruction of the depot of supplies at Holly Springs by the gallant Van Dorn's daring and

skillfully executed enterprise, surpassed by none of its character achieved during the war. This depot was to supply the Federal army in its march toward Vicksburg. Its destruction frustrated that design. General Van Dorn accomplished it on the 19th, with a brigade of cavalry, attacking, defeating and capturing a superior force. The supplies were destroyed by burning the storehouses—to which the consent of the owners was freely given.

The destruction of these stores compelled General Grant to fall back, and gave the Confederate Government abundant time for thorough preparation to meet his next advance. The most effective, indeed a decisive one, would have required but twelve or fifteen days—the uniting Lieutenant-General Holmes's troops with Lieutenant-General Pemberton's, in Mississippi, which would have formed an effective force of little less than 75,000 men.

Before Mr. Davis returned to Richmond, I represented to him that my command was a nominal one merely, and useless; because the great distance between the armies of Tennessee and Mississippi, and the fact that they had different objects and adversaries, made it impossible to combine their action; so there was no employment for me unless I should take command of one of the armies in an emergency, which, as each had its own General, was not intended or desirable. He replied that the great distance of these departments from the seat of government made it necessary that there should be an officer near them with authority to transfer troops from one to the other in emergencies. I suggested that each was too weak for its object; and that neither, therefore, could be drawn upon to strengthen the other; and that the distance between them was so great as to make such temporary transfers impracticable. These objections were disregarded, however.

The detaching of almost a fourth of General Bragg's army to Mississippi, while of no present value to that department, was disastrous to that of Tennessee, for it caused the battle of Murfreesboro'.

General Rosecrans was, of course, soon informed of the great reduction of his antagonist's strength, and marched from Nashville to attack him. The battle, that of Murfreesboro' or Stone's River, occurred on the 31st of December, and was one of the most obstinately contested and bloody of the war, in proportion to the numbers engaged.

General Bragg reported that he had engaged in the battle 30,000 infantry and artillery and 5,000 cavalry, of whom he lost above 10,000. General Rosecrans reported that he had upon the field 43,400 infantry and artillery, and 3,300 cavalry, of whom 9,267 were killed and wounded, and 3,450 captured. The result of this action compelled the Confederate army to fall back and place itself behind Duck River, at Manchester, Tullahoma and Shelbyville.

Early in December, General Grant projected an enterprise against Vicksburg, under General Sherman's command. He directed that officer to embark at Memphis with about 30,000 men, descend the river with them to the neighborhood of the place, and with the co-operation of Admiral Porter's squadron, proceed to reduce it.

General Sherman entered the Yazoo with his forces on the 26th of December ; employed several days in reconnoitring, and on the 29th made a vigorous assault upon the defensive line near Chickasaw Bayou, manned by Brig.-Gen. S. D. Lee's brigade, which repelled the attack. General Pemberton reported that the Confederate loss was 150, and that of the Federals 1,100.

The combined land and naval forces then left the Yazoo, and, entering the Arkansas, ascended it to Arkansas post, which they captured, with its garrison of 5,000 Confederate troops.

In the mean time, General Pemberton brought what had been his active forces into Vicksburg.

On the 20th of January, all the troops destined for the operations against Vicksburg were ordered by General Grant to Milliken's Bend and Young's Point, where he joined them on the 29th. These troops were employed until April in cutting a canal through the point of land opposite to Vicksburg, to enable the Federal vessels to pass it without exposure to the batteries. The attempt was unsuccessful, however.

In the mean time, Brigadier-General Bowen was detached with three brigades to Grand Gulf, to construct batteries there ; and Major-General Loring, with a similar detachment, was sent to select and fortify a position to prevent the enemy from approaching Vicksburg by the Yazoo Pass and River. He constructed a field-work for this object at the head of the Yazoo. A flotilla of nine United States gunboats and 20 transports, carrying 4,500 troops, appeared before it on the 11th of March ; constructed

a land battery, which, with the gunboats, cannonaded the fort several days; but the steady fire of the little work compelled the assailants to draw off and return to the Mississippi.

On the 22d of January, while inspecting the works for the defense of Mobile, then in course of construction, I received orders by telegraph from the President to go to General Bragg's headquarters "with the least delay." A letter from him delivered to me in Chattanooga told for what service. It was to ascertain if General Bragg had so far lost the confidence of the army as to make it expedient to remove him from command. After making the necessary investigation thoroughly, I came to the conclusion that there was no ground for the general's removal, so reported, and resumed the inspection at Mobile. While so employed, I received a telegram from the Secretary of War, in which he ordered me to direct General Bragg to report at the War Department for conference; and to assume, myself, direct charge of the army in Middle Tennessee. On my return to Tullahoma under this order, I learned that the General was devoting himself to Mrs. Bragg, who was supposed to be at the point of death. So the communication of the order to him was postponed, and the postponement and the cause reported to the Secretary. Mrs. Bragg's condition improved, however; but before it became such as to permit General Bragg to return to military duty, I had become unfit for it, and was compelled to retain him in the command of the army of Tennessee and put myself under the care of a surgeon. This sickness continued for weeks, and was *reported repeatedly*.

The United States naval officers had already ascertained that their iron-clads could pass the Confederate batteries without great danger. For, as General Pemberton had reported, the Hartford and Albatross had passed those of Port Hudson while most of the guns were engaged with the other vessels of Admiral Farragut's squadron. This reduced the value of our water batteries greatly. Yet in the first half of April, General Pemberton became convinced that General Grant had abandoned the design against Vicksburg, and was preparing to re-embark his forces, perhaps to join General Rosecrans; and on the 11th he expressed the belief that most of those troops were being withdrawn to Memphis, and that he himself was assembling troops at Jackson to follow this movement. This was approved. On the 17th, however, he reported that the Federal army had resumed its offensive operations. He also reported that

General Grant was occupying New Carthage, and that there were nine Federal gunboats between Vicksburg and Port Hudson.

Colonel Grierson set out from Lagrange, on the 17th, on his noted raid through Mississippi, which terminated at Baton Rouge, May 2d. The mischief reported was the burning of some bridges, engines and cars near Newton, the destruction of ammunition and cars at Hazelhurst, and the burning of the railroad depot and cars at Brookhaven. Several brigades of infantry were detached to protect such property; but fruitlessly, of course.

Admiral Porter's squadron, and three transports towing barges, passed Vicksburg in the night of the 16th, and ran down to Hard Times, where the army was; and six more transports and barges followed in the night of the 22d. On the two occasions, one transport was sunk, another burned, and six barges rendered unserviceable by the fire of the batteries.

General Grant's plan seems to have been to take possession of Grand Gulf, and thence operate against Vicksburg; for Admiral Porter's squadron commenced firing upon the Confederate works early in the morning of the 29th, and the Thirteenth Corps was ready to seize them as soon as their guns should be silenced; but as their fire had slackened but little at six o'clock, General Grant changed his plan, and sent his troops and transports to the landing place, six miles from Bruinsburg, on the east bank of the river. The four divisions of the Thirteenth Corps were ferried to that point during the day of the 30th.

General Bowen, at Grand Gulf, observed this, and led parts of his three brigades (5,000 men) to the road from Bruinsburg to Port Gibson, four miles in advance of the latter. By admirable conduct and great advantages of ground, this handful delayed the advance of the Thirteenth Corps six or eight hours. Lieutenant-General Pemberton informed me of this engagement by telegraph during the fighting, adding: "I should have large re-enforcements." I replied immediately: "If General Grant's army lands on this side of the river, the safety of Mississippi depends on beating it. For that object you should unite your whole force." And I telegraphed again next day: "If Grant's army crosses, unite all your forces to beat it. Success will give you back what was abandoned to win it." In transmitting General Pemberton's call for re-enforcements to the Secretary of War, I said: "They cannot be sent from here without giving up Tennessee."

On the 3d, Bowen's troops abandoned Grand Gulf and returned to Vicksburg. On the same day, the Seventeenth Corps joined the Thirteenth at Willow Springs, where the two waited for the Fifteenth, which came up on the 8th. The army then marched toward Raymond, the Seventeenth Corps leaving first, and the Fifteenth second.

In the evening of May 9th, I received, by telegraph, orders to proceed at once to Mississippi and take chief command of the forces there, and to arrange to take with me, for temporary service, or to have follow without delay, 3,000 good troops. I replied instantly: "Your dispatch of this morning received. I shall go immediately, although unfit for service," and took the first train, which was in the morning of the 10th. At Lake Station, on the 13th, I found a telegram from General Pemberton, dated 12th, informing me that the enemy was apparently moving in heavy force on Edwards Depot . . . "that it will be the battle-field if I can carry forward sufficient force, leaving troops enough to secure the safety of this place (Vicksburg)." This was the first intelligence of the Federal army received from General Pemberton since the 1st of the month.

I arrived in Jackson at nightfall, exhausted by an uninterrupted journey of four days, undertaken from a sick room; in consequence of which Major Mirus, chief quartermaster of the department, the first officer who reported to me, found me in bed. He informed me, among other military occurrences, that two brigades had marched into the town an hour or two before. Brigadier-General Gregg, their senior officer, reported to me soon after that he had been ordered from Port Hudson to Raymond by General Pemberton, but had been driven from that place the day before by the Seventeenth (U. S.) Corps; and in obedience to the General's instructions for such an event, had fallen back to Jackson, accompanied by Brigadier-General Walker, whom he had met on the way, marching to join him with his brigade. The latter had just come from General Beauregard's department. There were about 6,000 men in the two brigades.

He said further that Colonel Wirt Adams, of the cavalry, had informed him that General Pemberton's forces were at Edwards depot, twenty miles from Vicksburg, and his headquarters at Bovina, eight miles from that place; that the Seventeenth Corps (McPherson's) had moved that day from Raymond to Clinton, nine

or ten miles from Jackson, on the road to Vicksburg. He added that General Maxey's brigade from Port Hudson was expected in Jackson next day. I had passed General Gist's, during that day, on its way from Charleston. The arrival of these troops, and, as I hoped, 3,000 from Tennessee, would increase the force in Jackson to near 15,000 men. The most important measure to be executed then was the junction of these reinforcements with the army. For that object, an order in writing was sent without delay to General Pemberton by Captain Yerger, who volunteered to bear it, to move to Clinton at once and attack a Federal corps there, the troops in Jackson to co-operate; to beat that detachment and establish communication, that he might be reinforced. It was delivered at Bovina early next morning, and General Pemberton replied promptly that he "moved at once with his whole available force;" but in the ride of ten or twelve miles to his camp at Edwards Depot, he determined to disobey my order, and on his arrival assembled a council of war, which he informed of that intention, and consulted upon the measure to be substituted for the movement to Clinton. It was decided to move southward to a point on the road by which General Grant's forces had advanced, which would have made it impossible for the troops then in Jackson and other expected reinforcements to join his army.

Mr. Davis says of this (page 404–5): "When he (Johnston) reached Jackson, learning that the enemy was between that place and the position occupied by General Pemberton's forces, about thirty miles distant, he halted there and opened correspondence with General Pemberton, from which confusion and consequent disasters resulted, which might have been avoided had he, with or without his reinforcements, proceeded to General Pemberton's headquarters in the field."

Mr. Davis knew that I had been sick five or six weeks when ordered to Mississippi, and therefore had no right to suppose that I was able to make a night ride of thirty miles, after a journey of four days. He knew, too, that my course, which he now condemns, was the only one offering us a hope of success; for he indorsed on a letter of mine, giving a brief account of these events to the Secretary of War: "Do not perceive why a junction was not attempted, which would have made our force nearly equal in number to the estimated strength of the enemy; and might have resulted in a total defeat under circumstances which rendered

retreat or reinforcement to him scarcely practicable." It would be doing injustice to Mr. Davis's intelligence to think that he really believes that I am chargeable with the consequences of the disobedience of my indispensable order, or that he is ignorant that our only hope of success lay in the execution of that order, and that to disobey it was to ruin us.

After the decision of the council of war, General Pemberton remained at Edwards Depot at least twenty-four hours; and instead of marching in the morning of the 14th, his movement was commenced so late on the 15th that he bivouacked at night but three or four miles from the ground he had left. Here, soon after nightfall, the camp-fires of a division were pointed out to him. He took no measures in consequence, however. Soon after sunrise on the 16th he received an order from me, the second one, to march toward Clinton that our forces might be united. He made preparations to obey it; and, in acknowledging it, described the route he intended to follow; but remained passive five or six hours, until near noon, before a single Federal division, when General Grant, having brought up six other divisions, attacked him. Notwithstanding the enemy's great superiority of numbers, General Pemberton maintained a spirited contest of several hours, but was finally driven from the field. This was the battle of Baker's Creek, or Champion Hill. The Confederate troops retreated toward Vicksburg, but bivouacked at night near the Big Black; one division in some earthworks in front of the bridge, the other a mile or two in rear of it. Loring, whose division was in the rear in quitting the field, instead of crossing Baker's Creek, turned southward, and by a skillfully conducted march eluded the enemy, and in three days joined the troops from the east assembling near Jackson. On the near approach of the pursuing army next morning, the troops in front of the bridge abandoned the intrenchments and retreated rapidly to Vicksburg, accompanied by the division that had been posted west of the river. Information of this was brought to me in the evening of that day, and I immediately wrote to General Pemberton that, if invested in Vicksburg, he must ultimately surrender; and that, instead of losing both troops and place, he must save the troops by evacuating Vicksburg, and marching to the northeast. The question of obeying this order was submitted by him to a council of war, which decided that "it was impossible to withdraw the troops from that

position with such morals and material as to be of further service to the Confederacy." This allegation was refuted by the courage, fortitude, and discipline displayed by that army under General Pemberton's command, in the long siege that followed.

The investment of the place was completed on the 19th; on the 20th Gist's brigade from Charleston, on the 21st Ector's and McNair's from Tennessee, and on the 23d Maxey's from Port Hudson, joined Gregg's and Walker's near Canton. This force was further increased on the 3d of June by the arrival of Breckenridge's division and Jackson's (2,000) cavalry from the army of Tennessee, and Evans's brigade from Charleston. These troops, except the cavalry, having come by railroad, were not equipped for the service before them: that of rescuing the garrison of Vicksburg. They required artillery, draft horses and mules, wagons, ammunition and provisions, all in large numbers and quantity; the more because it was necessary to include the Vicksburg troops in our estimates.

According to Lieutenant-General Pemberton's report of March 31st, 1863 (the only one I can find), he had then present for duty 2,360 officers and 28,221 enlisted men. These were the troops that occupied Vicksburg and the camp at Edwards Depot when General Pemberton received my order dated May 13th. There were, besides, above 2,000 cavalry in the northern and southwestern parts of the State.

I have General Grant's reports of May 31st and June 30th, 1863. The first shows a force of 2,991 officers and 47,500 enlisted men present for duty; the second, 4,412 officers and 80,866 enlisted men present for duty.

The so-called siege of Vicksburg was little more than a blockade. But one vigorous assault was made, which was on the third day.

Mr. Davis represents that General Pemberton's operations were cramped by a want of cavalry, for which I was responsible. He had cavalry enough; but it was used near the extremities of the State against raiding parties, instead of being employed against the formidable invasion near the centre. Mr. Davis accepts that officer's idea that a large body of cavalry could have broken General Grant's communication with the Mississippi, and so defeated his enterprise. But General Grant had no communication with the Mississippi. His troops supplied themselves from the country around them.

He accuses me of producing "confusion and consequent disaster" by giving a written order to Lieutenant-General Pemberton, which he terms opening correspondence. But as that order, dated May 13th, was disobeyed, it certainly produced neither confusion nor disaster. But "consequent disaster" was undoubtedly due to the disobedience of that order, which caused the battle of Champion Hill. When that order was written, obedience to it, which would have united all our forces, might have enabled us to contend with General Grant on equal terms, and perhaps to win the campaign. Strange as it may now seem, Mr. Davis thought so at the time, as the indorsement already quoted proves distinctly.

A proper use of the available resources of the Confederacy would have averted the disasters referred to by Mr. Davis. If, instead of being sent on the wild expedition into Kentucky, General Bragg had been instructed to avail himself of the dispersed condition of the Federal troops in Northern Mississippi and West Tennessee, he might have totally defeated the forces with which General Grant invaded Mississippi three months later. Those troops were distributed in Corinth, Jackson, Memphis, and intermediate points, while his own were united, so that he could have fought them in detail, with as much certainty of success as can be hoped for in war. And such success would have prevented the military and naval combination which gave the enemy control of the Mississippi and divided the Confederacy, and would have given the Confederacy the ascendancy on that frontier. It is evident, and was so then, that the three bodies of Confederate troops in Mississippi in July, 1863, should have been united under General Bragg. The army of above 65,000 men so formed, could not have been seriously resisted by the Federal forces, not only greatly inferior to it in numbers, but so distributed that the various parts could have been attacked separately, and certainly defeated, probably destroyed.

Even after this failure, the Confederates were stronger to repel invasion than the Federals to invade. By uniting their forces in Arkansas with those in Mississippi, an army of above 70,000 men would have been formed, to meet General Grant's of 43,000. In all human probability such a force would have totally defeated the invading army, and not only preserved Mississippi but enabled us to recover Tennessee.

But if there were some necessity known only to the President,

to keep the Confederate troops then in Arkansas on that side of the Mississippi, he could have put General Pemberton on at least equal terms with his antagonist, by giving the troops in April actually sent to him late in May. This would have formed an army of above 50,000 men. General Grant landed two corps, less than 30,000 men, on the 30th of April and 1st and 2d of May ; and it was not until the 8th of May that the arrival of Sherman's corps increased his force to about 43,000 men. The Confederate reinforcements could have been sent into Mississippi as well early in April as late in May ; and in that event, without bad generalship on our part, the chances of success would have been in our favor, decidedly.

JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON.

# SALMON P. CHASE.

THIS gentleman, a New Englander by birth, came to the West when a youth. A man of fine intellect and rare culture, he had a cold, unimpulsive temperament, that gave to his manners a dignified reserve that repelled familiarity, and interfered materially with his popularity. His fine presence, for he was tall, erect and admirably proportioned, with his grave manner, impressed the crowd, and created respect without liking. These qualities are, however, more potent in the end than more genial ones. Many a statesman, honored in his grave, owed his success in life to the *prima facie* evidence of wisdom, so acceptable to the popular mind, that is found in silent gravity. The late Tom Corwin, of Ohio, a man of genius and infinite humor, on one occasion, when lecturing me for my disposition to joke with a crowd, said :

"Don't do it, my boy. You should always remember that the crowd looks up to the ring-master and down on the clown. It resents that which amuses. The clown is the more clever fellow of the two, but he is despised. If you would succeed in life, you must be solemn, solemn as an ass. All the great monuments of earth have been built over solemn asses."

Salmon P. Chase was anything but a solemn ass. His intellectual attainments put him at the head of his profession, that of lawyer, before they made him conspicuous as a politician. He was a hard student, and his thoughtful processes assimilated, well and rapidly, the information he acquired.

Looking at Chase through life, and regarding his characteristics since his death, I find now, as I found when we were friends, a mystery in the fact that he was ever a reformer. For his motive for action was not in his heart. He had no impulses of that sort that I could ever discover. The elevated plane upon which he guided his life, a singularly pure and just one, came of his stern sense of duty. This was not difficult ; for he had no youth. He

was born an old man in that respect, and had no heartfelt impulses to impel him to indiscretions. He never used tobacco in any form, nor wine, save as social decorum called for its use. He had passion without sentiment, and when he married it was with more regard for the proprieties of life than the gratification of a lover's mad impulse; and herein lies the contradiction that makes him a mystery. He had a high regard for these proprieties of life, and none whatever for the law. Now reform is not reputable. Intrenched wrong finds its most powerful defense in its respectability. They who seek to undermine the respectable are low fellows, and the very name assumed by the reformer becomes one of reproach. Long after the death of our Saviour, to be called a Christian was to have applied a term of fearful stain which justified immediate and shameful death, as cruel and shameful as that awarded our God by the respectable classes of Jerusalem. When Salmon P. Chase gave in his open adhesion to the anti-slavery cause, he was called an abolitionist. He might as well, considering the effect, have been denounced as a thief or a burglar. His reputable friends (and having married into a wealthy and aristocratic family, he had many such) looked down on him with pity and contempt.

Chase, in his shy, awkward way, cultivated young men remarkable for their evidences of intellect or show of eccentricity. I was one of his protégés. I write this without claiming any compliment on that score. One defect in this eminent statesman was his ignorance of human nature. He did not know one man from another, save in the man's professions. He took those very men at the valuation acquaintance put on them. This ignorance added greatly to his success; for we lose more through our suspicions than we gain through our credulousness. We are given to the strange belief that back of every man's act lies a selfish motive, and this, although we are taught by a study of ourselves that nearly all our actions originate in impulses or from circumstances over which we have no control, or from both, and seldom, if ever, from a cold, calculating consideration of how we may use others to our own advantage. At the same time, Chase's confidence gave his upright character its only taint in the eyes of the world. He had around him, from first to last, about the worst set of men that ever environed a leader, and these gave interpretation to many of his acts. These fellows, of course, used him to enrich

or elevate themselves, and the people at large held their master responsible.

On this matter of good or bad human nature Mr. Chase could reason, in a general way, with the terse epigrammatic force so peculiar to him, without being able to make personal application of his knowledge. I remember, for example, visiting the Ohio penitentiary with him while he was governor of the State. Returning, we walked to the Capitol. After a long silence the governor said, "There is not much difference between the convicts imprisoned in those walls and the ordinary run of people outside." This did not surprise me, for I had long before learned my friend's character blindness; but when he continued I was surprised: "These poor fellows are not wicked, they are weak; they have not sense enough to be cautious, nor have they enough strength of character to resist temptation. The law catches the small rogues; the big rascals are too wary to approach the net. I think sometimes that our criminals are not in the penitentiary, but in the churches. The cool, selfish villains wear the cloak of religion, and hedge themselves about with the intensest respectability. They are our bad men, and from them we suffer."

"Yes," I added; "that was the sort that crucified Christ. He suffered not for his treason, but that he was a low person—the associate of the poor, and an agrarian who taught that property was continuous theft, before that Frenchman made his discovery. The wealthy Moses and sons, the high priests, the aristocrats of that day and place, just sickened over such vulgar notions."

"You do wrong," said my friend, "to habituate yourself, as I perceive you do, to vulgarizing the great truths of revelation. It was an awful event, let the motives and passions of poor human nature have been what they may. We should see only our Christ crucified, and not the horrible crowd that did the deed without knowing what they did."

Here was no cant, not the slightest shade of hypocrisy in this rebuke. Chase was truly of a deep religious nature. He believed with the trusting faith of a child in the truths of revelation, not as an abstract thing separate and apart from his daily life. It colored all his character, and entered into the most minute details of his life.

In common with half a dozen other young men admitted to the bar, but not admitted to legal practice, I had the honor of Chase's intimacy, and it is amusing to look back upon the patron-

izing manner in which we sought to protect him. Of all shades of political opinion save that of anti-slavery, we felt a sorrow that our great man should be engaged in such a vile business as acting and laboring with abolitionists. To us, as to the community generally, an abolitionist was not only a negro thief, but an associate of negroes and a disturber of the peace. None the less did we cling to and seek to give Mr. Chase our protection.

He was to speak one night at a little school-house some four miles from Cincinnati, and notice had been served on him that if he did, he would be mobbed. This had no effect on Chase. He was a brave man, and a threat of violence only made him the more determined to fill his appointment. Finding our persuasion of no effect, we armed ourselves and made part of the little crowd assembled in the school-house to hear the anti-slavery advocate. Save ourselves, the audience was mostly made up of the long-haired men and short-haired women peculiar to all reforms. The room was small and lighted by a few tallow dips, which flared and sputtered from the air through the open windows; for it was summer. The meeting being organized, Mr. Chase was introduced and began his argument. He was not a fluent speaker, and had a voice more guttural than resonant. With few gestures, he spoke in an even, unemotional way, as if addressing a court. He got little aid from the expression of his fine face, for being extremely near-sighted, he had a way of contracting his eyelids, as if he were turning his sight in on himself. He had uttered but few sentences, however, before a wild yell from outside, which seemed to go up from every quarter, startled the little audience, and immediately several eggs were thrown in, with great force, through the windows. The audience rose to its feet, the women screamed, more in wrath than fear, and the men gave utterance to more profanity than I thought the fanatical were capable of. We of the body-guard rushed out, firing our pistols right and left, doing no harm that I ever heard of, but putting the ruffians so effectually to flight that we had no further interruption of that sort. Pistols were things not counted on by the crowd accustomed to ride over abolitionists without resistance. When we returned to the house, Mr. Chase was wiping a rotten egg from his bosom with a delicate linen handkerchief, and he then went on with his speech with no other sign upon him than a heightened color on his handsome face. Through this sort of thing a refined, dignified gentleman

came up to be recognized, in the end, as the able leader, if not orator, of a party destined to conduct a great war, and control the government for a quarter of a century after. How he came to be an abolitionist in the first instance, is as strange as that, in the end, he should be thrust aside by the party that he had done so much to make possible.

It was in the office of Chase and Ball, on Third Street in Cincinnati, that the Republican party of to-day was born. Doctor Gamaliel Bailey, a man remarkable for his combination of thought and action, called the little group of strong men together. There were present Chase, Birney, Lewis, and others whose names I have forgotten, and before them Doctor Bailey laid his plan of an organization. He said it was absurd to have a party outside of the constitution making war on the government itself. While the organic law might be a compact with hell, it could not be successfully assailed in an open rebellion. The proper course was to accept the guarantees of the constitution as to slavery in the States, but to oppose its extension. This in the end would be the death of the iniquity, for as slave labor exhausted the soil it lived on, more territory was as necessary for its existence as the air we breathe.

This shrewd proposition was at once adopted by the leading minds of the anti-slavery class. The fanatics, however, for a time gave as much trouble to these practical chiefs as the Whig and Democratic parties. It was not until the fight grew fierce over Kansas and Nebraska that the rank and file swung into line, and, by holding the balance between the evenly-divided parties, as to numbers, became a power in the land.

I have often thought since, that, had the Southern slaveholders possessed the ability which distinguished these early abolitionists, what a different result we would be putting to record. If, instead of setting up a government of their own, these Southern leaders had fought for what they were pleased to term their rights, under the constitution and the flag of our Union, they would have had the sympathy of a majority of the North, and the co-operation of nearly the entire Democratic party on the free side of Mason and Dixon's line. But when they seceded into a confederacy, threw out an alien flag, and fired on Sumter, they changed the issue from a question of States rights, under the constitution, to an armed conflict between rival sections, and the war went on, not to save or destroy slavery, but to save or destroy the nation.

This was Chase's thought, as well as my own. I have often heard him say that we owed more to Jefferson Davis for his folly than to Abraham Lincoln for his cautious wisdom.

The Whig party that was born of the old Federal organization and Henry Clay, and had great men and great measures, without principles other than a conservatism of property privileges, went to pieces, and the anti-slavery organization fell heir to its votes. Before this, however, Chase, holding the balance of power, was first made Senator and afterward Governor of Ohio.

That man is great who rises successfully to the emergency in which he is called to act. Chase, in the Senate, represented nobody save Morse and Townsend, the two pivotal votes on which he was returned; but his dignity and power made his sovereign State glad to recognize him as her Senator, at a time when our House of Lords held the highest political intellect in the land, and was not, as now, an incompetent collection of millionaires. As governor, he not only consolidated and held the Whig vote, but he drew over a large Democratic support of young men glad to recognize a leader of such brain and power.

When the newly-organized party met at Chicago to nominate a Presidential candidate, Chase stood prominent as an available man. The Seward party, fighting Chase, fortunately opened the way to the nomination of Abraham Lincoln.

President Lincoln called Chase to the Cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury. This was a casualty. Had Mr. Lincoln known of the war that was to follow his inauguration, it is not likely that he would have selected a man so entirely ignorant of finance, and all that pertains to that vexed business, as this man who had never given the subject a thought, let alone any study. An illustration of this is found in the secretary calling in the good Father Edward Purcell, of Cincinnati, to advise with him as to what measures were the best to carry on the fiscal agency of a great government, so strangely intrusted to his untried hands!

The Secretary of the Treasury proved an eminent secretary, on the fact I see demonstrated every day; and that fact is that the man is the most successful in the business which he knows the least about. The man who buys to gratify his own taste, is the man who will be his own only customer when it comes to selling again. The ignorant man, seeking to cater to the tastes and wants of his patrons, is eager to learn and open to all information in that

direction. The manager of a theatre who does not know Shakespeare from Dion Boucicault, and looks to the box-office for guidance on the stage; the bookseller, ignorant of the inside of all books, who looks solely to the purchaser of books; the editor who writes down to the depraved tastes of the multitude; the shoemaker who looks to the corns and bunions of his buyers instead of his own, are all illustrations of what I say. Salmon P. Chase not only took the good father into his confidence, but listened with inexhaustible patience to the practical financiers, who knew less on the subject that made their business than any other class of men in the country.

The war came on. It was the costliest war ever known to a civilized people, for we had to pay cash for our experience. To get up a regiment called for as much money as to govern a State —not less than a million dollars per year for each thousand men. To put an army of seventy-five thousand armed men into the field, and to keep them there, bid fair to bankrupt the government. The secretary, in this awful emergency, found at his back an empty treasury and a ruined credit. There was no time to levy and collect taxes, and, had there been, the secession of the Southern States carried out our great staple on which our wonderful prosperity had been built, and the artillery that shot down our flag at Sumter utterly prostrated the business of the country.

The only way open was to borrow, and even that seemed closed to the anxious government at Washington. Capital is not only sensitive to danger, but from that very fact is selfish, and with no touch whatever of patriotism. We read of noble women contributing their jewelry to a cause, of pious men of God melting their bells into cannon, but we never read of money-getters fetching out their hidden bags under patriotic impulse in aid of a forlorn hope.

The country was aroused to a frenzy by the insolence of the South in firing on the flag of the Fathers, and men—God bless them !—volunteered to fight in such numbers that the government found difficulty in enrolling and arming them. Capital was also vociferous. It took the iron-bound oath of allegiance at all hours. It made speeches of much sound, if not eloquence, urging men to volunteer, but no man brought out his hoarded gold to aid the struggling government in its hour of peril.

The able Secretary lost no time in appeals to the Shylocks. He

turned to the noble, patriotic people, who were wheeling into line to the roll of the drums, for the credit he needed, and issued the greenback. A history of this transaction is curiously illustrative of the two men, Lincoln and Chase, concerned therein. Of course, the idea of issuing money directly by the government to meet an emergency was as old as governments themselves. But Amasa Walker, a distinguished financier of New England, had a thought that was new. He suggested that the notes thus issued directly from the government to the people, as currency, should bear interest. This for the purpose not only of making the notes popular, but for the purpose of preventing inflation by inducing people to hoard the notes as an investment when the demands of trade failed to call them into circulation as a currency. This idea struck Mr. David Taylor, of Ohio, with such force that he sought Mr. Lincoln and urged him to put the project into immediate execution. The President listened patiently, and at the end said, "That is a good idea, Taylor, but you must go to Chase. He is running that end of the machine, and has time to consider your proposition."

Taylor sought the Secretary of the Treasury, and laid before him Amasa Walker's plan. Chase heard him through in a cold, unpleasant manner, and then said: "That is all very well, Mr. Taylor, but there is one little obstacle in the way, that makes the plan impracticable, and that is the constitution."

Saying this, he turned to his desk as if dismissing both Mr. Taylor and his proposition at the same moment. The poor enthusiast felt rebuked and humiliated. He returned to the President, however, and reported his defeat. Mr. Lincoln looked at the would-be financier, with the expression at times so peculiar to his homely face, that left one in doubt as to whether he was jesting or in earnest.

"Taylor," he exclaimed, "go back to Chase and tell him not to bother himself about the constitution. Say that I have that sacred instrument here at the White House, and I am guarding it with great care."

Mr. David Taylor demurred to this, on the ground that Mr. Chase showed by his manner that he knew all about it, and didn't wish to be bored by any suggestion.

"We'll see about that," exclaimed the President, and taking a card from the table, he wrote upon it, "The Secretary of the

Treasury will please consider Mr. Taylor's proposition. We must have money, and I think this a good way to get it. A. Lincoln."

Armed with this, the real father of the greenbacks again sought the Secretary. He was received more politely than before, but was cut short in his advocacy of the measure by a proposition for both of them to see the President. They did so, and Mr. Chase made a long and elaborate constitutional argument against the proposed measure. "Chase," said Mr. Lincoln, after the Secretary had concluded, "down in Illinois I was held to be a pretty good lawyer, and I believe I could answer every point you have made, but I don't feel called upon to do it. This thing reminds me of a story I read in a newspaper the other day. It was of an Italian captain, who run his vessel on a rock and knocked a hole in her bottom. He set his men to pumping, and he went to prayers before a figure of the Virgin in the bow of the ship. The leak gained on them. It looked at last as if the vessel would go down with all on board. The captain, at length, in a fit of rage, at not having his prayers answered, seized the figure of the Virgin and threw it overboard. Suddenly the leak stopped, the water was pumped out, and the vessel got safely into port. When docked for repairs, the statue of the Virgin Mary was found stuck head-foremost in the hole."

"I don't see, Mr. President, the precise application of your story," said Mr. Chase.

"Why, Chase, I don't intend precisely to throw the Virgin Mary overboard, and by that I mean the constitution, but I will stick it in the hole if I can. These rebels are violating the constitution to destroy the Union; I will violate the constitution, if necessary, to save the Union; and I suspect, Chase, that our constitution is going to have a rough time of it before we get done with this row. Now, what I want to know is whether, constitution aside, this project of issuing interest-bearing notes is a good one."

"I must say," responded Mr. Chase, "that with the exception you make, it is not only a good one, but the only way open to us to raise money. If you say so, I will do my best to put it into immediate and practical operation, and you will never hear from me any opposition on this subject."

The people eagerly accepted the loan, which the capitalists were prompt to depreciate and dishonor.

No one can measure correctly the masterly management of this

statesman, who does not accept and appreciate the difficulties that beset his ways. The intense selfishness of this class, that owed its all to the government he was struggling to sustain, bid fair to be more fatal to us than all the armed legions of the South, fierce and valiant as they were. While our soldiers in the field, and the labor left at home, accepted the greenback at par, hungry, unpatriotic capital higgled over its marble counters, discounting the currency that was the life-blood of our government. It was not until after the fortunes of war took a turn and the "Lost Cause" through exhaustion staggered from fields that were disasters to it, although shouted over as victories, that the money power came out cautiously at first, not in aid of the Government, but to invest for a profit. Government bonds were bought with greenbacks got at a ruinous discount, and these same bonds were pledged for redemption in coin.

I write this without feeling against the capitalist. We must take the world as it is. I suppose a capitalist is as necessary to our existence as any other objectionable factor the necessity for the existence of which is a mystery. He does live, but his living was a sad obstacle in the way of success to our imperiled nationality. To appreciate, as I have said, the eventual triumph of Salmon P. Chase, we must know and appreciate the capitalist.

The peculiar power, the sacredness, that attaches to money, in the eyes of men, has always been a mystery to me. Now, it is accepted as the right of government, when threatened with violence, to go to the poor man's hut and bid him come out and shoulder his musket to fight for his government. The poor fellow, with more or less tearful leaving of the family of which he is the humble bread-winner—and without waiting to negotiate a gold-bearing bond—marches out to be killed or mutilated, with no other compensation than his miserable pittance, that, if wounded, attenuates into a pension if his government survives. If killed, there is the sweet ceremony of strewing flowers over his grave.

How the heart thrills to the memory of the noble response our poor men made to this demand! One remembers those broad-shouldered, handsome fellows, in the bloom of life, crowding the cars in laughter, amid the roll of drums, the waving of banners, with flowers thrown to them from trembling hands, and farewell smiles that covered aching hearts. And one remembers how they returned in wooden boxes, or limped home with mangled bodies,

or never returned, but filled unknown graves in far-off battle-fields. One recalls, too, the desolation that was like a low wailing undertone to the strains of triumph all over the land.

Well, if the government, in this way, can take the poor man's life, can it not take the rich man's money? What is there so sacred about this thing that it must be guarded above life? What is it in gold that the blood-stain does not tarnish, and why is it that what God shuts out from heaven as accursed should be our god on earth?

I hear the capitalist denouncing this as demagogism, as insincere and not true. Does not capital pay the taxes? Does not capital give these soldiers their wages and insure them their pensions? No, it does nothing of the sort, and you add insult to injury by the assertion. For a thousand years the wisest lawmakers have been striving to make accumulated capital pay its share of taxation, and they are as near the impossible now as when they began. As well try to make the pyramid support itself on its apex. Taxation reaches down to the base; the base is labor, and labor pays all. The man riding to mill on a sack of grain does not relieve the horse under him by shifting the sack, even if he transfers it to his shoulder. The sons of the men who went out to fight are paying the debt that grew out of their fathers' service, are paying the pensions, and, more than all, are paying for bonds that have in fact been paid twice over before their redemption.

No better illustration of the stress under which the government labored can be given than the creation of the national banks. To bring these moneyed corporations, the banks, into accord with, not to say support of, the government that gives them protection, the most extraordinary privileges were granted them. To farm out the fiscal agency found in the creation of a circulating medium was no new thing, but to permit these corporations to purchase government bonds in depreciated currency, at a heavy discount, and then accept the same bonds at par as a basis for a circulating medium, was an arrangement that nothing but the poverty and distress of the treasury could justify. Secretary Chase claimed, in extenuation, that he meant this to be only a war measure, to cease when the armed conflict ended. That this extraordinary system rests entirely on the indebtedness of the government, and must cease when that indebtedness is paid, gives plausibility to his plea.

A national debt, however, of the magnitude of that left us by the war, is of slow liquidation. Before the eminent war-treasurer died he saw the consequence of his blunder, and that a costly and oppressive system of banking had been fixed upon the people for all time to come. It had a certain hold upon the favor of business men, from a false contrast that it offered between our present system and that of the old State banks which preceded it. This contrast is false, for the evil complained of in the banks of a State's creation was not in the legitimate banking they did, but in the currency they issued and on which they did their business. These were notes of the banks authorized by the States, and were at a heavy discount beyond the limits of their several territories. The war which obliterated State lines that existed under the old colonial superstition of sovereignty gave us a nation and a nation's credit for a currency. The national banks are precisely the same as the old State banks—no better, no worse; but the currency in which their business is done differs, and in this difference lies the benefit of national banking.

Secretary Chase saw clearly the evil he had inflicted upon the people he had served, and his anxiety to secure the presidency originated in his earnest desire to correct this one great blunder of his administration. He had called into existence a financial system, that instead of being firm, uniform, and safe, lived on a fluctuation which swings continually from one extreme to the other, and is, therefore, uncertain, unstable, and dangerous.

To understand this, it is necessary to recognize the fact that money, as a measure of value, is an abstract idea made practical by the government. Based on coin, it gets its use through the stamp or sanction of the government. The trading world, in the ages past, selected the material through which to express this idea of value—a material which above all others has a quality that prohibits its use as a circulating medium, and this is its scarcity. Were coin, gold and silver, abundant enough to serve as a currency, it would lose its great quality and be no better than iron and lead. When the government, then, coins and stamps the precious metal, it merely takes the necessary step to keep alive the visible symbol of an abstract proposition.

Money for circulation, through which exchange is facilitated, like all other commodities, is measured by the great measure of value. When therefore a note, of the value of one dollar, is issued,

it is not itself the dollar, for we read on it a promise to pay that amount, and its value rests on the credit of the government making the issue. In this the government does not differ from the individual. If the people have confidence, the promises of the government pass at par; if not, they fall below until, like the old Continental paper, or that of the Southern Confederacy, they cease to possess any value whatever.

It is, therefore, a popular delusion which tells us that the scarcity or abundance of this circulating medium affects prices. It is the paper that is fluctuating and not the products. We, accepting the general belief, cannot comprehend how it is that during our greatest depression in business there is a heavier volume of currency out than when trade is active and the times prosperous. The government, in its ordinary expenditures, may issue promises to pay as money, to the fullest extent, without creating trade or restoring confidence. A man may have his coffers stored with gold, let alone greenbacks, and he will not use five dollars to purchase a barrel of flour until he can see where that barrel can be placed at a profit.

What we mean by the evil of a swollen or a contracted currency is the evil of an over-stimulated or depressed credit. And this power we have placed in the hands of a few corporations. All our business is done on credit, from the greenback of the government to the book account of the grocer. Now, were trade dependent on the actual wants of the community, it would be in a measure stable, uniform, and safe. To stimulate this in a healthy manner the natural greed of humanity is sufficient. But there is such a thing as artificial stimulation, and such a thing as gambling, and herein lies the evil of farming out the credit of the government to a few corporations. It is in accord with their selfish interests to stimulate credit when trade is healthy and active, as it is their safety to contract when over-excited speculation ends and pay-day arrives. Now, while a man will not employ five dollars in the purchase of a barrel of flour until satisfied that he can sell at a profit, he may be induced to believe that a profit will be found in the future, or, what is more common, to make one of a combination which, controlling the market, can force a profit.

It is the duty of a government to give the people a circulating medium, and this to the fullest extent of its credit. Mr. Chase

saw this fact, and in it the error of his act in creating the national banks; but he never could divest his mind of the popular confusion about money as a measure of value and money as a circulating medium. When Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court, he joined the majority in deciding that notes of the government were not legal tenders under our constitution. Whether unconstitutional or not, to one's common sense the absurdity of the conclusion confounds him. What the government issues the government is bound to receive, and that which the government deals in as money is, of necessity, money.

A man of culture seldom fairly appreciates the mind, however strong, that has not passed through the ripening process of educational training. This fact stood between Chase and Lincoln. The secretary felt rather than saw the superiority of his President, and attributed the masterful control of the greater man to the power of his higher position. In addition to this, Salmon P. Chase was the only member of the Cabinet who was shocked at the coarse humor of their chief. The Secretary of the Treasury had little of this quality in him, and the little he possessed was a refined sort quite foreign to the indelicate, coarse wit of Mr. Lincoln. Chase put on record the solemn fact that when the Cabinet was called together to consider the Emancipation Proclamation, the President opened proceedings by reading to the amazed secretaries nearly all of Artemus Ward's book, then just published. All the Cabinet, except Mr. Chase, laughed loudly over Artemus, and the President, looking in the face of his solemn Secretary, persisted, and with his constitutional advisers, laughed more boisterously than ever.

The fact had come to be recognized, by President and Cabinet, that Chase's disturbed condition was in itself a source of amusement, and Mr. Lincoln seldom lost an opportunity to entertain himself and others in this direction. Some of these occasions both Stanton and Chase related to me, the one in an aggrieved tone, and the other between bursts of laughter, and the reader may judge of their sort when I state that scarcely one would bear printing.

To these small matters may be attributed Chase's withdrawal from the Cabinet. The place was not only overladen with heavy responsibility, but rendered irksome by the President's treatment. He seemed to have no true appreciation of the labors and success

of his subordinates. All that Chase, Stanton, and Seward accomplished in their several departments was taken as a matter of course, and something by no means unusual. He expended no anxiety on the cares of his own position, lost no sleep, nor appetite, nor flesh, under the enormous weight placed upon his shoulders, and he could not comprehend why his subordinates should be troubled by a sense of responsibility, or seek comfort in praise.

Salmon P. Chase has been severely commented on for what is called his intriguing against his chief for the place of President. This is unjust. To seek the presidency is an honorable ambition, and Chase not only felt under no obligation to the man he honestly believed he had made a success, but his ambition was stimulated by the loftiest patriotism. He knew that unless he continued to hold command of the system of finance he had introduced, that system would cause more evil in time of peace than it had accomplished good in the hour of war. And experience is proving the wisdom of his prophecy. To-day, the government is kept on a war-footing by the very measures Chase inaugurated to end the war.

In addition to this, our Secretary saw the evil of an irresponsible military rule, which Seward and Stanton, under sanction of the President, had made possible. Chase never approved of this arbitrary power in which his associates delighted, nay rioted. "We are doing more to destroy self-government by these arbitrary arrests and illegal punishments in the North than the Confederates of the South in their attempt to wipe us out as a nation." "Again," he said, "the evil of war comes after the war; it leaves an army of cripples, an army of thieves, and an army of prostitutes. We shall suffer more from West Point than we have suffered from the rebellion. The taste for military glory will give us a succession of military imbeciles for rulers."

Having succeeded to all that made him eminent through independent votes based on Democratic doctrines, Chase appealed to the Democratic party for a nomination. He nearly succeeded. A drunken harangue, made by an eminent democrat the night before the nomination, lost him Ohio, and just enough votes to insure defeat.

The elevation of this troublesome subordinate to the position of Chief-Justice of the United States Supreme Court is generally

attributed by thoughtful minds to Mr. Lincoln's shrewdness in thus shelving a dangerous rival. I do not concur in this. Abraham Lincoln felt no fear of a civilian. He did have a wholesome regard for the military men the war had brought to the front, and the one man of all others he was careful to keep from that front, was the first idol of the Free-Soil, afterward Republican party, John C. Fremont. He recognized in the popular pathfinder a man of genius, who to a thoughtful mind added the qualities which go to make a leader of men. He sent Chase from the noisy arena of the political world to the solemn quiet of our highest court, with no other thought than that which generally actuated him, of finding the fittest man for the position.

The real biographer of this great man will regret that the subject was ever called to other duty than that which he last adorned. Salmon P. Chase had, to an eminent degree, a judicial mind and temperament. He heard with patience and judged with impartiality the testimony of all sides, and, to a quick appreciation of the truth, he added the highest courage to judge and determine. He found the silk robes of this high office only after the care which kills had sapped the most precious vitality of his perfect physique. What he might have done as a jurist in his prime may be learned from what he accomplished as Chief-Justice in his decline. His stay upon the bench was brief, but long enough to leave on the annals of the court the name of the one rival of the great Chief-Justice Marshall.

No account of Salmon P. Chase is complete without reference to his domestic life. It made, if not the larger, certainly the more important and more graceful part. Married thrice, he lost, in each instance, soon after marriage, the fair women he had selected, and, tenderly devoted to his household, he lived to be both father and mother to the two charming girls, in whose sunny presence he seemed to garner all the peace and comfort he possessed on earth. No one can remember him, who knew him at all, separate and apart from the daughter who, inheriting his intellect and force of character, added the charm of tact and womanly beauty that made his home a *salon*, where the gracious being, queenly in her deportment and popular in her sweet condescension, wielded an influence strange to this coarse American world of ours. This lovely and accomplished woman lived in her father, sharing alike his cares and his ambitions. She seemed to

die in his death; for her brilliant career clouded intopersonaland domestic sorrow from the date of his funeral, so that the sad event is doubly sorrowful, and on the monument to his memory we may write a double epitaph.

DONN PIATT.

# LETTERS TO PROMINENT PERSONS.

## No. 5.—To the President.

Sir: The right to discuss the administration of "a public trust" is not one of mere privilege only, but carries with it the sanction of patriotic duty. The special privileges of the hereditary sovereign do not attach to the office or person of the President of the United States. The latter is, at the best, but a head-servant, whose conduct, character, and purposes it is not only proper, but needful, to discuss. Only in this way can the people exercise that "eternal vigilance" which "is the price of liberty." Criticism is the dread of tyrants and the bane of fools; the patriot-statesman always desires to have light thrown upon his acts. I respect your office, because I am a law-abiding citizen; but the meanest right of the humblest American is infinitely more sacred than the evanescent dignity of the Presidency. Grover Cleveland, citizen, is a king; Grover Cleveland, President, is a public servant. With the former, I have nothing now to do. How the latter has discharged the trusts committed to his hands, it behooves every freeman to inquire, even at the risk of encountering the petty spite of men "clothed with a little brief authority." Fortunately, your Minister to the Court of St. James does not hold the key to the court of public opinion.

Success is the real test of merit; but accident is not success. Measured by your opportunity, what has been your success as President of the United States? It is something more than two years since you were called to the leadership of the Democratic party; something less, since you became the Chief Executive. Your official life is at meridian. Now is the time to take an observation. How reads the vernier?

The Congressional election which succeeds a President's inauguration is the first real test of his success. Without pausing to

analyze very closely the results of the recent election, it may be premised, as a fact which even you will hardly question, that neither in its preliminaries nor its results can it be considered an indorsement of your administration. The Speaker of the House is very properly regarded as the right hand of the Administration when in political accord with the President, since it is through his action in the appointment of committees that the policy of the Government is carried into effect. In your case, this presumption of accord between the Speaker and the Executive is made much stronger by Mr. Carlisle's well-known personal relations with yourself. Is it not a matter of peculiar significance, therefore, that twenty-five per cent. of the chairmen of committees appointed by Mr. Carlisle failed of renomination in their respective districts? Not only this, but your Speaker himself, in a district overwhelmingly Democratic, is re-elected by a slender majority, while the charge is openly, although probably unjustly, made by his opponents, that even this was secured only by tampering with the returns. The Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, the *ex-officio* leader of the Democratic party in the House, after an honorable career of self-succession, finds himself remitted to private life, and his reverse is attributed to the overwhelming burden of your favor. His clamorous colleague of the Claims Committee, made famous by the zeal with which he sought for traces of malfeasance in the record of the opposition, comes back only with the narrowest margin in his favor. The Chairman of the Committee on Civil Service, an especial representative of your professed policy; the heads of the Judiciary, Banking and Currency, Rivers and Harbors and Military Affairs were among those who failed of approval and renomination by the party itself. The chairman of another committee, who represented a district overwhelmingly Democratic, now represents a "doubtful" constituency. On the other hand, Mr. Randall, whom the Administration has distinctly antagonized, holds his place without exertion; and Mr. Hewitt, whose visiting card is unfamiliar at the White House, only foregoes an assured triumphant re-election to Congress, to save his party in its most impregnable Northern stronghold.

If the election of a President had devolved on the present House of Representatives, elected before you assumed the Presidency, a Democrat would have been elected. The vote by States stands: Democratic, 20; Republican, 16; not voting on account of a

tie, 3. In the next House, elected after the development of your policy, in a similar event, a Republican would be chosen. The vote will stand by States: Republican, 20; Democratic, 17; tied, 1. Considering the magnitude of the Labor vote just cast in New York, and the probability that a third candidate will be in the field with assurance of a very strong support in 1888, the loss of this constitutional citadel may prove of serious consequence to your party, and probably to yourself.

In a very remarkable degree the surroundings of your official life have been favorable to success. When you took office, you found an overflowing treasury, a state of profound peace, a rapidly vanishing public debt, a revenue defective only in superabundance, and an entire freedom from foreign complications. The year just drawing to a close has been an improvement on its recent predecessors in salubrity, productiveness, and prosperity; and these, it is well known, incline a people to kindly feelings toward the Government.

No great political question played any considerable part in your election, to add the sting of fanatic hate to the disappointment of your opponents. The nominations on both sides tended to break down old party lines in a certain degree, and thus to hold past prejudice and bitterness in abeyance. Thousands of Democrats who had no faith in your democracy stood aloof or went over to the Republican candidate. Thousands of Republicans who distrusted Mr. Blaine, or regarded him as an unfit candidate, gave you their support. No great public question was at issue. The battle was fought on one side to keep Republican methods and Republican men in the Government; and on the other side, to drive out those methods and men from the public service.

Nevertheless, the platform of the party which put you in nomination and elected you, a platform which you wholly and unconditionally indorsed, was explicit, and marked out for your administration a line of policy which your pledge to the people who voted for you bound you in honor to carry out. Through that platform you engaged yourself to make a complete change in the public service; to conform the Government to Democratic principles; to give the country a reformed and honest Civil Service; to drag to light and punish Republican rascality; to favor the reduction of the Treasury surplus, the decrease of taxation, and

such a revision of the tariff as would protect American labor while abolishing special protection for favored monopolies.

You came to the Presidency, therefore, pledged to uncover Republican corruption and incompetence, and to illustrate Democratic purity, economy, and general administrative excellence. You were expected to take off your coat and address yourself in your own way to the task: first, of "turning the rascals out;" second, of "counting the money;" and third, of "stopping the leaks." This was the programme formulated for you. Was ever a better opportunity to gain popularity offered to patriot or politician? A party obedient to his lightest wish; a people just entering on a return of prosperity; a nation at peace with all the world; an utter absence of exciting issues, and a clean white sheet on which to write his policy!

No extraneous influence has intervened to mar this roseate prospect. Your party has attempted no important legislation, except a scheme of tariff-revision, a scheme so crude and ill-digested that the wiser heads among them felt it necessary to give it the *coup de grâce* while yet in its swaddling-clothes. Your opponents, the majority in the Senate, have been rarely complaisant, yielding to your wishes in all cases where a reasonable regard for propriety did not prevent, and only asserting their power when you insisted on regarding them, as well as your cabinet, in the light of a mere "personal convenience." The Democratic party has been responsible for the government, and you have been the government. No principle of Democratic polity has been on trial. On the contrary, every Republican dogma has remained in full force and effect. The tariff, the internal revenue, the currency, and the civil service, all remain to-day as your opponents left them at the end of a quarter of a century of power. A stranger, ignorant of the local political standing of members of your cabinet, might well be puzzled to discover that the National Administration had been changed from Republican to Democratic.

It may be claimed that the Democratic majority in the House is more responsible than yourself for the sluggish inaction of the party. But, nominated by the Democratic party, elected by the five million votes of the Democratic party, and bound by your pledges to carry into the government Democratic principles and purposes, as you were, was it not your duty to act in harmonious conjunction with the Democratic branch of Congress? Were you

not in honor bound to consult with its members, and to use the Executive power and influence in all honorable and legitimate ways to strengthen their hands? Did you do this? Is it not true, on the contrary, that you repelled and insulted all but your pet Representatives, now forming the "stay-at-home" brigade? That, under Mugwumpian advice, you held yourself aloof from Congress? That your action demoralized and disorganized your party in the House? Is it not plain truth that the Democratic House of the Forty-ninth Congress would have done better work if you had not been President?

A prominent newspaper in the City of New York, which opposed your election with great vigor and some bitterness, has said, with considerable self-complacency of your administration, that it is only what the Democratic party ought to have expected, and has chuckled over the confirmation of its own former assertions, that you were not trustworthy as a Democrat, that you were wholly ignorant of statesmanship, and that your election would destroy the Democratic party. It has said practically to the Democrats: "You got what you bargained for." There is certainly some excuse for these retorts, and yet the position assumed is not altogether sound. Might not the blankness of your record on all great public questions and on national matters have warranted the hope that you would modestly place yourself under capable tutelage, and be prepared to carry out in good faith the policy of your party? Did it not justify the belief that you would not commit the always fatal blunder of setting up a personal policy of your own, and seeking to build up a party outside of that which made you what you are, and from which you have received all the honors you have so unexpectedly enjoyed?

It is true that when the Democratic party took you up, your previous life had been one continuous negation. Though from your twenty-third until your twenty-eighth year the country was in the throes of the most tremendous struggle of modern times, such was the prudent self-restraint or apathetic indifference, even of those youthful days, that not one of your associates can be found, able to recall one word ever uttered by you of interest in the country's welfare, or one expression of preference for either of the contending forces. The industry of neither friends nor foes, who sifted the ashes and raked over the record of your past life during your Presidential campaign, in anxious search, the one for

what they might commend, and the other for what they might denounce, was rewarded by discovering so much as a scrap of evidence that you were at any time aware that a war was in progress, except the solitary fact, that when drawn as a conscript, you furnished a substitute.

The years that succeeded the rebellion were the most exciting and eventful in our political history. The war of ideas was hardly less fierce than the conflict of arms. Party lines were not only sharply defined, but the gulf that separated opposing theories was immeasurable and unfathomable. For a decade and a half the political caldron bubbled with an activity unrivaled, even in that nidus of political cyclones, the decade that preceded the Civil War. During this time, you were the candidate of your party for Mayor and Sheriff of the city and county in which you lived. At its close, you became a successful candidate for the office of Governor of the first State in the galaxy of associated commonwealths. Yet until your nomination to the Presidency, not a single utterance of yours upon any question of national policy is to be found in written or printed form. Slavery, "Squatter Sovereignty," "Bleeding Kansas," "Old John Brown," the Rebellion and its woful consequences, the collapse of the Confederacy, Emanicipation, Lincoln's tragic death, Reconstruction, Manhood Suffrage, the struggle to maintain the public credit,—none of these questions were of interest enough to stir your pulses or unseal your lips to utter one word of approval or condemnation. You are probably the only man among the many millions who lived during that epoch, and who subsequently rose to high public position, of whom this can truthfully be said. So far as the world knows, the mighty conflict left your soul as undisturbed by any breath of feeling or conviction as the impalpable dust that gathers on the heaped-up rocks that line the rayless chambers of Nickajack.

Other men have come to the Presidency with almost as little experience, and hardly more repute; but not one has ever been chosen to that position, or even named in connection with it, whose opinions upon current political questions were not already understood or capable of irrefragable proof.

I am really disposed to be indulgent toward your failings, because I think a great deal of blame attaches to those who have constituted themselves your advisers, and have covered you with silly adulation. They are politicians, otherwise they would not

have caught you in their toils. They know the power of flattery, even on a statesman. They were well aware how it would affect a novice, and one whose sudden and remarkable rise was almost certain to prepare his mind for a belief in his own superiority. With gross sycophancy, they told you that you made a better President than Jefferson or Jackson. They were silly enough to compare you with Lincoln. The only possible ground of comparison between you and the first Republican President is that his party, like yours, came into power at his inauguration. But it came with a clearly-defined issue and a specific policy. Before Mr. Lincoln's name was mentioned for the Presidency, he had become a recognized exponent of Republican principles, and had formulated the tenets of his party with a sharpness of analysis no man of his time could rival. In the conflict of parties resulting in his election, whatever doubt there may have been as to the attitude of his party, there was none in regard to his position. Thousands of copies of his speeches in the debate with Douglas had found their way into American homes, and during the campaign a hundred thousand more were placed in the hands of voters. The people, it is true, knew little of Abraham Lincoln as a politician, but as a thinker and a formulator of political dogma, few men were more widely known or more justly appreciated. There was absolutely nothing in his career or his character to warrant a comparison with your own. Instead of the easiest, his task was the most stupendous ever attempted by an American statesman. Instead of assuming to be greater than his party, he called the most experienced of its leaders to his aid. Instead of caviling at censure, he took care to enlighten public opinion. Instead of whining at criticism, he learned wisdom from abuse. Instead of prating of the difficulties of his position, this stiff-haired country lawyer boldly faced the enemy in his front; out-generaled the most subtle of his adversaries in his rear; held the allied monarchies of Europe in check by his sagacity, and set an example of unfailing cheerfulness.

One problem of more than ordinary interest presented itself when fate cast the mantle of power upon your shoulders—the disposition of the public patronage.

You made this problem a difficult one by your ill-judged action before your inauguration. You chose to plant yourself immovably on a theory, when you were utterly without experience,

and had no knowledge whatever of what your duties would require of you in practice. With more than 100,000 offices filled by Republicans, and with the knowledge that your own party had been ostracized from any share in the government for nearly a quarter of a century, you deliberately pledged yourself not to remove any public officer except for cause. You had no occasion to make this pledge. It was given to half a dozen self-constituted catechists, and belied the promise you made before election to five million voters to uproot Republican methods and make a complete change in the public service. To be sure, you made the reservation that office-holders who were "offensive partisans" could not hope to be retained. But this was an absurdity. If you were honest in the pledge that no public officer should be removed except for cause, of course the "offensive partisanship" would have to be shown in the future, and men who desired to retain their offices would take care not to offend in that direction, at least openly.

Before you had been in office many days you were made practically sensible of your blunder. You needed vacancies. While you ignored the requests of the party at large, which you called "spoils-hunting," you and the members of your cabinet had debts to pay. You had to remove men from office in the recess of the Senate, and to appoint others in their place. You refused to give your reasons for such removals, and this brought on the quarrel in the Senate which induced you to take the absurd and untenable position that the Senate had no right to information concerning removals, and that documents made official by having been placed on file in the public departments were your own private property, which you might cart away and burn up if you felt so disposed. In some cases, you fell back on the plea of "offensive partisanship." But, inasmuch as the appointments you made were mainly rewards for political and personal services, the men you appointed were quite as "offensive partisans" as those you displaced.

If you had not raised this difficulty in your own path, the problem of the patronage might have been easily solved. In good faith to the five million Democrats who elected you, you were bound to make a complete change in the public service, and to get rid of Republican methods. In good faith to the country, you were bound to reform the public service, and make it efficient and honest. Common sense ought to have pointed out a clear

path to pursue in fulfilling both these obligations. But you had the example of no less a Democratic authority than Thomas Jefferson to guide you if you lacked common sense. When Mr. Jefferson became President, and found that the Federal offices were monopolized by one particular sect to the exclusion of his own supporters, he asserted the rights of the majority. He said, in making removals: "I shall correct the procedure; but that done, return with joy to that state of things when the only questions concerning a candidate shall be: Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the constitution?" If you had removed a little more than one half the Republicans you found in office, selecting the worst men, and had filled their places with the best Democrats you could discover, you would have accomplished your proper task. The people would have been represented in the Government in proportion to their numbers. The ascendency of Republicans would have ended. Republican methods would have been eradicated in all the public departments. The whole country would have applauded your justice and liberality. Then it would have been proper and patriotic to have enforced thereafter your doctrine of "no removals except for cause."

But having stumbled over your own heels by your letter to Mr. Curtis and his dainty friends, you ought, at least, to have carried out your theory in good faith. If you had adhered to your dogma, and really made no removals at all except for cause, properly proven and sufficient to warrant forfeiture of office, and if you had made good appointments when vacancies did occur, you would, at least, have won respect for consistency. You did not do this. When you wanted places, you made removals, and your appointments have certainly not been such as sincere and practical civil-service reformers can approve.

You have fallen between two stools. You might have adhered honestly to your hastily-avowed theory, despite the obligations you were under to make a complete change. You failed to do this. Or you might have avoided any theory, and have consolidated your party by a tactful balancing of interests and a prudent use of patronage, thereby organizing it for future victory, without attempting to change its fundamental character. This, also, you failed to do.

No better opportunity was ever offered to a leader of tact and capacity than that which you enjoyed. From your competitors

for the nomination alone, might have been selected a cabinet which for ability, experience, and meritorious party service, has rarely been equaled. Instead of thus conciliating its elements, you proceeded from the outset as if you owed nothing to the party that honored you with its support, treating its recognized leaders as impertinent intruders.

In making up your government, the three most important places were accorded, not merely to one State, but to one faction of your party in that State: Lamont, your private secretary; Manning, the "Boss" of your gubernatorial career, now Secretary of the Treasury; and Secretary Whitney, of the Navy. You yourself made a fourth in this quadrangular quota of the Cleveland faction of New York, which I have placed in the order of their relative importance.

Out of the Senate you took two Southern leaders, the one trained to statesmanship in the Congress of the Confederacy, the other the chosen pet of the extremists of his section.

To these you gave the portfolios of Justice and the Interior. To the State which had not cast a Democratic electoral vote in eighty years you gave the portfolio of War. To the smallest of all the States, save one, in population and area, you gave the State Department. To all the great West that lies beyond Buffalo and northward of the Ohio, you gave the Postmaster Generalship!

As if this was not enough, you allied yourself with Mr. Carlisle against your strongest support. You excavated from Vermont, a State that never gave a Democratic majority, an obscure provincial lawyer of the extinct "Copperhead" species, who had only once risen into National notice by a brutal and malignant assault on Abraham Lincoln, and sent him to England to become the laughing stock of two continents. You tendered to the King of Italy and the House of Hapsburg, in succession, a man so offensive that each refused to admit him to its territory as the representative of a friendly power. You sent as special envoy to Mexico one whose unfitness for the post was speedily made manifest. It is needless to go farther. If you had been the sworn enemy of the Democratic party, you could hardly have used the appointive power more to its detriment.

Space will not permit an extended consideration of your relations to the Civil Service and the reform initiated by a previous administration. Whether you are in favor of such reform, or

opposed to it, is still, to some extent, a mooted question. The belief is all but universal that you wish to pose as a reformer, and at the same time reap advantage as a spoilsman. Why should it not be? You have placed a Democratic "boss," of notorious antecedents, at the head of the Commission; you have studiously refrained from extending the principles of this reform beyond the statutory limits already assigned; you have countenanced the silly plea of "offensive partisanship," and used it as a cloak for punishing your enemies and rewarding your friends, and you have constituted the alleged cause of removal a prime qualification for appointment to the same office. Despite the executive order forbidding public officers actively to engage in political affairs, your private secretary, and the official heads of the Treasury and of the Navy, were in the thick of the fight in New York, lobbying to control nominations and to win over the State Committee; while your Postmaster-General hastened to Wisconsin to aid in the slaughter of General Bragg, who, as a Democratic soldier, was becoming unpleasantly prominent in connection with the Presidential candidacy of 1888.

A curious phase of your official conduct has been your attitude towards the national legislature upon the subject of pensions. It would naturally be supposed that one whose military career was limited to the unwilling procurement of a substitute, would have felt some modesty in matters of this kind. On the contrary, the hundred vetoes coming from your pen, appear to represent the only official duty you have performed without complaint. You seem even to have experienced a malicious pleasure in their inditement, as if it afforded you some sort of personal gratification to withhold upon any pretext, the trivial rewards granted by legislative act, for the performance of a service you carefully avoided. Your party in Congress, compelled by a sense of decency to stand by you in the conflict thus foolishly provoked, has paid dearly for its faithfulness. To your defenders on the floor of the House, the soldiers' ballots have proved as fatal as did their bullets to the Confederates a quarter of a century ago, while nearly every one who opposed your course in this matter, comes back with an increased majority.

As a statesman and a patriot, your record is even more pitiful. You have debauched the public sentiment in regard to the Civil Service, until thousands of its stanchest advocates would gladly

welcome the advent of a consistent spoilsman, in order to be rid of the sickening subterfuge, evasion, and hypocrisy attending your professed administration of the law. If the reform survives the blow you have given, it will be a notable instance of the reverses a just cause can endure.

Your intervention to prevent the passage of the Educational bill in the House would be a ludicrous exhibition of self-absorbed folly, did not its flagrant injustice transform the act into a crime against the nation and humanity. A large proportion of your party and practically all of the opposition in Congress were desirous of applying a tithe of our surplus revenue to washing away the stain of slavery—removing the curse of ignorance that through it fell on black and white alike, in the impoverished and unfortunate South. There were differences of opinion as to the expediency of the measure, and your own dogma that the President has no right to interfere with Congress would have justified you in holding aloof. But with your ordinary sagacity, you intervened to secure the defeat of the Blair bill. The rift in the "Solid South"—Virginia and North Carolina—attest how wisely.

A united and exultant party transformed into a demoralized mob; an opposition confidently expectant of further folly; a country curiously apprehensive of evil—these are the net results of the first two years of your administration. With the "Solid South" showing signs of fracture; the Republican host re-formed, and confident in their front; the Labor vote entrenching on their flank, and with you upon their backs, the Democratic party may well ask, with lugubrious forebodings, "What shall the harvest be?" You have not only missed your opportunity, and forfeited your title to fame as leader or statesman, but it is even doubtful if there be left to you an available "equity of redemption."

ARTHUR RICHMOND.

# RECENT REFORMS IN BALLOTING.

One of the most cheering signs of the times is the increasing interest that is shown in proposals to reform our present modes of election. That they are gravely defective will be denied by no competent observer. They fail to prevent frauds or to stay corruption.

It is true that the last decades have witnessed some progress in the perfecting of our electoral system. Under the compelling power of public opinion, various abuses have been corrected or mitigated. Yet our existing laws still offer opportunity for many iniquitous abuses that demand reform.

Within the memory of men still young, the practice of "voting early and voting often" prevailed with us to an almost unlimited extent. On rainy days, especially, the work of "repeating" and personation went on with unusual vigor. On such days the principal absentees and chief sufferers were the Whigs, whom the "workers" derisively characterized as "silk-stockings." From early dawn great activity would prevail among their opponents. Coaches, cabs, and omnibuses were put under requisition, and the tour of the town was made. The tourists voted in every district, performing the duties of the "stay-at-homes" in scores of precincts, and extending to their party associates the same hospitality in their own district.

Some of the most rollicking and comical scenes, though painful to the eye of the honest citizen, were witnessed at the New York charter elections. In some districts, parties of roughs would early take possession of the poll, and get up a sham fight for the purpose and with the result of keeping elderly and timid voters of the opposition from venturing to the polls. These tactics would frequently result in serious affrays, in which the booths were upset, the inspectors "lammed," as the phrase went, and the ballot-boxes destroyed. The returns in such cases were necessarily

"cooked." Previous to the adoption of the glass boxes with iron frames, it was an easy feat to "smash" a ballot-box. Nor was it difficult to "stuff" a ballot-box, or to have it "stuffed" before the poll opened ; or to employ false bottoms.

The restraints upon the enthusiasm of the "b'hoys," as they were termed, were few and inefficient, and the "silk-stockings" were too dignified and disgusted to come out in their legitimate strength. The registry law, amendments to the electoral laws, new acts, new ballot-boxes, all have contributed to bring our elections nearer to what every election in a Republic should be.

But it is well known that even after the Registry Law went into effect the so-called "heelers" would register the names of dead men, absentees, and voters who had moved away, and on election-day have their names voted on by a battalion of other "heelers." This was not all. Under the Tweed *régime* the "heelers" would vote early at the opening of the polls, even on the names of well known-citizens. On presenting themselves to vote later in the day, these unfortunate gentlemen would be quietly informed that their vote was already cast. Remonstrance was of no avail. If any one protested, the indignant citizen was taken by the shoulder and marched out by a policeman, with the request to create no disturbance at the polls. The repeaters were equally defiant of the spirit of the laws. Before it became possible or customary to verify the registrations, the "heelers" would have names registered illegally in unlimited numbers. On election-day, these worthies would band together in groups in adjacent bar-rooms ; thence, one by one, they would sally out, to vote an illegally registered name as often as the requisite exchange of hat, coat, cap or jacket could be effected.

Such were some of the illegal, though often diverting, incidents attending elections in the "good old days." The country finally realized that such scenes were better fitted for the opera bouffe stage than for the sane conduct of the grave business of Free Government.

A change was effected. To a considerable extent these abuses have been swept away. The halcyon days of the "heeler" are gone. Yet there remains much in our present electoral system that justifies the new demand for a more radical reform.

Democracy, by its very nature, demands absolutely exact electoral returns. For if the people, as democracy implies, are fitted to select their own representatives, they are certainly entitled to

every known method of insurance against fraud and misrepresentation.

Not long ago, electoral abuses in England were more general than in this country. To-day, the electoral laws of England are decidedly superior to our own in efficiency. What has been thus done from the dictates of expediency under a monarchy, should be done from a sense of duty in a democracy. The present English system, although superior to ours, should be modified and amended to American needs.

The two chief evils of our existing system are the unlimited and virtually compulsory disbursement of money by the candidate or his supporters, and the frequent failure of the present mode of voting to correctly record the popular verdict.

With regard to the question of expenses, it may be said that the most corrupt currents of our political life flow from this direful spring. Stop partisan expenditures in elections, and you stop the need of assessing office-holders. Stop this now necessary but really needless use of money by the candidate or his supporters, and you no longer discriminate in favor of the rich. Stop this grave abuse, and you drive from public life that pest of American politics —the old-fashioned "practical politician." Abolish it, and you will purify every department of the public service, and achieve a Civil-Service Reform which other methods have failed to accomplish.

This reform would not only purify our legislatures, but its beneficent influence would be equally felt on the bench and in the Executive Mansions of the country.

It is a fact, although not generally known, that even the election expenses of candidates for the bench have sometimes been defrayed by a syndicate of lawyers. It does not necessarily follow that any corrupt bargain is made in advance between the candidate and his supporters. But, considering the record of some of the judges who have been elected in great cities, it is not uncharitable to believe what is secretly asserted by men familiar with their character. It is not difficult to believe, then, that, this financial assistance to the candidate becomes a first mortgage on the judge.

Nor is it necessary to explain the power for evil or for good which, in the present order of things, is vested in the meanest ward politician. It is easy to see how, in a closely-contested

Presidential election, such as the late one, which depended upon a few hundred votes in the State of New York, a corrupt manager of an Assembly District could control the fate of the Chief Executive Office of the National Government.

Indeed, it should be remembered that the doubt which was so widely expressed by many Democratic authorities as to the legality of Mr. Hayes's election to the Presidency, was solely grounded on the action of the election officers in two remote parishes of Louisiana, the united population of which would not equal that of a populous ward in the City of New York. It needs no argument to show that one of the gravest misfortunes that could happen to a Republic would be a general doubt among the people as to the validity of election of high officials.

Elections at the public expense would put a stop to all such abuses. Not only should any law to this effect not require the candidate to defray his expenses, but he should not be permitted to incur any but limited and specified ones. Already the constitution of Pennsylvania not only forbids all torch-light processions, and like demonstrations, within a prescribed period before election, but it requires the officer-elect to swear that he has spent no money on his election save for certain prescribed purposes. The first instance of the effectiveness of this law occurred in the Legislature of Pennsylvania, some three years since. A Senator from one of the interior counties confessed his inability to take the oath. His seat was declared vacant.

But let us turn again to the poor man. What are his chances of success at the polls in the freest of free countries? Certainly, no poor man can expect to represent any portion of our great cities in Congress without the assistance of his friends or without "mortgaging his official acts" in advance. His expenses for necessities merely—manning of boxes and distribution of tickets—greatly exceed the resources of any man who has the right to call himself poor. Certainly, this condition of things seems disconsonant with American principles and professions.

All things considered, the advantage of conducting elections almost entirely at the Government expense would seem to preponderate. There should be, of course, some restrictions imposed upon men placing their names on the list of candidates. Mere wantonness, or love of notoriety, would otherwise be at a premium. In Australia, each candidate is called upon to deposit a fixed

sum before placing his name on the list. Should he fail to poll more than a fixed proportion of the votes obtained by that one of the successful candidates polling the smallest number of votes, the deposit is forfeited to the State. There are different methods of attaining this end. It has been proposed in England to make any candidate responsible for his own expenses who fails to poll one-eighth of the constituency at least. It has been proposed to make the nomination dependent upon a large list of indorsing voters. A fee has also been suggested.

The system of indorsement has strong advocates, who claim that it would abolish the corruptions of primary politics and the practice of selling votes in nominating conventions.

The proper regulation of primaries has been a grave obstacle in the path of political reform in this country. Many have grappled with it, but as many almost have failed. According to a distinguished United States Senator from the West, of all the States in the Union, California alone would seem to have mastered the difficulty. It seems that in California any one *may* call a primary under the general law or not, as he chooses. If he calls it under the general law, then it is subject to all its penalties.

Public opinion is so strong that every one *must* call under the general law, for an omission to do so is notice that fraud is intended.

The question of secrecy or publicity in voting has for some time received the attention of statesmen and sociologists. It has been contended by some that secrecy implies cowardice, but this theory cannot be sustained. Secrecy in voting has a powerful advocate in the fact that such a measure does away with many forms of undue influence often exerted upon the voter. For example, where secrecy prevails, the habit of voting at the bidding of employer or of a landlord would come to an end. We would hear little more of extorted obedience.

Under the shield of secrecy, the community finds itself freed from any attempt to bribe voters. The purchaser is unwilling to trust his men without ocular demonstration of their loyalty.

There are many interesting points and suggestions connected with this topic of Electoral Reform which one is tempted to discuss, but which lack of space must exclude from present consideration.

During the recent elections, very frequent reference was made

by candidates of different parties to what was termed the "Australian system" of voting, which, with modifications, has been adopted in the British Islands and the Dominion of Canada. It was praised for having secured absolute secrecy of balloting and accurate returns. As little is known here of these various systems of balloting, I have thought it would be of interest to the readers of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW to present the facts as gathered from the highest sources, using, as far as possible, but necessarily abridging, the language of local authorities.

The procedure of Parliamentary and municipal elections in Great Britain is regulated by what is generally known as the Ballot Act of 1872. This act was based upon the Australian Systems.

Inquiries were made of the colonies to ascertain whether the absolute secrecy prevailing by the system of New South Wales at all encouraged bribery or personation ; and, if not, to ascertain what precautions were used to prevent that result. Inquiries were also made to ascertain whether, on the other hand, the power of the identification of the vote had been used for purposes not contemplated by the law, and had served to diminish the security which it was intended that the system of secret voting should give to the voter.

It was ascertained from New South Wales, through the authorities applied to, that the secret voting there had effectually prevented bribery, and that it had also superseded the canvassing for votes.

It has been found that promises, or what are understood to be such, have now no binding effect. In New South Wales canvassing has survived in some few cases only, where intense anxiety is felt that the seat is involved, or where there is keen rivalry. With regard to personation, it is admitted that the Victorian system prevents it more effectually than that of New South Wales. It is often attempted there, and the lax way in which the returning and presiding officers deal with those who are detected in such attempts at fraud, is responsible for this evil. There is also the same apparent unwillingness there, as is experienced in some parts of the United States, to prosecute offenders. The same apathetic feeling which so often prevails with us, that after election all animosity should cease, exists in that newer world.

In New South Wales, where the voter receives a card, which

bears a number corresponding to his number on the electoral roll, the mode in which the votes of those who cannot read or write are taken, is as follows: A room is provided at each polling place, with a table for the returning officer and poll clerk, and a table for the scrutineers. Each candidate also provides a table for himself, which is placed immediately in front of the returning officer, to enable him to see the voters as they come in to vote. The poll clerks, outside or at the door, provide each voter with a slip of paper containing the number opposite the name of such voter as he appears on the electoral roll. This slip is presented to the returning officer, who at once compares it with his list, and, if correct, hands a voting paper, also initialed (the voting papers are initialed by the returning officer as the voting goes on), to the voter, who proceeds to the ballot room. The ballot room is just sufficiently large to admit the voter. A pencil is provided. He then, alone and out of sight, runs the pencil through the names of the candidates for whom he does not wish to vote. He then folds the voting paper up, and puts it into the box, which is locked, the key being in the custody of the returning officer. A slit is in the top of the box just sufficiently large to admit the paper. By another door the voter then leaves. This is done to prevent his coming into contact with the voters proceeding to vote.

Each room is provided with half a dozen or more "ballot rooms." These ballot rooms are situated against the wall, at the side of the returning officer. They are mere temporary structures, built of boards, about thirty inches wide, and a curtain hangs in the front. A board about a foot wide is attached to the wall throughout the ballot room, to serve the voter while running his pencil through the names. Each pencil is secured by a strong tape. Red lead is preferred, as it is seen better on the black printing ink, and prevents blotting, which would otherwise be inevitable if ink were used to erase the name. A policeman is placed near the ballot room to show the voters in, and to take care that one voter only enters the ballot room at a time, and to show the voter the way out. When the voter cannot read or write, he informs the returning officer of the fact and for whom he intends voting. The returning officer then goes to the ballot room with him, and crosses the names out as directed. The voter then folds the paper up and puts it into the ballot-box and

retires. One or two constables are always placed at the door to prevent any, excepting voters, from entering.

In New South Wales the polling commences at eight o'clock, and the closing of the polls is announced at four in the afternoon by the returning officer. The polling immediately ceases. The doors are then locked, leaving in the room only the returning officer, poll clerk, and scrutineer. The ballot-box is then unlocked and the voting papers taken out one by one by the returning officer, and the names called out and entered on lists already provided. This done, the voting paper is put on a file which stands on a table near the ballot-box. And so on, until the whole lot is gone through.

The voting papers are then folded up in a bundle and sealed up. Each deputy returning officer does as here described. As soon as it is possible after the poll closes, and as soon as the list is made out, he conveys his papers to the returning officer, thus enabling him to declare the state of the poll. Each candidate is allowed to send one scrutineer to each booth. This is no doubt done with the view of preventing any wholesale engagement of men belonging to the other side, and thus influencing votes for the candidate in question. Since the passing of the Electoral Act of 1858 in New South Wales, bribery is said to have been virtually abolished, the secret voting alone preventing it, as the voter can do as he likes when alone in the ballot room and all the voting papers are alike.

I can state on the authority of a United States Senator that a law, now in force in the State of Nevada, has produced similar results, though it was not originally enacted with that purpose in view. Owing to the frequent affrays in the vicinity of the voting booths, a law was passed prohibiting any one not connected with the elections, or not about to cast his vote, from approaching within a radius of fifty feet from the voting booth. The original purpose, as before remarked, was to prevent personal encounters at the polls. This law, however, has had a very happy outcome in another direction. All men who buy votes insist upon seeing them cast for the candidate designated by the briber. Owing to this law, and to the fact that no man can read a ballot at the distance of fifty feet, this scrutiny becomes impossible. The result is self-evident. Bribery was abolished.

The system of counting the votes at the close of the poll in the

Australian Colonies, and sending the poll papers at once to the returning officer, is said to meet with approval and to have produced no ill effect. The returning officer adopts the lists of the respective presiding officers. Nor has any serious difficulty been experienced in obtaining the services of competent and trustworthy deputies by the returning officer. The expense of the elections in New South Wales are defrayed by the Colonial Parliament. A fund is appropriated for the object, and the disbursing of it is intrusted to the Executive Government. The Act of 1858 provides for no remuneration for the returning officers. It has been found necessary, however, to allow a moderate charge to deputies. The expenses are occasionally referred for report and revision to the Auditor-General.

So much for the colony of New South Wales. The procedure of elections in that colony is in many respects the same as that of Victoria, but differs in one important particular. In New South Wales, as we have seen, the system of absolute secrecy prevails, preventing any subsequent investigation and conviction in case of bribery or personation. In Victoria this defect is guarded against. On the day of polling the voter presents himself and demands a ballot paper. Before it is handed to him, the ballot is marked by the returning officer or the deputy with the number corresponding with that of the voter on the roll. Having received his paper, the voter returns to a private compartment in the polling room or booth. There he strikes out from the ballot paper the name or names of the candidate or candidates to whose election he is opposed, leaving unobliterated the name or names of the candidate or candidates for whom he wishes to vote. He must be careful not to leave uncanceled the name or names of the opposing candidate or candidates, otherwise the ballot will be invalid. Having done this, the voter folds up the ballot or the ticket so as to conceal the names from view, and drops it himself into the ballot-box. This is done in the presence of the returning officer or deputy and the scrutinizers appointed by the several candidates. After the close of the election, all the "ballot papers," rolls, and other papers used during the election are forwarded (after due verification by the returning officer), under seal, to the clerk of the Legislative Council or Legislative Assembly, as the case may require, to be kept in safe custody. It is said on good authority that there is

no doubt as to the satisfactory working of this system of voting in Victoria. In the case of a disputed election, the Victorian system admits of scrutiny before the legally constituted tribunal. It is said that this system has not tended to diminish the secrecy which it was intended to afford to the voter; nor is there any reason to suppose that the power of identification has ever been used for purposes not contemplated by law. In the case of voters who cannot read, or of those afflicted with blindness, the returning officer or deputy acts for him in the presence of a witness. The return of the voting at each polling place is made up, in the presence of the scrutinizers and poll clerks, by the deputy returning officer. He transmits it, properly verified by witness, to the returning officer, with the ballot papers sealed up in separate parcels. In Victoria, the expenses of election are paid by the returning officer, who receives in advance a sum of money from the treasury, to be duly accounted for. Each candidate after election is called upon to deposit with the returning officer the sum of fifty pounds in the case of an election to the Assembly, and one hundred pounds in the case of an election to the Council, as a guaranty of his *bona fides*. In the event of his failing to receive a number of votes equal to one-fifth of the votes polled for the lowest of the successful candidates, his deposit is forfeited and goes toward defraying the expenses of the election.

The security for secrecy which the Victorian law intends to afford to the voter has not, it appears, been practically diminished by the power of identification. It is certainly true that the inability to institute an efficient scrutiny after an election is closed, is of itself a direct, and even powerful, incentive to the use of illegal means for procuring a colorable majority at the polls. In South Australia, very much the same system as that described above prevails; and the expenses are paid by the Government. In Tasmania, the voter signs his name, or makes his mark, on a certified copy of the electoral roll before receiving his ballot paper. Ballot papers have no numbers, but absolute secrecy prevails. There also the election expenses are paid out of the public funds. Most of the methods throughout the colonies of Australia resemble each other very closely; and the expenses, for the most part, are defrayed from the general revenues.

The present election laws of Great Britain are based upon the systems described above.

In 1872 (Victoria, 35), a bill was presented in Parliament, embodying substantially the system in vogue in the colonies of New South Wales and Victoria. This bill, as passed by the Commons, provided for the secret system. It was, however, amended by the Lords to the scrutiny system, and the amendment passed. The features of this bill, which is generally known as the Ballot Act of 1872, and which is the present electoral law of Great Britain, were as follows :

A candidate for election to serve in Parliament should be nominated in writing. The writing (in this act called a "nomination paper") shall be subscribed by two registered electors as proposer and seconder, and by eight other registered electors as assenting to the nomination. The law provides that these persons shall all be of the county or borough for which the candidate stands. This paper must be delivered to the returning officer by the candidate or proposer or seconder, personally. During an appointed time the returning officer supplies these blank forms to any registered voter. It also falls to this official to publish the names of the candidates. On the opposite page is the form of a nomination paper as prescribed in the schedules of the Ballot Act.

In the Act in question, the ballot is termed a "ballot paper." The ballot of each voter must consist of a paper showing the names and description of a candidate. Each "ballot paper" must have a number printed on the back and have attached a counterfoil with the same number printed on the face. At the time of voting, the "ballot paper" must be marked on both sides with an official mark, and delivered to the voter within the polling station. The number of such voter on the register of voters is required to be marked on the counterfoil. The voter, having secretly marked his vote on the paper and folded it up, so as to conceal his vote, is required to place it in a closed box in the presence of the officer presiding at the polling station ; but not until this officer has inspected the official mark at the back. Any ballot which has not on its back the official mark, or on which votes are given to more candidates than the voter is entitled to vote for, or on which anything except the number on the back is written—or the mark by which the voter can be identified—is condemned, and not counted. At the close of the polls the boxes are sealed and taken charge of by the returning officer, who opens the boxes and

counts the votes in the presence of any agents of the candidates that may be present. The result is sent to the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery. In case of a tie, the returning officer gives the casting vote. This feature will hardly meet with approval in our own country, but a substitute for such emergencies could easily be de-

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*Form of Nomination Paper.*

We, the undersigned, *A. B.*, of ....., in the ..... of ..... ....., and *C. D.*, of ....., in the ..... of ....., being electors for the ..... of ....., do hereby nominate the following person as a proper person to serve as member for the said ..... in Parliament:

| Surname. | Other Names. | Abode. | Rank, Profession or Occupation. |
|---|---|---|---|
| BROWN, | John, | 52, George St., Bristol. | Merchant. |
| JONES, | or William David, | High Elms, Wilts. | Esquire. |
| MERTON, | or Hon. George Travis, commonly called Viscount, | Swanworth, Berks. | Viscount. |
| SMITH, | or Henry Sydney, | 72, High St., Bath. | Attorney. |

(Signed) A. B.
C. D.

We, the undersigned, being registered electors of the ....., do hereby assent to the nomination of the above-mentioned John Brown as a proper person to serve as member for the said ..... in Parliament.

(Signed) E. F., of .....
G. H., of .....
I. J., of .....
K. L., of .....
M. N., of .....
O. P., of .....
Q. R., of .....
S. T., of .....

vised. The returning officer appoints a presiding officer to preside at each station. In order that the reader may have a clear understanding of the form of "ballot paper" prescribed in the schedule of the Act of 1872, it is here given :

*Form of Front of Ballot Paper.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Counterfoil.<br><br>No..... | 1 | BROWN.<br>(John Brown, of 52, George St., Bristol, Merchant.) | |
| | 2 | JONES.<br>(William David Jones, of High Elms, Wilts, Esq.) | |
| | 3 | MERTON.<br>(Hon. George Travis, commonly called Viscount Merton, of Swansworth, Berks.) | |
| NOTE.—The counterfoil is to have a number to correspond with that on the back of the Ballot Paper. | 4 | SMITH.<br>(Henry Sydney Smith, of 72, High St., Bath, Attorney.) | |

*Form of Back of Ballot Paper.*

No.....

Election for.....

18.....

NOTE.—The number on the ballot paper is to correspond with that in the counterfoil.

Nothing is permitted to be printed on the "ballot paper," excepting what is prescribed by the Act. The surname of each candidate and, if there are two or more of the same surname, also the other names of such candidates, must be printed in large characters. The names, addresses, and descriptions, and the number on the back of the paper are printed in small characters.

Directions for the guidance of the voter are printed in conspicuous characters, and placarded outside of every polling station and in every compartment of every polling station. A voter is required to go into one of the compartments, and, with a pencil

provided in the compartment, to place a cross on the right hand side, and opposite the name of each candidate for whom he votes. This method differs, as will be seen, from the practice in the colonies. Having marked his paper, the voter then folds it up so as to show the official mark on the back; and, leaving the compartment, without showing the front or the face of his ballot to any one, he shows the official mark on the back to the presiding officer, and, in his presence, puts the paper into the ballot-box, and forthwith quits the polling station. If the voter inadvertently spoils a "ballot paper," he can return it to the officer, who will, if satisfied of the inadvertence, give him another paper. Any one who fraudulently forges, defaces or destroys a "ballot paper," or "nomination paper," is made guilty of a misdemeanor. The punishment for such misdemeanor is fixed at from six months to two years imprisonment, with or without hard labor. The same punishment is meted out to any person who, without due authority, supplies any one with a "ballot paper," or puts into any ballot-box any other thing than his ballot, or takes any ballot away from the polling station, or otherwise interferes with the ballot-box.

Every officer, clerk, or agent in attendance at the polling place must take an oath of secrecy. All payments are made by the returning officer, who must be reimbursed by the candidates or their proposers and seconders in equal shares. Immediately after the close of the polls, each presiding officer must return to the returning officer the unused "ballot papers" and the spoiled "ballot papers," with a statement showing the number of "ballot papers" given him and the number placed in the ballot-box, unused, spoiled, or illegally tendered. As in the Colonies, each candidate may appoint one agent to attend at each polling place. Such an appointment must be made in writing; and these agents can only be paid through the returning officer. All persons, such as agents, clerks, and messengers, paid for services at an election, are debarred from voting. The candidate in England is required to pay the amount of his expenditures to the returning officer, who may require a deposit.

It is self-evident that the preceding systems can only serve as a groundwork for any laws that may be enacted in this country. There is no question, however, of the superiority of these laws to our own. Their practical working for an unbroken number of years has proved them an antidote to corruption and trickery.

That a reform is imperatively demanded in the interest of pure government, no one can deny. Why is it that so many of our best men decline to seek the suffrages of the people? Because our methods are corrupt and degrading. Plato held that persons who should be sought out to be invested with political power are those who are personally most averse to it—a sentiment re-echoed by Thomas Jefferson in his familiar declaration that the office should seek the man, not the man the office. The best men can be generally called into the public service only by the purification of our present system; by rendering personation, bribery, counting out, and "trading" impossible through methods which secure faithful returns. It is needless to outline such a scheme. The Australian and English systems, with suitable modification, must form the basis of a radical remedy. With the will the way will open.

ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

# NOTES AND COMMENTS.

## I.

### MORMON BLOOD-ATONEMENT.

I HAVE heard of the principle of blood-atonement. I believe in it as I believe in the expiatory power of the Christly sacrifice on Calvary.

In the September number of the REVIEW, Miss Kate Field says: "In replying, Mr. Jos. W. [Jos. A.] West, a Mormon, absolutely asserted that he 'had never heard of such monstrous doctrine as that of blood-atonement.'" Miss Field is *absolutely* mistaken. Neither before the Committee of the House of Representatives, nor at any other time or place, did I ever deny my knowledge of that doctrine. The official report of the committee, compiled by the committee's stenographer, a copy of which is herewith sent to the editor of the REVIEW, contains my remarks in full. In them are but two references to the subject, as follows:

Mr. WEST. . . . The thrilling, blood-curdling stories told this committee by Mr. Baskin have principally been gleaned from this paper, the Salt Lake *Tribune*. They are not original with him, by any means, but have been collected by the reporters of that journal and published by the *Tribune* Company in various forms, and scattered broadcast throughout this and other lands. Their object has been to arouse a bitter and unrelenting prejudice against the Mormons, and thereby secure what they could not get otherwise—unjust and unconstitutional legislation, placing an insignificant minority, represented by them, in a position to usurp authority and tyrannize over the Mormon people. These stories have been replied to in detail in various publications, and have been proven to be absolutely false. The majority of the statements that Mr. Baskin has quoted as extracts from the religious publications of the Mormon Church, if they are to be found there at all, are certainly not in the form and connection in which they are given by him.

Mr. BASKIN. I read from your own Church Bible.

Mr. WEST. And you garbled what you read. You did not read what preceded or what followed, but took out independent paragraphs and put them with something else. You did not state the circumstances under which those statements were made or the occasions that gave rise to them. If you had read the whole of the text, it would have presented quite a different phase and meaning. (Page 191.)

Mr. WEST. So far as the charges which Mr. Baskin makes against the Mormon Church, of blood-atoning people, cutting their throats, etc., for violating Church laws, it is all nonsense. Mr. Baskin knows that it is not so.

Mr. BASKIN. I expect you to deny it, of course.

Mr. WEST. I challenge you, or anybody else, to come before this committee and say that they know from personal knowledge of any acts of violence of that [Mountain Meadows massacre] or any other kind that the Mormon Church has ever committed. I challenge any man to to it. I have lived in that Territory all my life. I was born in Salt Lake. I am a Mormon, and I can truthfully say that I never heard such a monstrous doctrine taught *as that made to appear from the garbled extracts read by this gentleman to the committee* the other day. I know it does not form any part of the Mormon faith. I know that the Mormon people do not execute any such penalties against anybody, or any other penalties; that for violations of church laws, members are simply excommunicated from the Church, and nothing more. Our books proclaim that it is

not the province of the Church to execute corporal punishment on any of its members; that men who offend against the law should be turned over to the law; that they should render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. That is the position of the Mormon people in reference to this matter. (Page 204.)

Blood-atonement was not the subject under discussion, and, very properly, I did not attempt its elucidation. My only words concerning it were a rebuke to Mr. Baskin for garbling the texts which he quoted. Miss Field, in turn, willfully attempts to make that rebuke unavailing by mutilating my protest and ignoring its solemn remonstrance. Then the lady proceeds to explain "Mormon blood-atonement," with as little success, if truthful presentation be her object, as she achieved in quoting my plain words.

There is nothing secret in the doctrine, its theory or practice. At most, it is but a logical and pure continuation of the belief of all Christians in Christ's sublime atonement for the sins of a fallen race; just as that supreme sacrifice is an illustration of the idea under which smoking incense was raised from altars by men of old. Our Saviour's crucifixion was a blood-atonement for sin. It redeems man from eternal death. But there are mortal sins which deprive the doers of the expiation wrought by Jesus; and the shedding of their own blood is the only sacrifice which can save such guilty ones from an outer darkness which shall endure forever.

In Genesis, it is written: "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." And through our doctrine and covenants, which are the repository of the accepted creed of the Church, God declares: "Thou shalt not kill; but he that killeth shall die." Miss Field, in one respect, is correct. We are literal believers in God's words. We do not accept hanging as a fulfillment of the sacrifice; because by that death the murderer's blood is not literally shed. But we distinctly disavow any individual or church right to execute that plain law of necessary blood-atonement. For our doctrine and covenants especially command:

". . . If any persons among you shall kill, they shall be delivered up and dealt with according to the law of the land; for remember, that he hath no forgiveness, and it shall be proven according to the law of the land."

Among Christians, no argument can be required to prove that Christ's death was an infinite atonement for the infinite condemnation which flowed from the Adamic sin; nor to prove, to all who believe in humanity's free agency, that, after having this redemption offered to him, a man can so sin as to lose his claim upon Christ's atonement, and to make his own blood forfeit to eternal justice. Upon no point of religious belief is there a greater cumulation of authorities.

Every act of willful transgression must be followed by its adequate penalty, either in this life or that which is to come. Well will it be for the sinful man if he may atone for his guilt by the loss of earthly comfort, earthly time, or even earthly existence! Not all sins require an atonement by the shed blood of the wrong-doer. And yet killing is not the only mortal offense. In relation to a certain wicked thing, Saint Paul wrote to the Corinthians:

". . . Concerning him that hath so done this deed, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, . . . . to deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."

We believe that after a man has covenanted with Almighty God to hold himself spotless from the sin condemned by Paul, if he fall into that awful wickedness, atonement must be made with his life; otherwise, the spirit will be lost in the day of the Lord Jesus. Yet not ours is the vengeance, nor ours the right to offer the sacrifice. So far as the Church and its individual members are concerned, the

belief is simply passive. No point of our creed is more strongly enjoined than this, which I quote literally from the doctrine and covenants :

"We believe that all religious societies have a right to deal with their members, for disorderly conduct, according to the rules and regulations of such societies, provided that such dealings be for fellowship and good standing ; but we do not believe that any religious society has authority to try men on the right of property or life, to take from them this world's goods, or to put them in jeopardy of either life or limb, neither to inflict any physical punishment upon them. They can only excommunicate them from their society, and withdraw from them their fellowship."

Brigham Young declares in effect that the law requiring the atonement by blood for the sin condemned to the Corinthians is not now in force among the nations. In the identical discourse from which Miss Field selects a few sentences, he says :

"The time has been in Israel under the law of God, the celestial law, or that which pertains to the celestial law—for it is one of the laws of that kingdom where our Father dwells—that, if a man was found guilty of adultery, he must have his blood shed ; and that is near at hand."

Like the day of Christ's coming, the time for a restoration of the law is not yet here, but it "is near at hand."

Brigham Young said :

"I could refer you to plenty of instances where men have been righteously slain to atone for their sins."

The whole tenor of the context indicates that he referred to the fulfillment of the Mosaic law in ancient times. Speaking on this subject in the same volume, he says :

"I can refer you to where the Lord had to slay every soul of the Israelites that went out of Egypt, except Caleb and Joshua. He slew them by the hands of their enemies, by the plague and by the sword. Why ? Because he loved them and promised Abraham he would save them."

Is there anything blood-curdling in the belief that a merciful God will some time give to men the opportunity to die in the flesh, by the swift stroke of a righteous vengeance, rather than to suffer eternally in the spirit? Those persons who are shocked by such a doctrine cannot truly understand the significance of Christ's death. For if it be a horror for a guilty body to be broken in behalf of its own spirit, how much more of a cruel injustice to command a divine and sinless soul to suffer the agony of crucifixion to atone for a fall not His own !

Miss Field impales "God's people" upon both horns of a dilemma which she creates in fancy. The dilemma itself has no real existence. We do not deny, and have not denied, a belief in the divinely ordained principle of atonement by shed blood for sin. But we do deny the monstrous absurdities which Miss Field and other writers, equally uninformed, falsely assert to have been committed in the practice of that principle. Where is the inconsistency of our position ?

Miss Field claims our public avowal of blood-atonement. I admit it ; but I declare that nothing can be found in all the accepted creed of the Church which, taken with its context and the circumstances under which it was promulgated, gives us any authority for the literal shedding of human blood, except by legal servants acting under the statutory law of the land. No people hold human life in higher sanctity than it is held by us. Being literal, we accept literally John's words : "No murderer hath eternal life abiding in him." And hence, as all our hopes and aspirations are centred in an eternal life, where we expect the justice

and mercy denied us here, we view with dread and abhorrence the slayer of his fellow-man.

Miss Field claims private avowal followed by secret assassination. This I deny. What proof is there, which any reasonable man would accept, of any murder executed by a Mormon under authority of the Church as a blood-atonement? Absolutely none. Monstrous stories there are in abundance; but not one which its utterers dare to sift. A fierce and gory tale is told, with horrifying details; its sole evidence is the word of some sensation-monger. We dispute it, and challenge proof. The illogical reply—assumed to be unanswerable, and accepted by press, pulpit, and public—is another unsupported tale, utterly foreign to the first, and still more impossible and sanguinary. Miss Field relates the alleged experience of a Mrs. Mansfield. Since last I heard that story, previous to this time, it has been dignified and embellished for the REVIEW. Then the tale was crude; it lacked the pathetic personage of "Daisy"; and nothing was said of the victim's satin raiment in England. But the betrayal of endowment-house secrets, the worse than cannibalistic murder of the woman, the slaughter of the two young boys,—all were there. The woman's name then was Maxwell; now it is the more euphonious and aristocratic title of Mansfield. By the way, since first I heard the story the victim's name has run the alphabetical gamut. But seriously, Miss Field cannot substantiate, by one tittle of credible evidence, the tale she has related. I am aware that the lady could probably find a score of infamous publications retailing such sanguinary falsehoods; but a charge of murder—especially against an unpopular people, about which the world is anxious to hear and ready to believe any accusation, however monstrous—should be based upon truth absolutely irrefragable. Instead of quoting approvingly from the dime novels on Mormonism, a conscientious investigator ought rather to join in the sentiment of the old worthy Walter Curle Winton, who said in a court sermon, more than two hundred and fifty years ago:

"And it were heartily to be wished that of all such scandalous . . . books and pamphlets that are daily vended amongst us, such as are fraught full of nothing but pestilent and bitter malice, and the most shameless, desperate untruths that the devil, the father of lies, can help to invent, there were a fire made of them, . . . the flames whereof perhaps might expiate some part of the authors' offenses, which otherwise would one day help to increase their torment in hell-fire."

Tales of "blood-atoning" are not seriously related by old, reputable, and honest residents here, of any sect or party; nor are these stories told to such persons. The falsehoods are entered as second-class matter, "exclusively for transmission abroad." In Utah, no denial is needed of these bitter and infamous falsehoods. Every year since the pioneers entered the waste valley of the Great Salt Lake, there have been occasional apostasies from the Church; men have been led away in search of wealth, in fear of persecution, in dread of popular opinion, and some in a conscientious disbelief. Among these apostates are men who once ranked as most faithful members of the Church. Some of them are men of high personal character. They include lawyers, doctors, merchants. All the doings of the Church must have been known to them. There have also been respectable Gentiles engaged in business here since early days. All these men have been at liberty to speak at any hour, under full protection of the judicial and military powers. If, as Miss Field says, "human blood was shed on the slightest provocation," why have not these men, well-informed residents here, spoken to the world? No sympathy for the Church restrains them; for many of them are religiously, politically, socially, and financially opposed to its adherents.

Why are these accusations always made anonymously, or by some uninformed stranger, or by some person excommunicated from the Church for his own impurities, or by some vindictive and dishonest creature who has a personal hatred or a desire for notoriety to gratify? Why?—because no man of standing and integrity, neither Gentile nor apostate Mormon, will lend his name to a charge which cannot be sustained.

If responsible anti-Mormons *know* anything of any murders committed in the name of blood-atonement, or in any other way, by authority of this Church, let them speak and prove. But as to the belief of the Mormon, let him be his own spokesman. Haeckel is a better exponent of his peculiar principles than is a science-disdaining fanatic. The "rules of the society of people called Methodists" are studied by a sincere investigator from the words of Wesley and his successors; not from the jealous and vindictive tirades of their haters. Eugene Sue's novel may be entrancingly terrifying in its description of the power exercised by the Jesuit Rodin and his coadjutors; but honesty does not accept "The Wandering Jew" as an official statement of Catholic creed and practice. And even Ignatius Loyola is allowed to speak for himself when one candidly weighs the precepts of the Society of Jesus.

Heretofore, adverse writers and speakers have appeared to deem it an act of the highest virtue to garble Mormon creed and Mormon utterance. Even a lady, holding the high position of Miss Field, has not hesitated to distort words which she heard from Mormon lips, evidently deeming that she commits no wrong thereby. It is usually the case that the publisher who cheerfully gives space to a wholesale and unauthenticated charge against us, has no room for an explicit denial. I hope to see the day when the same care will be used in reporting and construing the utterances of Mormons that is required for Methodists or Catholics.

JOSEPH A. WEST.

## II.

### THE LAST CONFEDERATE KILLED.

IN conversing with General Sherman about the article entitled "A Slave Trader's Letter Book," in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for November, General Sherman said that he believed the writer of the letters, C. A. L. Lamar, was the last Confederate killed in the late war. He said that the fact could be ascertained by asking General Wilson, now of Wilmington, Del. A note to General Wilson brought the following reply:

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of November 11th, I have to say that "Charley Lamar," the owner of the yacht "Wanderer," at one time said to have been used as a slaver, was killed by a stray shot in the streets of Columbus, Georgia, on the night it was taken by my command. He was the last conspicuous man, of whom I have any knowledge, killed during the rebellion.

Columbus was taken on the night of April 16th, 1865. * * * *

JAMES H. WILSON.

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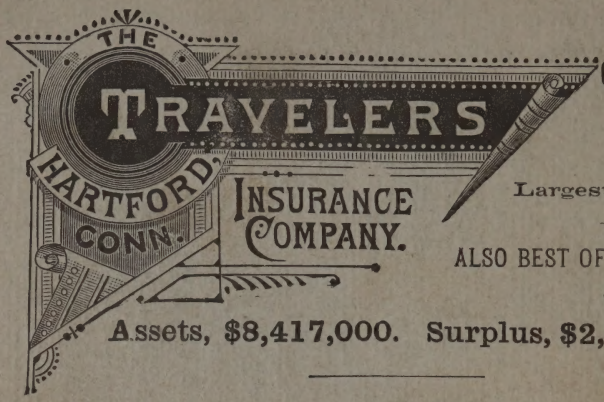


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